810 k 34
Baker (Sir R.)
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809 l 26
900 g. 12.

Viuat & Viuat Princeps CAROLUS *et Orbi*
Imperet, innumeris decorans sua sæcla Triumphis.
Flourish braue Prince, out shine thy Glorious Name,
Triumphant Laurels ever Crowne thy Fame.

810 k 34
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Imperet, innumeris decorans sua sæcla Triumphis.
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CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS OF ENGLAND
From the Time of the
KING CHARLES
LONDON
YORK

To the High and Mighty Prince CHARLES,

Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cornevvall:

Eldest Sonne to our Soveraigne Lord, CHARLES, King of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *IRELAND*.

SIR,

THE Dedication of Chronicles hath in all times been thought worthy of the greatest Princes: *Gulielmus Gemiticensis* writ a Chronicle of the Dukes of *Normandy*, and Dedicated it to *William* the Conquerour. *Thomas Walsingham* writ a Chronicle of the Kings of *England*, and Dedicated it to King *Henry* the sixth: And of late time, Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount Saint *Albans*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, writ a History of the Reigne of King *Henry* the seventh, and Dedicated it to Your Royall Grand-Father of blessed memory, King *James*: For indeed, as nothing makes Princes more Illustrious then Learning; So no Learning makes them more Judicious then History; Other Learning may fill their mindes with knowledge; This onely with Judgement: And seeing it is Judgement that must sit as President over all their Actions, it is fit that History should sit as President over all their Studies. History gives an Antedate to Time; and brings Experience without gray haires: Other Knowledges make You but see *Quod ante pedes est*; History is the true perspective Glasse, that will make You see things afarre off: And though it

make not men to become Prophets, yet it makes their conjectures to be little lesse then Oracles. But most Illustrious Prince, there accrues to your Highnesse, by this Chronicle, a greater benefit then all this; For if it were an Excitation of great force to vertue, to have it said, *Et Pater Æneas & Avunculus excitet Hector*; of how great Force must it needes be, when You shall reade the Noble Acts of so many your worthy Progenitors; Some Eternized for their valourous Atchievements in Warre: Some for their prudent government in Peace: Some Renowned for Mercy, some for Justice: And although the Example of your Royall Father be not amongst them, yet it may be sufficient that while you have the Acts of others upon Record, you have his under View, by which he seemes to say unto you, *Disce Puer virtutem ex me, verumque laborem; Fortunam ex aliis*. And if in any of your Progenitors, there appeare, as it were *Maculæ in Orbe Lunæ*, will it not invite you to a higher Orbe, that Your Actions may shine with the clearer Beames? and then how happy will the eyes be, that shall see you sitting in your Throne? For my selfe, I should account it happinesse enough, that I have lived to see the dayes of your Illustrious Father; if it were not a great unhappines to see them overcast with clouds; & yet when these clouds shal be dispel'd, will it not make him shine with the greater Splendor? And this as old as I am, I doubt not to live my selfe to see, and having once seene it, shal then willingly say my *Nunc Dimittis*, and leave the joy of your glorious times for another Age: In the meane time prostrating my self humbly at your feet; and wishing to your Highnesse, as *Deiphobus* did to *Æneas*;—*I Decus, I Nostrum, Melioribus utere Fatis.*

Your most humble and most devoted Servant,

RICHARD BAKER.

An Epistle to the READER.

THis Booke, I suppose will no sooner come abroad; but the question will be asked, why any man would take so superfluous a Labour, to write that which hath beene written by so many; by some so copiously, by some so elegantly, that nothing can be added: To which Objection, I confesse my selfe unable to make a better Answer then by President: For when many excellent men had written the Story of the Roman Emperours, both accurately and eloquently; yet Suetonius Tranquillus comming after them, wanted not his part of Commendation. For though he added nothing in the matter or substance, yet he altered much in the forme and disposition, distinguishing that into Classes and Chapters, which the former had delivered in one continued Narration: as being both lesse tedious to the Reader, like a way marked out by Miles; and more plainly Informing, where Distinction tooke away confusion. Besides, many have Written the Reignes of our English Kings, copiously indeed, but so superfluously, that much may justly be pared away; Some againe Elegantly indeed, but so succinctly, that much as justly may be added: And this, if I have endevoured to doe, I cannot be blamed; If done it, I deserve acceptance. Againe, where many have written the Reignes of some of our Kings, excellently as in the way of History, yet I may say they have not done it so well in the way of Chronicle; For whilst they insist wholly upon matters of State, they wholly omit meaner Accidents, which yet are Materials as proper for a Chronicle, as the other. For my selfe, if in some places I be found to set downe whole passages, as they are already set downe by others, and may seeme rather to transcribe then to write; yet this I suppose may be excused, as being all of one common stocke; and no matter from whence the water comes, so it come cleane to the Readers use. Lastly, for the Worke it selfe; I dare be bold to say, that it hath beene Collected out of Authours both Ancient and Moderne, with so great care and diligence, that if all other Chronicles should be lost, yet this onely would be sufficient to informe Posterity of all passages memorable or worthy to be knowne; which of any other generall Chronicle, cannot perhaps be said.

RICHARD BAKER.

An Epistle to the READER.

A CATALOGVE OF VVRITERS, BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERNE, Out of whom this CHRONICLE hath beene Collected.

1 GIldas Britannicus, *surnamed the Wise, was the first writer of our* English *Nation; who amongst other his Workes; writ a Treatise* De Excidio Britanniæ, *He was borne in the yeare* 493. *and dyed in the yeare* 580.

2 Nennius *a Monke of* Bangor, *writ the Story of* Britaine, *and lived about the yeare* 620.

3 *Venerable* Bede, *a* Saxon *and a Priest, writ the Ecclesiasticall Story of the* English *Nation, from the comming in of* Julius Cæsar, *to the yeare* 733. *about which time he dyed.*

4 Ethelwardus, *a writer next to* Bede *the most ancient, writ a generall Chronicle from the Creation to the end of King* Edgar.

5 Radulphus de Diceto, *who lived about the yeare* 685.

6 Segebert *King of the East Angles, writ an Institution of Lawes, in his later dayes became a Monke, and was slaine by* Penda *King of the* Mercians, *in the yeare* 652.

7 Cymbertus *Bishop of* Lindsey, *in the kingdome of* Mercia, *writ the Annals of that Country, & lived about the yeare* 730

8 Daniel Wentanus *a Bishop, writ the History of his Province: and the Acts of the South* Saxons, *and dyed in the yeare* 746.

9 Asserius Menevensis, *borne in* Pembrokeshire, *Bishop of* Salisbury, *writ the Story of* Britaine, *and the Acts of King* Alphred, *and lived about the yeare* 890.

10 Alphredus *the great, King of the* Angles, *fourth sonne of King* Ethelwolph, *writ, besides many other workes, a Collection of Chronicles, and dyed at* Winchester *in the yeare* 901.

11 Osbernus *a Benedictine Monke, writ the life of the Arch-bishop* Dunstan, *and other workes: and lived about the yeare* 1020.

12 Colmanuus Anglicus, *writ a Chronicle and a Catalogue of the* English *Kings, and lived about the yeare* 1040. *in the time of King* Harold *the first.*

13 Gulielmus Gemeticensis, *a* Norman *and a Monke, writ the lives of the Dukes of* Normandy, *to* William *the Conqueror, to whom he Dedicated his Worke: and after enlarged it to the death of King* Henry *the first, in the yeare* 1135. *at which time he lived.*

14 Marianus Scotus *a Monke, writ Annals*

nals from the beginning of the world to his own time, and dyed in the yeare 1086.

15 Alphredus *a Priest of* Beverley, *writ a History, from the first Originall of the* Britaines *to his owne time, and lived about the yeare* 1087. *in the time of* William *the Conquerour.*

16 Veremundus *a* Spaniard, *and a Priest, but who lived much in* Scotland, *writ the Antiquities of the* Scottish *Nation, and lived about the yeare* 1090.

17 Lucianus *a Monke, and an* English *writer, and lived in the first times of the* Normans.

18 Ingulphus *Abbot of* Croyland, *writ from the yeare* 664. *to the yeare* 1066. *and lived in the time of* William *the Conquerour, whose Secretary he had beene.*

19 Turgotus *an* Englishman, *first Deane of* Durham, *and afterward Bishop of Saint* Andrewes *in* Scotland, *writ a History of the Kings of* Scotland, *also Chronicles of* Durham, *Annals of his own time, and the life of King* Malcolm, *and lived in the yeare* 1098. *in the time of King* William Rufus.

20 Gulielmus Pictavienſis, *writ a Treatise of the Life of* William *the Conquerour.*

21 Gualterus Mappæus, *writ a Booke,* De Nugis Curialium, *and lived about the Conquerours time.*

22 William *of* Malmesbury, *a Benedictine Monke, writ a History of the* English *Nation, from the first comming of the* Saxons *into* Britaine, *to his owne time, which Worke he Dedicated to* Robert *Duke of* Gloceſter, *base Sonne of King* Henry *the First, and lived to the first yeares of King* Henry *the Second.*

23 Florentius Bravonius, *a Monke of* Worceſter, *compiled a Chronicle from the Creation, to the yeare* 1118. *in which yeare he dyed, his Worke was continued by another Monke to the yeare* 1163.

24 Eadmerus *a Monke of* Canterbury, *writ the lives of* William *the Conquerour,* William Rufus, *and King* Henry *the First, in whose time he lived.*

25 Raradocus *borne in* Wales, *writ the Acts of the* Britaine *Kings, from* Cadwallader *to his owne time, and lived in the time of King* Stephen.

26 Gervaſius Dorobernenſis, *a Benedictine Monke, writ a History of the* English *Nation, & lived about the yeare* 1120

27 Johannes Fiberius *commonly called* De Bever, *writ ſhort Annals of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the yeare* 1110. *in the time of King* Henry *the first.*

28 Henry, *Arch-deacon of* Huntington, *writ a History of the Kings of* England, *to the Reigne of King* Stephen, *in whoſe time he lived.*

29 Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *a Benedictine Monke, and afterward Biſhop of* Aſaph, *writ a History of the* Britaines, *and was the first that makes mention of* Brute *and of* Merlins *Prophecies, for which he is much taxed by divers Authours of his owne time; and after, he lived about the yeare* 1150. *in the time of King* Stephen.

30 William *of* Newborough, *borne at the beginning of King* Stephens *Reigne, writ a History of the* Engliſh *Nation, and bitterly inveighes againſt* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *as a Deviſer of Fables.*

31 Sylveſter Gyraldus, *borne in* Wales, *and thereof called* Cambrenſis; *after long travaile abroad was called home, and made Secretary to King* Henry *the Second; and after was ſent Tutour to his Sonne* John *into* Ireland; *he writ the History of that Nation very exquiſitely; alſo an* Itinerarium *of* Wales *and* Britaine; *the Life of* Henry *the Second, the Acts of King* John, *and a Chronicle of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the yeare* 1190. *in the times of King* Richard *the First, and King* John.

32 John *of* Hagulſtad, *a Towne in the North, a Benedictine Monke in* Durham, *writ the moſt memorable things, from the ninth yeare of King* Henry *the Second, to the first yeare of King* Richard *the first, in whoſe time he lived, about the yeare* 1190.

33 Roger Hoveden, *a Prieſt of* Oxford, *writ the Annals of the Kings of* England, *and the memorable paſſages under the* Romans, Picts, Saxons, Danes, *and* Normans; *he lived in the time of King* Richard *the first, and dyed in the time of King* John.

34 Johannes Tilberienſis, *a ſecular Prieſt, writ a History of the* Engliſh *Nation; and lived in the time of King* Richard *the first.*

35 Richardus Canonicus, *travelled with King* Richard *the first into* Paleſtine, *and writ of his Journey and Acts there.*

36 Aluredus

36 Aluredus Rivallensis, *or* de Rivallis, *a Cisterſian Monke, in the Dioceſſe of* Yorke, *writ the Life of* Edward *King of* England, *and* David *King of* Scots, *and dyed in the yeare* 1166.

37 Simon Dunelmensis, *a Benedictine Monke, writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, from the death of Venerable* Bede, *to the yeare* 1164. *and lived in the time of King* Henry *the ſecond.*

38 John de Oxenford, *firſt Deane of* Salisbury, *and after Biſhop of* Norwich, *writ the Britiſh Hiſtory, and continued it to his own time, wherin he agreeth much with* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *and lived about the yeare* 1174. *in the time of King* Henry *the ſecond.*

39 Johannes Sarisberiensis, *writ an excellent Booke* De Nugis Curialium, *and lived about the yeare* 1182. *in the time of King* Henry *the ſecond.*

40 Gulielmus Parvus, *a Canon Regular in the Province of* Yorke, *writ a Hiſtory of the* Norman *Kings, and lived about the yeare* 1216. *in the time of King* John.

41 Johannes Campobellus, *a Scotchman writte the Hiſtory of the* Scots, *from the firſt Originall of the Nation to his owne time: and lived in the yeare* 1260.

42 John Breton *an* Engliſhman, *Biſhop of* Hereford, *writ a Booke* De Juribus Anglicanis, *and lived in the yeare* 1270. *in the time of King* Henry *the third.*

43 Thomas Wyke *an* Engliſhman, *a Canon Regular of* Oſney *neere* Oxford, *writ a ſhort Hiſtory from the coming in of* William *the Conquerour to his owne time, and lived in the yeare* 1290. *in the time of King* Edward *the firſt.*

44 Thomas Langford *an* Engliſhman, *a Dominican Fryer of* Chemsford *in* Eſſex, *writ an Univerſall Chronicle, from the beginning of the world to his owne time, and lived in the yeare* 1320. *in the time of King* Edward *the ſecond.*

45 Radulphus de Rizeto *an* Engliſhman, *writ a Chronicle of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the yeare* 1210. *in the time of King* John.

46 Robertus Montensis, *a benedictine Monke, writ a Chronicle from the yeare* 1112. *to the yeare* 1210. *at which time he lived.*

47 Johannes Burgensis *an* Engliſhman, *a benedictine Monke, writ Annals of the* Engliſh *Nation.*

48 Thomas Spottey *an* Engliſhman, *a benedictine Fryer of* Canterbury, *writ the Chronicles of* Canterbury, *and lived about the time of King* Edward *the ſecond.*

49 Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis, *called* Florilegus, *for collecting* Flores Hiſtoriarum, *chiefly of* Britaine, *containing from the beginning of the world to the yeare* 1307. *about which time he lived.*

50 Ranulphus Higden, *a benedictine Monke of* Cheſter, *writ a Booke which he called* Polychronicon, *containing from the beginning of the world to the ſixteenth yeare of King* Edward *the third in whoſe time he lived.*

51 Matthew Paris, *a benedictine Monke of Saint* Albans, *writ a Hiſtory, chiefly Eccleſiaſticall, of the* Engliſh *Nation, from* William *the Conquerour, to the laſt yeare of King* Henry *the third, and lived about the time of King* Edward *the third.*

52 William Pachenton *an* Engliſhman, *writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the time of King* Edward *the third.*

53 Bartholmeus Anglicus, *a Franciſcan Fryer, writ a Booke intituled* De Proprietatibus rerum, *and a Chronicle of the* Scots, *and lived in the yeare* 1360. *in the time of King* Edward *the third.*

54 Nicholas Trivet, *borne in* Norfolke, *of a worſhipfull Family, became a Dominican Fryer, writ many excellent workes in Divinity and Philoſophy, alſo Annals of the* Engliſh *Kings, from King* Stephen, *to King* Edward *the ſecond, and lived in the yeare* 1307. *in the time of King* Edward *the third.*

55. Alexander Eſſebiensis *Pryor of a Monaſtery of Regular Canons, writ divers learned workes, amongſt other an Epitome of the* Britiſh *Hiſtory: and lived in the yeare* 1360. *in the time of King* Edward *the third.*

56 John Froyſſart *borne in the Low Countries, writ a Chronicle in the* French *tongue, containing ſeventy foure yeares, Namely, beginning with King* Edward *the third, and ending with King* Henry *the fourth, in whoſe time he lived, whoſe Chronicle, Sir* John Bourchier *knight tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and* John Sleyden *a* French *man hath lately contracted into an Epitome.*

57 Thomas

57 Thomas de la Moore, *borne in* Glocestershire, *in the time of King* Edward *the first, by whom as having twenty pounds land, holden by knights service, he was made a Knight, and afterward being very inward with King* Edward *the second, writ a History of his life and death.*

58 Thomas Rodbourne *an* Englishman, *and a Bishop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation, and lived in the yeare* 1412. *in the time of King* Henry *the fourth.*

59 John Trevisa *borne in* Glocestershire, *a Priest, translated* Polychronicon *into* English, *adding to it an Eighth Book, Intituled* De Memorabilibus eorum temporum, *containing from the yeare* 1342. *to the yeare* 1460. *He writ also of the Acts of King* Arthur, *and Descriptions both of* Britaine *and* Ireland, *and lived in the time of King* Edward *the fourth.*

60 John Harding *a Gentleman of a good Family in the North, writ a Chronicle in verse, of the Kings of* England, *to the Reigne of King* Edward *the fourth, wherein he alledgeth many Records, which he had got in* Scotland, *that testifie the* Scottish *Kings submissions to the Kings of* England: *he lived in the yeare* 1448. *in the time of King* Henry *the sixth.*

61 John Capgrave, *borne in* Kent, *an Hermit Fryer, writ many learned workes in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the* English *Saints, and lived in the yeare* 1464. *in the time of King* Edward *the fourth.*

62 John Lydgate, *Monke of Saint* Edmundsbury *in* Suffolke, *writ divers workes in verse, and some in prose: as the lives of King* Edward, *and King* Ethelstan, *of the round Table of King* Arthur, *and lived in the yeare* 1470. *in the time of King* Edward *the fourth.*

63 John Weathamstead, *Abbot of Saint* Albans, *in his worke of* English *Affaires, accuseth* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *of meere Fabulousnesse, and lived about the yeare* 1440.

64 Gulielmus Elphinston *a* Scotchman, *Bishop of* Aberdene, *writ the Antiquities of* Scotland, *and the Statutes of Councells, and lived in the yeare* 1480. *in the time of* James *the third King of* Scotland.

65 George Buchanan *a* Scotchman, *writ the story of* Scotland *from* Fergusius, *to Queene* Mary, *in whose time he lived.*

66 William Caxton *an* Englishman, *writ a Chronicle to the three and twentyeth yeare of King* Edward *the Fourth, which he calls* Fructus Temporum: *also a Description of* Britaine, *the life of Saint* Edward, *and the History of King* Arthur, *and lived in the yeare* 1484.

67 Thomas Walsingham *borne in* Norfolke, *a Benedictine Monke of Saint* Albans, *writ two Histories; One shorter, the other larger; the first beginning from the yeare* 1273. *and continued to the yeare* 1423. *The other, beginning at the coming in of the* Normans, *and continued to the beginning of King* Henry *the sixth, to whom he Dedicated his worke.*

68 Robert Fabian *a Sheriffe of* London, *writ a Concordance of Histories, from* Brute *the first King of the* Britaines, *to the last yeare of King* Henry *the second; and another worke from King* Richard *the first, to King* Henry *the seventh, in whose time he lived.*

69 *Sir* Thomas Moore *borne in* London, *Lord Chancellour of* England; *besides many other learned workes, writ the Life of King* Richard *the third, and dyed for denying the Kings Supremacy, in the Reigne of King* Henry *the Eight, in the yeare* 1535.

70 Hector Boethius *a* Scotchman, *writ a Catalogue and History of the Kings of* Scotland: *also a Description of that kingdome, and lived in the yeare* 1526. *in the time of* James *the fifth, King of* Scotland.

71 Polydor Virgill, *an* Italian, *but made here in* England *Arch-deacon of* Wells, *amongst other his learned workes, writ the History of* England, *from its first beginning, to the thirtyeth yeare of King* Henry *the Eighth, to whom he Dedicated his Worke.*

72 Edward Hall *a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle which he calls the Union of the two Roses, the Red and the White, containing from the beginning of King* Henry *the fourth, to the last yeare of King* Henry *the eighth, and dyed in the yeare* 1547.

73 John Leland *a* Londoner, *amongst divers other workes, writ a Booke of the Antiquity of* Britaine, *and of the famous men and Bishops in it, and lived in the yeare* 1546. *in the time of King* Henry *the Eighth.*

74 John Rogers, *first a Papist, and afterward*

ward a Protestant, amongst other his learned workes writ a History from the beginning of the world, and lived most in Germany, in the yeare 1548. in the time of King Edward the sixth.

75 Philip Commines, a knight of Flanders, writ the lives of Lewis & Charles the Eighth, Kings of France, wherein he handles many passages betweene them and the Kings of England their contemporaries.

Of the Moderne, These:

76 Richard Grafton a Citizen of London, writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the world, to the beginning of the Reign of Queene Elizabeth, in whose time he lived.

77 Raphaell Holinshed, a Minister, writ a large Chronicle, from the Conquest to the yeare 1577. and was continued by others, to the yeare 1586.

78 Doctor Goodwin Bishop of Hereford, writ the Lives of King Henry the eight, King Edward the sixth, and Queen Mary, & lived in the time of Qu. Elizabeth

79 Doctor Heyward writ the History of the first Kings, William the Conquerour, William Rufus, and Henry the first, also the Reigne of King Henry the fourth, and Edward the sixth, and lived to the time of King James.

80 Samuel Daniel writ a Chronicle of the Kings of England, to the end of King Edward the third, and is continued by John Trussell to the beginning of King Henry the seventh.

81 Sir Francis Bacon Viscount, Viscount S. Albans, hath written a History of the Reigne of King Henry the seventh, in a most elegant stile, and lived in the time of King James.

82 John Fox writ three large Volumes of the Acts and Monuments of the Church; particularly treating of the English Martyrs in the Reignes of King Henry the eighth, and Queene Mary, and lived in the time of Queene Elizabeth.

83 Thomas Cowper, Bishop of Winchester, writ Chronicle Notes of all Nations, specially of England, from the beginning of the world to his owne time, and lived in the time of Queene Elizabeth.

84 William Camden King at Armes, writ the life of Queene Elizabeth, and a Description of Britaine, and lived in the time of King James.

85 William Martin Esquire, writ the Reignes of the Kings of England, from William the Conquerour, to the end of King Henry the eighth: to which was afterward added the Reignes of King Edward the sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.

86 Francis Biondi an Italian Gentleman, and of the Privy Chamber to King Charles, hath written in the Italian tongue, the Civill Warres betweene the two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke, from King Richard the second, to King Henry the seventh: Translated elegantly into English by Henry Earle of Monmouth, now living.

87 Henry Isaacson a Londoner, hath written a Chronology of all kingdoms, from the beginning of the world to the yeare 1630. being the fifth yeare of King Charles his Reigne.

88 Nicholas Harpsefield Arch-deacon of Canterbury, hath written a Chronicle of all the Bishops of England, to which Edmund Campian the Jesuite, made an Addition.

89 John Stow Citizen of London, writ a Chronicle from Brute to the end of Qu. Elizabeth, and is continued to this present time, being the 18. yeare of King Charles, by Edmund Howes a Londoner.

90 John Speed a Londoner, writ the Story of Britaine, from the first beginning to the yeare 1605. being the second yeare of King James.

91 William Abington Esquire, hath written the Reign of King Edward the fourth in a very fine stile, and is yet living.

92 Thomas Fuller Batchelour of Divinity, and Prebendary of Sarum, hath written the Holy Warre in very fine language, wherein he relates the Acts of our Kings of England in the Holy Land, and is now living.

93 Andre du Chesne, a Frenchman, Geographer to the King of France, hath written the History of England, Scotland & Ireland, from their first beginnings, to the seventeenth yeare of our present Soveraigne Lord King Charles.

The end of the Catalogue of Authors.

The end of the Catalogue of Authors.

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND

from the time of the *Romans* Government, unto the Raigne of King CHARLES.

Of the first knowne times of this Iſland.

ALthough we begin the Æra of our Computation from *William* called the Conquerour, as though he were the firſt King of our *Engliſh* Nation: Yet before him, were many other excellent Kings, and their Acts perhaps as worthy to bee knowne, if they could be knowne. But ſeeing after ages can know nothing of former times but what is Recorded by writing: It hath followed that as the firſt Writers were Poets: So the firſt writings have been Fictions, and nothing is delivered to Poſterity of the moſt ancient times, but very Fables: Such as is the ſtory of *Albina* (of whom they ſay, this Iſland was called *Albion*: though others ſay, *ab albis rupibus*, of the white cliffes) that ſhee ſhould be the eldeſt of the two and thirty daughters of *Dioclesian* King of *Syria*, (ſuch as never was) who being marryed to two and thirty Kings, in one night killed all their husbands: for which fact, they were put in a ſhippe, themſelves alone without any Pylot, ſo to try their adventure, and by chance arrived in this Iſland, of whom Gyants were begotten. And if you like not of this, then have you the ſtory of *Albion* the ſonne of *Neptune*, of whom the Iſland tooke its name. But when theſe are exploded, there followes another with great Atteſtation, and yet as very a Fable as theſe, namely the ſtory of the *Trojan Brute*, (of whom the Iſland they ſay, was called *Britaine*: though many other cauſes are given of the name:) as likewiſe the ſtory of *Brutes* coſin *Corinæus*, (of whom they ſay, the Country of *Cornwall* had its name, to whom it was given, for overcomming the Giant *Gogmagog*:) and that *Brute* having three ſonnes, *Lecrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*, he gave at his death to his eldeſt ſonne *Locrine*, all the land on this ſide *Humber*, and called it *Logria*, to his ſecond ſonne *Albanact*, all the land beyond *Humber*, of whom it was called *Albania*, (now *Scotland*:) and to his youngeſt ſonne *Camber*, all the land beyond the river of *Severne*, of whom it was called *Cambria*, (now *Wales*:) with other ſuch ſtuffe, which may pleaſe children, but not riper Judgements, and were firſt broached by *Geoffry* Arch-

deacon of *Monmouth*: for which all the Writers of his time cryed ſhame upon him; and yet can ſcarce keepe many at this day, from giving credit to his Fictions.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to ſome truth; yet that truth is delivered in ſuch ſlender draughts, and ſuch broken pieces, that very ſmall benefit can be gotten by the knowing it, and was not till the time of *Julius Cæſar*, a thouſand yeares after the Fable of *Brute*: at which time, the Iſland was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, as having no ſhipping, (which are indeed the true Wals of an Iſland) but onely certaine ſmall veſſels, made of boards and wicker. And as they had no ſhips, for defence without: So neither had they any Forts, for defence within: ſcarce any houſes but ſuch as were made of ſtakes and boughes of trees faſtned together; Neither was it yet come to be a Kingdome, but was Governed by a number of petty Rulers: So as *Kent* onely had in it (as *Cæſar* calleth them) foure Kings; *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*: which diviſion, as it made the *Britaines* the more eaſie to be conquered, ſo it made the *Romans* the longer in conquering. For if they had beene one united body, one or two battailes might have made a conqueſt of the whole, where being thus divided, there was need to be as many battailes as there were diviſions; So as it was many yeares, before the *Romanes* could conquer the whole Iſland; even from the time of *Julius Cæſar*, to the time of the Emperour *Domitian*; not much leſſe then two hundred yeares. It is true, after *Cæſars* firſt comming, the Iſland grew ſenſible of this defect of their diviſion, and thereupon by conſent of a great part, made choyce of *Caſsibelan*, King of the *Trinovants*, who had his ſeate at *Verulam*, to be Generall of their warres; which made indeed ſome little ſtoppe to the *Romanes* proceedings, but after the loſſe of a battaile or two, they fell againe into a relapſe of their former defect, and thought it better to ſecure every one his owne, by his owne meanes, then by a generall power, to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true: *Dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur.* Yet before the Country could bee wholly Conquered; at firſt by reaſon of the Nations valour, ſeeking to keepe themſelves free, and afterward by reaſon of the inſolency of the garriſon ſouldiers, that ſought to make them ſlaves, many great oppoſitions were made, amongſt which the moſt memorable was that of *Voadicia*, a certaine Queene of the Country, who having beene by the *Romane* ſouldiers herſelfe abuſed, and her daughters raviſhed, uſed meanes to levy an Army of ſix ſcore thouſand men, whom ſhe led herſelfe into the field, and ſet upon the *Romanes* in their chiefe townes, which were *London*, *Verulam*, and *Camalodunum* (now *Malden* in *Eſſex*;) of whom ſhe ſlew above ſeventy thouſand: but then in a ſecond battaile, had foureſcore thouſand of her owne Army ſlaine, after which defeate, for avoyding of ſlavery, ſhe poyſoned herſelfe.

This Iſland for a long time, was ſo much eſteemed of the *Romanes*, that their Emperors ſometimes came hither in perſon; as firſt the Emperor *Adrian*, in the yeare 124. who made a great wall of earth betweene *England* and *Scotland*, and having ſet the Country in order, returned. After him ſometime, *Severus* the Emperor in the yeare 212. came over into *Britaine* to repreſſe the Incurſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whom in a battaile neere *Torke*, he was wounded and thereof dyed, or as others ſay, he dyed of age and ſickneſſe. Afterward in the yeare 305. *Conſtantius* the Emperor came into *Britaine*, and ended his life at *Torke*, making that City famous for the death and buriall of two great Emperors; and yet more famous for the honor done to *Conſtantine* the Great, ſonne of *Conſtantius*, who in that City was firſt ſaluted Emperor. But notwithſtanding the great eſtimation the *Romanes* a long time made of this Iſland, yet at laſt, after five hundred yeares they had kept it in ſubjection, they voluntarily left it: the charge of keeping it, being greater, then the benefit; for to keepe it in ſubjection, they maintained no fewer than foureſcore thouſand ſouldiers in pay, and when warres grew amongſt themſelves at home, they could no longer ſpare ſo many abroad, but recalled them home: but then, though they left *Britaine*, yet they left not the *Britaines*, but carried them, at leaſt, a great part of them away with them; of whom the moſt were ſlaine in their ſervice, and the reſt planted in that part of *France*, which of them was afterward, and is to this

day

day called *Britaine*. And now one would thinke, the Iſland ſhould be in good caſe, being freed from them that kept them in ſubjection, but it proved to bee in worſe caſe being at liberty, then it was before in ſervitude, for being deprived of their ableſt men, and at the ſame time, their King *Lucius* happening to dye without iſſue, they were left as a few looſe ſticks without the bond of a Governour: which the *Picts* and *Scots* obſerving, thought now was the time to make the Country their owne, and thereupon made invaſions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the *Britaines* having none left of their Native Kings to ſucceed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head: they make choyce of *Vortigerne* Earle of *Cornwall*, one extracted from the *Britiſh* Line; and he, whether ſo adviſed by his Cabinet Counſellor, the Propheticall *Merlin*, or as finding his owne ſtrength too weake to make reſiſtance; implores firſt ayde of the *Romanes*, and they making anſwer, they had buſineſſe enough to do of their owne, and leaving them to themſelves, he then fled to the *Saxons* for ayde; a warlike people of *Germany*, and who had greater ſwarmes then their hives would well hold.

And here we may plainly ſee how dangerous a thing it is for a Nation, to call in ſtrangers to their ayd, and eſpecially in any great number; for though they come at firſt but mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their owne ſtrength, they ſoone grow Maſters, as here it proved with the *Saxons*.

But before we ſpeake further of the comming in of the *Saxons*, who were at that time Infidels, and brought with them their two Idols, *Woden* and *Frya*, (whereof two of our weeke dayes, *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, take their names;) it will be fit to ſay ſomething of the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in this Iſland. Firſt then, it is recorded, that in the yeare 63. what time *Arviragus* raigned here, *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* (who buried the body of Chriſt) came into this Iſland, and laid the foundation of the Chriſtian Faith in the Weſterne parts, at a place called then *Hvalon*, now *Glaſtenbury*; and that there came with him, *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*: and more then this, that *Simon Zelotes* one of the Apoſtles ſuffered martyrdome here in *Britaine*: and more then this, that both St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* came into this Iſland and Preached the Goſpell; all which and more to this purpoſe, is Recorded by Authors of good Account: though it be hard believing, *That perſons, and ſpecially women of ſo great age, as theſe muſt needes be at this time, ſhould take ſo long a journey*: But howſoever it was, certaine it is, that the doctrine of Chriſtianity was about this time planted in this Iſland, though it made afterwards but ſmall progreſſe, and that with ſome perſecution; as in which time, St. *Alban* ſuffered martyrdome at *Verulam*, and at *Liechfield* ſhortly after, no fewer then a thouſand. After this, in the yeare 180 what time *Lucius* was King of this Iſland, *Eleutherius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent *Faganus* and *Damianus* to him: upon whoſe preaching, the Temples of the Heatheniſh *Flamins* and *Arch-flamins* (one and thirty in number) were converted to ſo many Biſhops Sees; whereof *London*, *Yorke*, and *Caerleyn* (now St. *Davids*) were made the Metropolitans of the Province. And there is a Table remaining at this day, in the Pariſh Church of St. *Peter* on Cornhill *London*, which recordeth, that the Foundation thereof was laid by this King *Lucius*, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbiſhops See. In the yeare 359. a Councel was holden at *Ariminum* in *Italie*, where foure hundred Weſterne Biſhops were Aſſembled, whereof three went out of *Britaine*, and gave their voyces againſt the *Arian* Hereſie. After this, about the yeare 420. roſe up in this Iſland, one *Pelagius* a Monke, brought up in the Monaſtery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, who ſpread the poyſon of his Hereſie, firſt in this his Native Countrey, and afterward all the world over. And theſe had beene the chiefe paſſages in matters Eccleſiaſticall within this Iſland, when the *Saxons* were called in, about the yeare 450.

And now under the Conduct of two brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, came over nine thouſand *Saxons* with their wives and children, to aſſiſt the *Britaines* againſt the *Scots*, and were appointed the Iſle of *Thanet* to Inhabit. With which aſſiſtance the *Britaines* give their enemies battaile, and overcome them: So as they accounted the *Saxons* as Angels ſent from heaven, and then allowed them *Kent* alſo for their

Inhabiting. Not long after *Hengiſt* obtained of King *Vortigern* the property of ſo much ground, as he could encloſe with a Buls Hide: which cutting into thongs, hee there built the Caſtle, *Facti de nomine*, called Thong Caſtle. And now having built it he invites *Vortigern* to a Feaſt, where falling in love with *Rowena*, the beautifull daughter of *Hengiſt*, and marrying her, it put *Hengiſt* into ſuch a height of boldneſſe, that he began to aſpire, ſending for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to tranſplant himſelfe hither, and to make this Iſland his Inheritance: which the *Britiſh* Lords perceiving, and not able to weane their King from his new wife, and her father *Hengiſt*, they Depoſe him, and in his place ſet up his ſonne *Vortimer*, a true lover of his Country: who preſently in a pitcht battaile neere unto *Aylesford* in *Kent*, ſet upon the *Saxons*, where *Catigern* the brother of *Vortimer*, and *Horſa*, of *Hengiſt*, in ſingle fight hand to hand ſlew each other. In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him Erected, the ſtones whereof at this day are ſtanding in a great Plaine in the Pariſh of *Aylesford*, which inſtead of *Catigern*, is corruptly called *Kits-Cotyhouſe*. Another the like Monument was erected for *Horſa*, though now defaced; remembred onely by the Towne where it ſtood, called *Horſtead*. Three other battailes after this were fought betweene the *Britaines* and the *Saxons*: one at *Craford*; another at *Weppeds-fleete*; the third upon *Gelmore*: in which laſt, the *Britaines* got ſo great a victory, that the *Saxons* were cleane driven out of *Kent*, and in *Thanet* alſo not ſuffered alſo to reſt; ſo as ſhortly after, *Hengiſt* with his *Saxons* departed the Kingdome, as being now out of hope to make his Fortune in this Iſland. But while *Vortimer* was thus intentive for his Countries liberty, *Rowena* the former Kings wife, being daughter to *Hengiſt*, was as intentive to bring it into ſervitude; which knowing ſhe could not do as long as *Vortimer* lived; ſhe uſed meanes by poyſon, to take away his life, after he had beene King the ſpace of foure yeeres, and then by the witchcraft of faire words, ſo enchanted the *Britiſh* Nobility, that her husband *Vortigern* was againe eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome; which was no ſooner done, but *Hengiſt*, (relying upon his ſonne *Vortigerns* love) with a mighty Army attempts to returne againe into the Iſland, when being reſiſted, he makes a ſhew, as if hee deſired nothing but to fetch away his daughter *Rowena*, and to have a friendly conference for continuance of amity: which motion ſeeming reaſonable, a place and time of conference was appointed: the time upon the firſt of *May*; the place upon the Plaine of *Ambrii*, now called *Salisbury*; whither the plaine meaning *Britaines* came unarmed, according to agreement; but the fraudulent *Saxons* under their long Caſſocks had ſhort skeynes hidden, with which, upon a watch-word given, they ſet upon the *Britaines*, and of their unarmed Nobility ſlew three, ſome ſay five hundred, & took the King himſelfe priſoner, whom they would not releaſe, till they were put in poſſeſſion of theſe foure Counties, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*. Whereupon *Vortigern*, whether fearing a ſecond Depoſing, or whether ſo adviſed by his Cabinet Counſailour the Prophetticall *Merlin*, betooke him into *Wales*, and there built him a ſtrong Caſtle for his ſafeguard; while the *Saxons* comming daily in great ſwarmes into the Land, had at this time overrunne all; if *Aurelius Ambroſius* a *Romane* borne, but affected to the *Britiſh* Nation, had not landed at *Totnes* in *Devonſhire*, to whom reſorted great troopes of *Britaines*. His firſt expedition was againſt *Vortigern*, (as the firſt cauſe of the *Britaines* miſery) whoſe Caſtle he beſieged; and whether by wilde-fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Caſtle, and all that were in it were burnt to aſhes. To this *Ambroſius* is aſcribed the admirable Monument in *Wiltſhire*, now called *Stonehenge*, in the place where the *Britaines* had beene treacherouſly ſlaughtered and interred; and of whom the Towne of *Ambersbury* beares its name. After this he ſet upon the *Saxons*, and in many battailes diſcomfited them; till at laſt falling ſicke in the City of *Wincheſter*, a *Saxon*, in ſhew a *Britain*, and in habit a Phyſitian, was ſent unto him, who inſtead of Phyſick, miniſtred poyſon, whereof he died, in the yeare 497. after he had raigned two and thirty yeares.

After *Ambroſius*, ſucceeded *Uter*, (ſome ſay his brother, others, a *Britaine*) called *Pendragon*, of his Royall Banner borne ever before him; wherein was portrayed a

Dragon with a golden Head, as in our *English* Camps, it is at this day borne for the Imperiall ſtandard. And he alſo in many battailes diſcomfited the *Saxons*, till after eighteene yeares Raigne he came to his end by treachery, dying by poyſon put into a Well, whereof he uſually dranke, in the yeare 515.

After him ſucceeded his ſonne *Arthur*, begotten of the faire Lady *Igren*, wife of the Duke of *Cornwall*, to whoſe bed the Art of *Merlin* brought him in the likeneſſe of her husband: and hee in twelve ſet battailes diſcomfited the *Saxons*, but in one moſt memorable in which girding himſelfe with his ſword called *Callibourne*, he flew upon his Enemies, and with his owne hand ſlew eight hundred of them; which is but one of his wonderfull deedes, whereof there are ſo many reported, that hee might well be reckoned amongſt the Fabulous, if there were not now true to give them credit. Amongſt other his Acts, he Inſtituted the Order of Knights of the Round Table, to the end there might be no queſtion about Precedence, and to teach Heroicall minds, not to ſtand upon place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great valour, was at laſt in a battaile wounded, whereof he died, in the yeare 542. after he had raigned ſix and twenty yeares.

After King *Arthur* ſucceeded his coſin *Conſtantine*, & after his three yeares raigne, *Aurelius Conanus* the Nephew of King *Arthur*, whoſe Raigne is ſo uncertaine, that ſome ſay, he raigned onely two, ſome, three yeares, ſome againe thirty, and ſome three and thirty. After *Conanus* ſucceeded *Vortiporus*, who after many victories againſt the *Saxons*, and foure yeares Raigne, died. After whom ſucceeded *Malgo Conanus*, and Raigned ſix yeares. After him *Careticus*, who ſetting upon the *Saxons* and beaten, fled into the Towne of *Chichester*, whereupon the *Saxons* catching certaine Sparrowes and faſtning fire to their feete, let them fly into the Towne, where lighting upon ſtraw, and other matter apt to take fire, the whole City in ſhort ſpace was burnt; and thereupon *Careticus* flying, ſecured himſelfe amongſt the Mountaines of *Wales*, where he dyed, after he had unproſperouſly Raigned three yeares: and from that time forth, the *Britaines* loſt their whole Kingdome in the Eaſt part of the Iſland, and were confined in the Weſt by the rivers *Severne* and *Dee*. After *Careticus* ſucceeded *Cadwan*, who Raigned two and twenty yeares. After him his ſonne *Cadwallo*, who Raigned eight and forty yeares, and then died; whoſe body was buried in St. *Martins* Church neere *Ludgate*, and his Image of braſſe placed upon the ſame gate, for a terrour to the *Saxons*. In his time, the doctrine of *Mahomet* began to ſpread it ſelfe all the Eaſterne world over. After *Cadwallo* ſucceeded his ſonne *Cadwalladar*; in whoſe time ſo great a Famine, and afterward Mortality hapned, continuing eleven yeares, that the Land became in a manner deſolate: in ſo much, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forſake their native Country, and *Cadwalladar* himſelfe went to his couſin *Alan* King of little *Britaine* in *France*. At which time the *Saxons* taking advantage of his abſence, came over in ſwarmes, and diſpoſſeſſed the forlorne *Britaines* of all they had, and divided the Land amongſt themſelves. Whereupon *Cadwalladar*, obtaining aſſiſtance of his couſin *Alan*, was comming over to reſtraine their inſolencies; when making prayers to God for good ſucceſſe, an Angell appeared to him, or at leaſt to his ſeeming hee heard a voyce, that forbad him the enterpriſe, declaring that it was not Gods will, the *Britaines* ſhould rule this Land any longer, and therefore bade him hie him to *Rome*, and receive of Pope *Sergius* the habit of Religion, wherein he ſhould die and reſt in peace. Which accordingly he did: and in him ended the blood of the *Britiſh* Kings; in the yeare 689. So as *Britaine* now, was no longer *Britaine*, but a Colony of the *Saxons*.

And now is time to ſpeake of the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*; ſo much ſpoken of, by all Writers, and to ſhew by what degrees the *Britaines* loſt, and the *Saxons* got the whole poſſeſſion of this Iſland: for this Heptarchie or diviſion of this Iſland into ſeven Kingdomes, came not in all at once, nor yet in an equall partition, but ſome good diſtance of time, one after another, and as the Invadour had ſtrength to expell the Natives.

The first Kingdome being of Kent.

THe first Kingdome of the *Saxons* began by *Hengist*, in the yeare 455. containing all *Kent*, and continued 372. yeares, during the raignes of seventeene Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, shall be remembred, and for the rest, it will be no losse to passe them over in silence. Of these seventeene Kings, *Ethelbert* being the fifth, was the first *Saxon* Christian King of this Island, converted by *Austin* the Monke, whom Pope *Gregory* sent hither to that purpose, with forty others, in the yeare 596. to whom King *Ethelbert* gave his chiefe City of *Canterbury*, and his owne Royall Palace there, made since the Cathedrall of that See; withdrawing himselfe to *Reculver* in the Isle of *Thanet*, where he erected a Palace for himselfe and his successors. He gave him also an old Temple, standing without the East wall of the City, which he honoured with the name of St. *Pancras*, and then added a Monastery to it, and Dedicated it to St. *Peter* and *Paul*, appointing it to be the place for the *Kentish* Kings Sepulchers. But in regard of *Austin* the procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were soone forgotten, and it was, and is to this day, called St. *Austines*: which Abbey St. *Austin* enriched with divers Reliques which he brought with him from *Rome*, amongst which was a part of Christs seamelesse Coate, and of *Aarons* Rodde. This King after his owne conversion, converted also *Sebert* King of the East *Angles*, and assisted him in the building of the Cathedrall Church of St. *Paul London*, as also the Church of St. *Peter*, on the West of *London*, then called *Thorny*: and himselfe at *Rochester* built the Cathedrall Church there, which he Dedicated to the Apostle St. *Andrew*; and dying, when he had Raigned six and fifty yeares, was buried at *Canterbury*. And thus by this first *Saxon* Kingdome, was all *Kent* lopped off from the *Britaines* Dominion; and this was their first impairing, and this happened in the Raigne of *Ambrosius* before spoken of. The sixth King of *Kent* was *Ethelbald*, who at first an Apostata, was afterwards converted, and built a Chappell within the Monastery of St. *Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*. The seventh King was *Ercombert*, a vertuous and religious Prince, who first commanded the observing of Lent; and in his daies, the Archbishop *Honorius* divided *Kent* into Parishes. The eighth King was *Egbert*, who obtained the kingdome by murthering his Nephews: whose sister the Lady *Dompnena*, founded the Abbey of *Minster* in *Kent*. The eleventh King was *Withred*, who founded the Priory of St. *Merton* at *Dover*. The last was *Baldred*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, left *Kent* a Province to that Kingdome, in the yeare 827.

The second Kingdome being of the South Saxons.

THe second Kingdome of the Heptarchie, was of the South *Saxons*, and began by *Ella*, in the yeare 488. containing *Sussex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113 yeares, during the raigne of five Kings onely, of whom *Cissa* being the second founded the City of *Chichester*, and raigned as some say threescore and sixteene yeares. And then *Berthan* being the last King, was overcome by *Ine* King of the West *Saxons*, and his Country became a Province to that Kingdome, in the yeare 601. and thus as *Kent* before, so now *Sussex* and *Surrey* were lopped off from the *Britaines* Dominion: and this was a second impairing, which also happened in the Raigne of the *British* King *Ambrosius*.

The

The third Kingdome being of the West Saxons.

THe third Kingdome of the Heptarchie, was of the West *Saxons*, and began by *Cerdic*, in the yeare 519. containing *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkeshire*, and continued 561. yeares, during the Raignes of nineteene Kings, of whom this *Cerdic* was the first: in whose time, *Porth* a *Saxon* landed in the West, at a place from him called afterward *Portesmouth*, and ayded *Cerdic* in his conquest. And this happened in the Raigne of King *Arthur*: and as *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey* before, so now these seven other shires were lopped off from the *Britaines* Dominion: and this was a third impairing. The sixth King of the West *Saxons* was *Kingills*, who was the first Christian King of this kingdome, converted by *Berynus* an *Italian* Divine, to whom hee gave the City of *Dorchester*, neere to *Oxford*, who therein erected his Episcopall See. The seventh King was *Kenwald*, who at first an Apostata was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedrall of *Winchester*, and the Abbey of *Maunesbery*, whose wife *Segburg* also built a house of devotion in the Isse of *Sheppey*, wherein herselfe became a Nunne, and was afterward elected Abbesse of *Ely*. The eleventh King was *Ine*, who ordained many good lawes, which are yet extant in the *Saxon* tongue, and are translated into Latin, by the learned Master *William Lambert*. This King built a Colledge at *Wells* bearing the name of St. *Andrews*, which afterward King *Kenulph* made an Episcopall See. He also in most stately manner new built the Abbey of *Glastenbery*; and out of his devotion to the See of *Rome*, he injoyned every one of his Subjects, that possessed in his house of any one kinde of goods to the value of nineteene pence, to pay yearely upon Lammas day, one penny to the Pope; which at first was contributed under the name of the Kings Almes, but afterward was paid by the name of *Peter* pence. At last hee went to *Rome*, and there tooke upon him the habit of Religion, and therein died. His wife also became a veyled Nunne, and afterward was made Abbesse of *Barking* neere *London*. The thirteenth King was *Cuthred*, who first permitted the bodies of the dead to be buried within the walls of their Cities, which before were used to bee buried in the fields. The foureteenth was *Sigebert*, who for his cruelty and exactions, was by his subjects forced to fly into the woods to hide himselfe, where by a swinherd hee was slaine. The fifteenth was *Kenwolph*, who founded the Cathedrall Church of St. *Andrews* at *Wells*, and was afterward slaine by *Kynoard*, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was *Brithrick*, whose Queene *Ethelburg*, having prepared a poyson for another, the King chanced to tast it, and thereof died. In feare of which chance the Queene fled into *France*; where *Charles* the then King for her excellent beauty, offered her the choyce of himselfe or his sonne in marriage: but she out of her lustfull humour choosing the son, was thereupon debard of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her life in great misery. For her sake the West *Saxons* ordained a Law, that no Kings wife should hereafter have the Title or Majesty of a Queene, which for many yeares after was severely executed.

The fourth Kingdome being of the East Saxons.

THe fourth Kingdom of the Heptarchy was of the East *Saxons*, & began by *Erchenwyn*, in the yeare 527. containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281 years, during the Raignes of foureteene Kings; of whom the third was *Sebert*, who first built the Cathedrall of St. *Paul London*, which had formerly beene the Temple of *Diana*: He likewise Founded the Church of St. *Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorny*, where some time stood the Temple of *Apolla*, which being overthrowne by an Earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the service of God; & that againe being decayed, this King restored to a greater beauty, & with his

his Queene *Athelgarda* was there buried. The ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty yeares peaceable Raigne relinquished the Crowne, & tooke upon him a Religious habit, in the Monastery of St. *Paul London*, where dying, his body was Intumbed in a Coffin of gray Marble, the cover coaped, and as yet standeth in the North wall of the Chancell of the same Church. The twelveth was *Offa*, famous for the beauty of his countenance, who both enlarged with buildings, and enriched with lands the Church of *Westminster*, and after eight yeares Raigne went to *Rome*, and was there shorne a Monke, and in that habit died. The fourteenth was *Suthred*, whom *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons* subdued, and made his Kingdome a Province to his owne. And thus besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the *Britaines* Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

The fifth Kingdome being of Northumberland.

THe fifth Kingdome was of *Northumberland*, and began by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the yeare 547. Containing *Yorkeshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 379. yeares, during the Raignes of three and twenty Kings, of whom nothing is recorded of these two first, but that they builded the Castle of *Bamburg*. The seventh King was *Ethelfryd*, who at *Caerlegion* (now *Westchester*) made a slaughter of twelve hundred Christian Monkes, and was himselfe afterward slaine, by *Redwald* King of the East *Angles*. The thirteenth King was *Osred*, whose wife *Cutburga*, out of a loathing wearinesse of wedlocke, sued out a divorce from her husband, and built a Nunnery at *Winburne* in *Dorsetshire*, where in a Religious habit she ended her life. The sixteenth King was *Cednulph*, who after eight yeares Raigne, left his Royall robes, and put on the habit of a Monke, in the Isle of *Lindesfern* or *Holy Island*. Unto this King the Venerable *Bede*, a *Saxon* and a Priest in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Werimouth* neere to *Durham*, Dedicated his worke of the *English* History, which hee continued from the first entrance of the *Saxons* into this Island, to the yeare 731. containing after his owne account 285. yeares. The seventeenth King was *Egbert*, who after twenty yeares Raigne forsooke the world also, and shore himselfe a Monke; whose brother being Archbishop of *Yorke*, erected a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of learned bookes. The last King was *Oswald*, after whom this Kingdome yeelded to the protection of *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, who was now in the yeare 926. become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of this fifth Kingdome, were the six *Northerne* shires lopped off from the *Britaines* Dominion, and this was a fifth impairing.

The sixth Kingdome being of Mercia.

THe sixth Kingdome was of *Mercia*, and began in *Crida*, in the yeare 522. containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincolne*, *Nottingham*, *Warwickshire*, *Leycester*, *Northampton*, *Derbyshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Glostershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Hartfordshire*, and continued 202. yeares, during the Raignes of twenty Kings; eight of whom in a continued succession kept the Imperiall Crowne of the Heptarchie: for though other Raigned as Kings in their owne Territories, yet among them ever one was the supreme head of the rest, and was called King of *Engle-lond*, till *Egbert* the West *Saxon* brought them all into one. The fifth of these Kings of *Mercia* was *Penda*, who was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*, and laid the Foundation of a faire Church at *Medeshamstead*, now called *Peterborough*. The seventh King was *Ethelred*, who Raigned thirty yeares, and then gave over the Crowne, and became a Monke in the Monastery of *Bradney* in *Lincolnshire*, where in the yeare 716. he died. The eighth King was *Kenred*,

red, who after foure yeares raigne went to *Rome*, where he tooke upon him the habit of a Monke, and after other foure yeares dyed. The tenth King was *Ethelbald*, who at first was given to much lasciviousnesse of life, but being reprehended for it by *Boniface* Archbishop of *Ments*, was so farre converted that he Founded the Monastery of *Crowland*, driving in mighty piles of Oake into that Marish ground, where he laid a great and goodly building of stone, and after two and forty years Raigne was slaine in a battaile by *Cuthred* King of the West *Saxons*. The eleventh King was *Offa*, who greatly enlarged his Dominions, raigned nine and thirty yeares, and Founded the Monastery of St. *Albons*. The thirteenth King was *Kenwolph*, who raigned two and twenty yeares, and Founded the Monastery of *Winchcombe* in the County of *Glocester*, where his body was interred. The eighteenth King was *Withlafe*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, held his Country afterward as his substitute and Tributary, acknowledging *Egbert* as now the sole Monarch of this Island. And by erection of this *Mercian* Kingdome, were seventeene shires more lopped off from the *Britaines* Dominion, and was a sixth and a great impairing, so as now they were driven into a narrow roome.

The seventh Kingdome being of the East Angles.

THe seventh Kingdome was of the East *Angles*, and began by *Uffa*, in the yeare 575. containing *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, and continued 353. yeares, during the raigne of fifteene Kings, of whom the fifth was *Sigebert*, who first brought the light of the Gospell into his Dominions, and built a Schoole for educarion of youth, but whether at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, is left a *Quere*; and after three yeares Raigne shore himselfe a Monke in the Abbey of *Cumbreburg*, which himselfe had built: but being afterward violently drawne from thence by his Subjects the East *Angles*, to resist the *Mercian* King *Penda*, and refusing to use any other weapon but onely a white wand, was in a battaile by him slaine. The seventh King was *Anna*, who after thirteene yeares raigne, was also slaine by *Penda* the *Mercian* King. This King *Anna* was memorable chiefly for the holinesse of his children, of whom his sonne *Erkenwald* was Bishop of *London*, and built the Abbey of *Barking* neere *London*. His eldest daughter *Etheldrid* was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin still, and at last became a Nunne, and is remembred to posterity by the name of St. *Audrie*. His second daughter named *Sexburg*, his third named *Ethelburg*, his fourth (a Naturall daughter) named *Withburg*: all entred into Monasteries, and are Canonized all for Saints. The foureteenth King was *Ethelbert*, a learned and religious Prince, who being invited by *Offa* the *Mercian* King to marry *Elfrid* his daughter, came for that purpose to *Offa's* Court, then seated at *Sutton Walleys* in the County of *Hereford*, and there by him was cruelly murthered. In whose memoriall notwithstanding, hee afterward built a faire Church at *Hereford*, the Cathedrall of that See, as though he could expiate a murther of the living, by a Monument to the dead, and were not rather a Monument of his owne impiety. The fifteenth King was *Edmund*, who assaulted by the *Danes* for his possessions, was more assaulted for his profession: for continuing constant in his Christian Faith, those Pagans first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whippes, and lastly bound him to a stake, and with their arrowes shot him to death; whose body was buried at the Towne where *Sigebert* the East *Anglian* King, one of his Predecessors, had built a Church, and where afterward (in honour of him) was built another most spatious, of a wonderfull frame of Timber, and the name of the Towne upon the occasion of his buriall there, called to this day St. *Edmunds bury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Danish* King burnt to ashes: but when his sonne *Canutus* had gotten possession of the *English* Crowne, terrified with a Vision of the seeming St. *Edmund*, in a religious devotion to expiate his Fathers sacriledge, hee built it anew most sumptuously, and offered his owne Crowne upon the Martyrs Tombe. After the death of this *Edmund*, the East *Angles* Country was possest by the *Danes*, and so con-

continued the ſpace of fifty yeares, untill that *Edmund* ſurnamed the Elder, expelled thoſe *Danes*, and made that Kingdome a Province to the Weſt *Saxons*.

By that which hath beene ſaid, it plainely appeares, by what degrees the *Britaines* loſt, and the *Saxons* got the whole poſſeſſion of this Iſland. For after that *Vortigern* in the yeare 455. had called in the *Saxons*, every *Britaine* King that ſucceeded him, loſt ſome part or other of it to the *Saxons*, till at laſt in the yeare 689. *Cadwallader* the laſt *Britaine* King loſt all; and then the *Saxon* Kings ſtriving amongſt themſelves for ſoveraignty, they ſtill gained one upon another, till at laſt in the yeare 818 *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons* reduced them all under his ſubjection, and then cauſed all the South of the Iſland to bee called *England*, according to the *Angles* of whom himſelfe came; after whom they were no longer properly called *Saxon* Kings, but Kings of *England*, and ſo continued till the *Danes*, in the yeare 1017. made an interruption, of whoſe ſucceſſion now comes the time to ſpeake.

Of the Saxons *that Raigned ſole Kings of this Iſland, and may properly be called* Engliſh *Kings.*

EGbert the eighteenth King of the Weſt *Saxons*, is now become the firſt of the Kings of *England*, in whoſe time the *Danes* began firſt to infeſt the Land, as thinking they might do as much againſt the *Saxons*, as the *Saxons* had done againſt the *Britaines*; but though they made divers Invaſions, and did great ſpoyle, yet they were ſtill repelled. This King raigned ſix and thirty yeares, and dying in the yeare 836. was buried at *Wincheſter*. Of his iſſue, his daughter *Edith* was made Governeſſe of a Monaſtery of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her brother had given her, called *Polleſworth*, ſituate in *Arden*, in the North part of the County of *Warwicke*, where ſhee died and was buried, and the place in memory of her called St *Edyths* of *Polleſworth*.

To *Egbert* ſucceeded his ſonne *Ethelwolph*, who in his youth was ſo addicted to a Religious life, that he was firſt made Deacon, and after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but his father dying, he was intreated by his people to take upon him the Crowne, and by Pope *Gregory* the fourth, was to that end abſolved of his Vow. His raigne was infeſted with many and great Invaſions of the *Danes*, to whom notwithſtanding hee gave incredible overthrowes. In the time of his Raigne, remembring his former Religious profeſſion, he ordained that riches and lands due to holy Church, ſhould be free from all Tribute or Regall ſervices, and in great devotion went himſelfe to *Rome*, where he lived a yeare, confirmed the grant of *Peter* pence, and agreed beſide to pay yearely to *Rome* three hundred Markes. Returning home through *France*, and being a Widower, he there marryed *Judith*, the beautifull daughter of *Charles* the Bald then Emperor, in honour of whom, in his owne Court, hee ever placed her in a chaire of Eſtate, with all other Majeſticall complements of a Queene, contrary to the Law of the Weſt *Saxons* formerly made, which ſo much diſpleaſed his Lords, that for it they were ready to Depoſe him; but howſoever hee lived not long after, having Raigned one and twenty yeares. His yongeſt ſonne *Neoto*, was much addicted to learning, and was one of the firſt Divinity Readers in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and Founded a Monaſtery in *Cornwall*, which of him was called *Neoteſtock*, and being dead his body was Interred in the County of *Huntington*, at a place then called *Arnulphsbury*, and afterward, in regard of his Interment, St. *Neotes*, and now St. *Needes*. This King was famous, for having foure ſons, who all of them were Kings of this Land ſucceſſively.

Firſt after him Raigned his eldeſt ſonne *Ethelbald*, in the yeare 857. who to his eternall ſhame, tooke to wife *Judith* his fathers widdow, Raigned but two yeares and dying, was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, at that time the Epiſcopal See. From this *Judith*, married afterward to the Earle of *Flanders*, after divers deſcents, came *Maude* the wife of *William* the Conqueror, from whom are deſcended all our Kings ever ſince.

Next to the eldeſt Raigned the ſecond ſonne *Ethelbert*, all whoſe Raigne, which was onely five yeares, was perpetually diſquieted with Invaſions of the *Danes*, which yet were at laſt repelled. He died in the yeare 866. and was buried at *Shirborne* in *Dorſetſhire*.

Next to the ſecond Raigned his third ſonne *Ethelred*, whoſe Raigne was more diſquieted with the *Danes* then any others before: for they Invading the Land, under the leading of *Hungar*, and *Hubba*, ſpoyled all the Country as they went, not ſparing Religious places; amongſt other, the goodly Monaſteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, they laid levell with the ground: the Monkes and Nunnes they murthered or raviſhed; at which time a rare example of Chaſtity and Fortitude was ſeene in the Nunnes of *Coldingham*. For to avoyd the barbarous pollutions of theſe Pagans, they deformed themſelves by cutting off their upper lips and noſes. Nine battailes in one yeare this King fought with the *Danes*, in moſt of them victorious; but at laſt received a wound whereof he died, and was buried in the Church at *Winborne* in *Dorſetſhire*.

Next to the third Raigned his fourth ſon *Alfred*, in whoſe time came over greater ſwarmes of *Danes* then ever before, and had now got footing in the North, the Weſt, & South parts of this Iſland, leaving this King nothing of all his great Monarchy, but only *Somerſet*, *Hampton*, and *Wiltſhire*; and not theſe neither altogether free, ſo as he was forced ſometimes to flie into the Fennes and Mariſh grounds to ſecure himſelfe, where he lived by Fiſhing and Fowling, and hunting of wilde beaſts, till at laſt learning policy from adverſity, and gathering courage from miſery, hee ventured in the habit of a common Minſtrell, to enter the *Danes* Campe; where having viewed the manner of their Encamping, and obſerved their ſecurity, he returned backe, ſhewing his Lords in what condition he found them: whereupon ſetting upon them at unawares, he not onely made of them a great ſlaughter, but brought upon them a greater terrour: for preſently upon this the *Danes* ſue for Peace, and deliver Hoſtages for performance of theſe Conditions; that their King ſhould receive Baptiſme, and their great Army depart quietly out of the Land. But though upon this agreement they departed for the preſent into *France*, yet the yeare following they returned with greater Forces, forraging all parts of the Countrey in moſt cruell manner, though ſtill encountred by this Valorous Prince, till hee ended his life in the yeare 901. after he had Raigned nine and twenty yeares. The vertues of this King, if they were not incredible, they were at leaſt admirable, whereof theſe may be inſtances. The day and night containing foure and twenty houres, he deſigned equally to three ſpeciall uſes, obſerving them by the burning of a Taper ſet in his Chappell; (there being at that time, no other way of diſtinguiſhing them) Eight houres he ſpent in Contemplation, Reading and Prayers: Eight in proviſion for himſelfe, his Health and Recreation: and the other eight in the Affaires of the Common-wealth and State. His Kingdome likewiſe he divided into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings; ordaining that no man might remove out of his Hundred without ſecurity: by which courſe he ſo ſuppreſſed Theeves and Robbers, which had formerly encreaſed by the long warres, that it is ſaid a boy or girle might openly carry a bag of gold or ſilver, and carry it ſafely all the Country over. Beſides his great Piety, he was alſo learned; and as farre as it may be a commendation in a Prince, a skilfull Muſitian and an excellent Poet. All former Lawes hee cauſed to be ſurvayed, and made choyce of the beſt, which hee tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue; as allſothe Paſtorall of St. *Gregorie*, the Hiſtory of *Bede*, and *Boetius* his conſolation of Philoſophie; the Pſalmes of *David* likewiſe he began to tranſlate, but died before he could finiſh it. And ſo great a love he had to learning, that he made a Law, that all Freemen of the Kingdome, poſſeſſing two Hides of land, ſhould bring up their ſonnes in learning, till they were fifteene yeares of age at leaſt, that ſo they might be trained to know God, to be men of underſtanding, and to live happily. His buildings were many, both for Gods ſervice and for other publike uſe: as at *Edlingſey* a Monaſtery, at *Winchester* a new Minſter, and at *Shafteſbery* a houſe of Nunnes; whereof he made his daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbeſſe; but his

Foundation of the Universitie of *Oxford*, exceeded all the rest: which he began in the yeare 895. and to furnish it with able Scholars, drew thither out of *France*, *Grimbaldus* and *Scotus*, and out of *Wales*, *Asser*, (who wrote his life) whose Lectures he honoured often with his owne presence. And for a stocke of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdome; and had all the particulars of his Estate, registred in a Booke; which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. He Raigned seven and twenty yeares, and dying was buryed in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Peter* at *Winchester*, though removed afterward, into the Church of the new Monastery, without the North-gate of the City called *Hyde*. His Wife *Elsewith*, Founded a Monastery of Nunnes at *Winchester*, and was there buryed. Their second daughter *Ethelgeda*, tooke upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Fathers appointment was made a Nunne of *Shaftesbery*, in the County of *Dorset*, in the Monastery founded there by him, who is also accounted the Founder of the Towne it selfe.

King *Alfred* being deceased, his sonne *Edward* (called *Edward* the Elder) succeeded: not so learned as his Father; but in Valour his Equall, and Superiour in Fortune. For, first, he overcame his Cousin *Ethelwald*, who aspired to the Crowne; then the *Danes*, whose chiefe leader he slew in battaile; lastly the *Welsh*, but these last, more by humility shewed to their Prince *Leolyn*, then by force of Armes. But yet he must not have all the glory of his time; some must be imparted to his sister *Elsiede*; who being marryed to *Ethelred* Earle of *Mercia*, had by him a daughter, but with so grievous paines in her travaile, that ever after she refused the nuptiall bed of her Husband, saying, it was a foolish pleasure, that brought with it so excessive paines. And thereupon after her husbands death, made choyce to follow the warres; assisting her brother both against the *Welsh*, and against the *Danes*, whom she brought to be at her disposing. Dying she was buryed at *Glocester*, in the Monastery of Saint *Peter*, which her Husband and her selfe had built. *King Edward* himselfe, after foure and twenty yeares Raigne, deceased at *Faringdon* in *Barkshire*, in the yeare 924. and was buryed in the new Monastery of *Winchester*, which his Father began, and himselfe wholly finished: having had by his three Wives, six Sonnes and nine Daughters, of whom his eldest sonne *Athelstan* succeeded him in the kingdome, whom his Grandfather King *Alfred* had with his owne hands Knighted, in an extraordinary manner; putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a girdle wrought with Pearle. His second sonne *Elfred*, he so loved, that he caused him to be Crowned King with himselfe, which yet he enjoyed but a short time, being taken away by death. His third sonne *Elsward*, presently upon his Fathers death, dyed himselfe also. His fourth son *Edwyn*, was by his brother *Athelstan*, out of jealousie of state, put into a little Pinnace, without either Tackle or Oares, accompanyed onely with one Page; with griefe whereof, the young Prince leaped into the Sea and drowned himselfe. His fifth, and sixth sonnes, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, came in succession to be Kings of *England*. Of his Daughters, the eldest *Edytha*, was marryed to *Sithricke* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, and he deceasing, she entred into a Monastery, which she began at *Tamworth* in *Warwickshire*, and there dyed. His second daughter *Elstede*, tooke upon her the vow of Virginity, in the Monastery of *Ramsey*, in the County of *Southhampton*, where she dyed and was interred. His third daughter *Eguina*, was first marryed to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*, and after his decease, to *Herbert*, Earle of *Vermandois*. His fourth daughter *Ethelhild*, became a Nunne in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Towne, giving name to the whole County of *Wiltshire*, and anciently called *Ellandon*. That we may see in those first times of Religion, when there was least knowledge, there was most devotion. His fifth daughter *Edhold*, was marryed to *Hugh*, surnamed the Great, Earle of *Paris*, and Constable of *France*. And *Edgith* his sixth daughter, to *Otho*, the Emperour of the West, surnamed the Great. His seventh daughter *Elgina*, was marryed to a Duke of *Italy*. His ninth *Edgina*, to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitaine* in *France*.

After the death of King *Edward*, his eldeſt ſonne *Athelſtan* ſucceeded, and was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, by *Athelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the yeare 924. The beginning of whoſe Raigne, was moleſted with the Treaſon of one *Elfrid* a Nobleman, who being apprehended and ſent to *Rome* to purge himſelfe, and there denying the Act upon his Oath, fell ſuddenly downe, and within three dayes dyed, to the eternall terrour of all perjured perſons. Preſently upon this, another dyſaſter befell King *Athelſtan*, for having cauſed his brother *Edwyns* death, (as before is ſhewed) chiefly procured by his Cupbearers ſuggeſtions: It hapned not long after, that his Cupbearer, in his ſervice at a Feſtivall, ſtumbling with one foote, and recovering himſelfe with the other, and ſaying merrily, *See how one brother helpes another*; His words put the King in remembrance of his Brother, whoſe death he had cauſed, and with remorſe thereof, not onely cauſed his Cup-bearer to be put to death, but did alſo ſeven yeares penance: and built the two Monaſteries of *Middleton*, and *Michelneſſe*, in the County of *Dorſet*, in expiation of his offence. This King ordained many good Lawes, and thoſe to binde as well the Clergy, as the Laity; amongſt which, one was the Attachment of Felons, that ſtole above twelve pence, and were above twelve yeares old. Of this King, there is one Act related, that may ſeeme ridiculous; another that may ſeeme miraculous; For what more ridiculous, then that, going to viſit the Tombe of Saint *John* of *Beuerley*, and having nothing elſe of worth to offer, he offered his knife in devotion to the Saint? Yet the miraculous is more apparent: For going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good ſucceſſe, he prayed withall, that God would ſhew ſome ſigne of his rightfull cauſe, and thereupon ſtriking with his ſword, he ſtrucke it an ell deepe into a hard ſtone, which ſtood ſo cloven a long time after. But whether this be true or no, this certainly is true, that he obtained many great victories againſt the *Danes*, againſt the *Scots*, againſt the *Iriſh*, and againſt the *Welſh*, whoſe Princes he brought to be his Tributaries, entring Covenant at *Hereford*, to pay him yearely twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of ſilver, and five and twenty hundred head of Cattell, beſides a certaine number of Hawkes and Hounds. Laſtly, he joyned *Northumberland* to the reſt of his Monarchy, and enlarged his Dominions beyond any of his Predeceſſours, which made all Neighbouring Princes to ſeeke his friendſhip, and to gratify him with rare preſents, as *Hugh* King of *France* ſent him the ſword of *Conſtantine* the Great, in the hilt whereof, was one of the nayles that faſtned Chriſt to his Croſſe; He ſent him alſo the ſpeare of *Charles* the Great, reputed to be the ſame that pierced Chriſts ſide; as alſo part of the Croſſe whereon Chriſt ſuffered, and a piece of the Thorny Crowne put upon his head. Likewiſe *Otho* the Emperour, who had marryed his ſiſter, ſent him a veſſell of pretious ſtones, artificially made, wherein were ſeene Landskips with Vines, Corne, and Men, all of them ſeeming ſo artificially to move, as if they were growing, and alive. Likewiſe the King of *Norway* ſent him a goodly Ship, with a gilt Sterne, purple ſayles, and the decke garniſhed all with gold. Of theſe accounted Holy Reliques, King *Athelſtan* gave part to the Abbey of Saint *Swithin* in *Wincheſter*, and the reſt to the Monaſtery of *Mamesbury*, whereof *Adelm* was the Founder, and his Tutelar Saint. He new built the Monaſteries of *Wilton*, *Michelneſſe*, and *Middleton*, Founded Saint *Germans* in *Cornwall*, Saint *Petrocus* at *Bodmyn*, and the Priory of *Pilton*; new walled and beautifyed the City of *Exceter*, and enriched either with Jewels or Lands, every ſpeciall Abbey of the Land. But the chiefeſt of his workes for the ſervice of God, and good of his Subjects, was the Tranſlation of the Bible into the *Saxon* Tongue, which was then the Mother tongue of the Land. He Raigned fifteene yeares, Dyed at *Gloceſter*, and was buryed at *Mameſbery*, in the yeare 940. having never beene marryed.

After the death of *Athelſtan*, his brother *Edmund*, the fifth ſonne of his Father ſucceeded; and was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*; but no ſooner was the Crowne ſet upon his head, but the *Danes* were upon his backe, and in *Northumberland* made Inſurrections, whom yet he not onely repreſſed in that part, but tooke from

from them the Townes of *Lincolne*, *Leyceſter*, *Darby*, *Stafford* and *Nottingham*; compelling them withall to receive Baptiſme, and to become his Subjects, ſo as the Country was wholly his as farre as *Humber*. *Cumberland* alſo, which had beene an entire Kingdome of it ſelfe, and was now ayded by *Leolyn* King of *South-wales*, he utterly waſted, and gave it to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, to hold of him by Fealty. After his returning home, he ſet himſelfe to ordaine Lawes for the good of his People; which Maſter *Lambert* hath ſince tranſlated into Latine. But after all his noble Acts both in Warre and Peace, he came at laſt to a lamentable end; for at his Manour of *Pucklekerks*, in the County of *Gloceſter*, interpoſing himſelfe to part a fray betweene two of his ſervants, he was thruſt through the body, and ſo wounded that he dyed, and was buryed at *Glaſtenbury*, after he had Raigned five yeares and ſeven moneths, leaving behinde him two young Sonnes, *Edwyn*, and *Edgar*.

King *Edmund* dying, his brother *Edred*, in the minority of his Nephewes, was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, in the yeare 946. Not as Protector; (It ſeemes that kinde of Authority was not yet come in uſe) but as King himſelfe, though with purpoſe to reſigne, when the right Heire ſhould come of age, which at this time needed not, for while the right Heire was ſcarce yet fourteene yeares old, he reſigned to him the Kingdome, by reſigning his life to Nature, after he had twice repreſſed the rebelling *Northumbrians*, and twice forgiven their rebelling, which yet was not a ſimple Rebellion; for they had ſent for *Anlafe* the *Dane* out of *Ireland*, and made him their King; which place for foure yeares he held; and then weary of his government, they thruſt him out and take one *Hericus* to be their King, whom not long after they put downe alſo; and then partly allured by the lenity of King *Edred*; and partly forced by his Armes; they ſubmit themſelves to him, and aske forgiveneſſe; to whom he, as a mercifull Prince, grants an Act of Oblivion, and received them againe into protection. This Prince was ſo devout and humble, that he ſubmitted his body to be chaſtiſed at the will of *Dunſtan* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, and committed all his Treaſure and Jewels to his cuſtody. The ſtately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* neare *Oxford*, built by King *Inas*, but deſtroyed by the *Danes*, he newly re-edified, endowing it with revenues and Lands, the Charters whereof he confirmed with ſeales of Gold. He ordained Saint *Germans* in *Cornwall*, to be a Biſhops See, which there continued, till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Epiſcopall See of *Kyrton* in *Devonſhire*; Both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, tranſlated to the City of *Exeter*. He left behinde him two Sonnes, *Elfred*, and *Bertfred*, and was buryed in the old Minſter, without the City of *Wincheſter*; whoſe bones with other Kings, are to this day preſerved in a gilt Coffer, fixed upon the wall, in the South ſide of the Quire.

After *Edred*, not any of his ſonnes, but his Nephew *Edwyn*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edmund* ſucceeded, and was annoynted and Crowned at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, in the yeare 955. This Prince, though ſcarce fourteene yeares old, and in age but a childe, yet was able to commit ſinne as a man; For upon the very day of his Coronation, and in ſight of his Lords, as they ſate in Counſell, he ſhamefully abuſed a Lady of great Eſtate, and his neare kinſwoman, and to mend the matter, ſhortly after ſlew her Husband, the more freely to injoy his inceſtuous pleaſure. And whether for this infamous fact, or for thruſting the Monkes out of the Monaſteries of *Mamesbury*, and *Glaſtenbury*, and placing married Prieſts in their roomes, as alſo for baniſhing *Dunſtan* the holy Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* out of the Realme, a great part of his Subjects hearts was ſo turned againſt him, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted, and ſwore Fealty to his younger brother *Edgar*, with grieſe whereof, after foure yeares Raigne, he ended his life, and was buryed in the Church of the New Abbey of *Hyde*, at *Wincheſter*.

After *Edwyn*, ſucceeded his younger brother *Edgar*, at the age of ſixteene yeares; but his Coronation, when, and where, and by whom, ſo uncertaine, that ſome ſay he

he was Crowned at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, in the firſt yeare of his Raigne, others ſay, not till the twelfth, and *William* of *Mameſbery*, not till the thirtyeth: Another Chronicle ſaith, in his eleventh yeare; and that in the City of *Bathe*, by the hands of *Dunſtan* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*. This King, by reaſon of the tranquillity of his Raigne, was ſurnamed the Peaceable; for as he was ſomething inclined to the *Danes*, ſo the *Danes* never offered to ſtirre in all his time; and as for the *Saxons*, they acknowledged him their ſole Soveraigne, without diviſion of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were, ſome Vertuous, ſome Politick, ſome Juſt, ſome Pious, and yet all theſe not without ſome mixture of vice. To repreſſe dunkenneſſe, which the *Danes* had brought in; he made a Law, Ordaining a ſize, by certaine pinnes in the pot, with penalty to any, that ſhould preſume to drinke deeper then the marke. It was a Politicke device which he uſed for the deſtruction of Wolves, that in his dayes did great annoyance to the Land. For, the tribute impoſed on the Princes of *Wales*, by King *Athelſtan*, he wholly remitted, appointing in lieu thereof a certaine number of Wolves yearely to be paid; whereof the Prince of *North-wales*, for his part was to pay three hundred; which continued for three yeares ſpace: and in the fourth yeare, there was not a Wolfe to be found; and ſo the tribute ceaſed. He had in his Navy Royall, three thouſand and ſixe hundred ſhips, which he divided into three parts, appointing every one of them to a ſeverall Quarter, to ſcowre the Seas, and to ſecure the Coaſts from Pirats: and leſt his Officers might be careleſſe, or corrupted; he would himſelfe in perſon ſaile about all the Coaſts of his Kingdome every Summer. It was a notable Act of Juſtice, that in his Circuits, and Progreſſes through the Country, he would take ſpeciall account of the demeanour of his Lords; and ſpecially of his Judges; whom he ſeverely puniſhed, if he found them Delinquents. Warres he had none in all his Raigne, onely towards his end, the *Welſhmen* moved ſome rebellion; againſt whom he went with a mighty Army, and chaſtiſed the Authours; but when his Souldiers had gotten great ſpoyles, and made prey upon the innocent Countrey people; he commanded them to reſtore it all backe againe; which, if it made ſome few *Engliſh* angry, it made the whole Country of the *Welſh* well pleaſed, and ſound forth his praiſes. His Pious Acts were, that he built and prepared ſeven and forty Monaſteries, and meant to have made them up fifty, but was prevented by death. But now his mixture of Vice marred all; eſpecially being a Vice oppoſite to all thoſe Vertues, which was Laſciviouſneſſe. For firſt, he deflowred a ſacred Nunne, called *Wolfchild*; on whom yet he begot a Saint, the chaſt *Edyth*. After her, another Virgin, called *Ethelſtede*, for her excellent beauty ſurnamed the White, on whom he begot his eldeſt Sonne *Edward*; for which Fact he did ſeven yeares penance, enjoyned him by the Arch-biſhop *Dunſtan*. After this he chanced to heare of a Virgin, Daughter to a Weſterne Duke, exceedingly prayſed for her beauty, and comming to *Andover*, commanded her to his Bed. But the Mother, tender of her Daughters honour, brought in the darke her mayd to him; who in the morning, making haſt to riſe, and the King not ſuffering her to depart, ſhe told him what great worke ſhe had to doe; and how ſhe ſhould incurre her Ladies diſpleaſure, if it were not done; by which words, the King perceiving the deceit, turned it to a jeſt, but ſo well liked her company, that he kept himſelfe true to her ever after, till he marryed. But now his marriage it ſelfe happened by a greater vice then any of theſe; For hearing of the admirable beauty of *Elfrida*, the onely daughter of *Ordganus* Duke of *Devonſhire*, Founder of *Taveſtocke* Abbey in that Country, he ſent his great Favorite Earle *Ethelwold*, (who could well judge of beauty) to try the truth thereof; with Commiſſion, that if he found her ſuch as Fame reported, he ſhould ſeiſe her for him, and he would make her his Queene. The young Earle, upon ſight of the Lady, was ſo ſurprized with her love, that he began to wooe her for himſelfe, and got her Fathers good will, ſo as the King would give his conſent. Hereupon the Earle poſted to the King, relating to him, that the Mayd was faire indeed, but nothing anſwerable to the Fame that went of her: yet deſired the King that he might marry her,

her, as being her Fathers heire, thereby to raiſe his Fortunes. The King conſented, and the marriage was ſolemnized. Soone after, the fame of her beauty began to ſpread more then before, ſo as the King much doubting that he had beene abuſed, meant to try the truth himſelfe, and thereupon taking occaſion of hunting in the Dukes Parke, came to his houſe: whoſe comming *Ethelwold* ſuſpecting, acquainted his wife with the wrong he had done both her, and the King, and therefore to prevent the Kings diſpleaſure, intreated her by all the perſwaſions he could uſe, to cloathe her ſelfe in ſuch attire, as might be leaſt fit to ſet her forth; but ſhe conſidering that now was the time, to make the moſt of her beauty, and longing to be a Queene; would not be acceſſary to her owne wrong, but decked her ſelfe in her richeſt Ornaments; which ſo improved her beauty, that the King at her firſt ſight was ſtrucke with admiration, and meant to be revenged of his perfidious Favourite; yet diſſembling his paſſion, till he could take him at advantage, he then with a Javelin ran him through, and having thereby made the faire *Elfrid* a Widow, tooke her to be his Wife. This King founded the Monaſtery of *Ramſey* in *Hamſhire*, Raigned ſixteene yeares, Lived ſeven and thirty, and with great Funerall pompe was buryed in the Abbey of *Glaſtenbury*. He had children by his firſt wife *Ethelfleda*, one ſonne named *Edward*, and by his ſecond wife *Elfrid*, two ſons, one named *Edmund*, who dyed young, the other *Ethelred*. He had alſo one naturall Daughter, named *Edgyth*, by a Lady named *Wolfchild*, the daughter of *Wolholme*, the ſonne of *Birding*, the ſonne of *Neſting*; which two latter beare in their names, the memory of their Fortunes; the laſt of them being found in an Eagles neſt, by King *Alfred* as he was a hunting. This *Edgyth* built the Monaſtery and Church of Saint *Dennis* at *Wilton*, and was there buryed.

After the death of King *Edgar*, ſucceeded his ſonne *Edward*, but not without ſome oppoſition, for Queene *Elfrid* combined with divers of the Lords, to make her Sonne *Ethelred* King, ſaying that Prince *Edward* was illegitimate; on the other ſide, the Arch-biſhop *Dunſtan*, and the Monkes ſtood for *Edward*, abetting his Title as being lawfully borne; but while the Counſell was aſſembled to argue their Rights, the Arch-biſhop came in with his Banner and Croſſe, and not ſtaying for debating *De Jure, De Facto* preſented Prince *Edward* for their lawfull King, and the Aſſembly conſiſting moſt of Clergy men, drew the approbation of the reſt; and thereupon Prince *Edward* was admitted, being but twelve yeares of age, and was Crowned King at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by Arch-biſhop *Dunſtan*, in the yeare 975. In the beginning of his Raigne, it fell into debate whether marryed Prieſts were to be allowed to live in Monaſteries upon the revenues of the Church. The *Mercian* Duke *Alferus*, favouring the cauſe of the marryed Prieſts, deſtroyed the Monaſteries in his Province, caſt out the Monkes, and reſtored againe the ancient revenues to the Prieſts and their wives. On the other ſide, *Edelwyn* Duke of the Eaſt *Angles*, and *Brithnoth* Earle of *Eſſex*, who ſtood for the Monkes, caſt marryed Prieſts out of their Provinces. The matter being debated in a Councell at *Weſtminſter*, the Monkes cauſe was like to have the foyle, till it was referred to the Rood, placed on the Refectory wall, where the Counſell ſate. For to this great Oracle, Saint *Dunſtan* deſired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent eare for an Anſwer; when ſuddenly a voyce was heard to ſay, *God forbid it ſhould be ſo, God forbid it ſhould be ſo.* This was thought authority ſufficient, to ſuppreſſe the Prieſts, till they perſwading the people, that this was but a cunning practiſe of the Monkes, in placing behind the wall, a man of their owne, who through a Trunke uttered theſe words in the mouth of the Rood, whereupon another Aſſembly was appointed at *Cleve* in *Wiltſhire*, whither repaired the Prelates, with moſt of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdome. The Synod being ſet, and the matter at the heighth of diſcuſſing, it happened that the Joyſts of the roome, where the Synod was held, ſuddenly brake, and the floore with all the people thereon, fell downe, whereof many were hurt, and ſome ſlaine. Onely the Arch-biſhop *Dunſtan* then Preſident, and mouth for the Monkes, remained unhurt; which whether it were done by practiſe, or were miraculous, it ſerved the Monkes turne

for

for juſtifying their cauſe, and marryed Prieſts were thereupon diſcarded. It were infinite and indeed ridiculous, to ſpeake of all the Miracles, reported to be done by this Saint *Dunſtan*, which may be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle.

But now a moſt lamentable dyſaſter, comes to be remembred: For King *Edward*, hunting one time in the Iſland of *Purbacke*: not farre from *Corfe Caſtle*, where his mother in Law Queene *Elfrid*, with his brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then reſiding, he out of his love to both, would needs himſelfe alone goe viſit them; where the cruell woman, out of ambition to bring her owne Sonne to the Crowne, cauſed one to runne him into the backe with a knife, as he was drinking a cup of Wine on horſe backe at his departing, who feeling himſelfe hurt, ſet ſpurres to his horſe, thinking thereby to get to his company, but the wound being mortall, and he fainting thorow loſſe of much blood, fell from his Horſe, but one foote being intangled in the ſtirrup, he was thereby ruſully dragged up and downe, through Woods, and Lands: And laſtly left dead at *Corfes* gate, for which untimely death, he was ever after called by the name of *Edward* the Martyr. He Raigned onely three yeares and ſix moneths, and was Buryed firſt at *Wincheſter*, without all Funerall pompe; but after three yeares, by Duke *Alferus* removed, and with great ſolemnity interred in the Minſter of *Shaftsbury*. Queene *Elfrid*, to expiate this her bloody fact, built the two Monaſteries of *Almesbery*, and *Werwell*, in the Counties of *Wiltſhire*, and *Southampton*, in which latter, with great repentance, ſhe lived till her death.

After the death of *Edward* the Martyr, dying at the age of ſixteene yeares, his halfe brother *Ethelred*, at the age of twelve yeares, in the yeare 979. was Crowned King at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, by *Dunſtan* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, though much againſt his will, which King, by reaſon of his backwardneſſe in Action, was commonly called the Unready. Before whoſe time, for two and twenty yeares paſt, the *Danes* had lived as quiet Inmates with the *Engliſh*, but whether weary of ſo long doing nothing, or finding now opportunity of doing ſomething, in the ſecond yeare of this King, they begin to ſtirre, and inviting from home more forces, who in ſeven Ships arrived upon the Coaſt of *Kent*, they ſpoyled all the Country, ſpecially the Iſle of *Thanet*, and continued this courſe of forraging the Kingdome, ſometimes in one part, and ſometimes in another, for eleven yeares together; till at laſt in the yeare 991. the King, by advice of his Lords, of whom *Siricius*, the now Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* was chiefe, was contented to pay them ten thouſand pounds, upon condition they ſhould quietly depart the Realme. This ſerved the turne for the preſent, but was ſo farre from ſatisfying them, that it did but give them the greater appetite: for the yeare following they came againe, and that with a greater Fleet then before, againſt whom the King prepared a competent Navy, and committed it to *Elfricke*, Earle of *Mercia*, but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the moſt part did, whom the King imployed againſt the *Danes*, as with whom they were allyanced in blood) the *Danes* ſo prevailed, that for the next Compoſition, they had ſixteene thouſand pounds given them, and a yeare after, twenty thouſand, and ſo every yeare more and more, till it came at laſt to forty thouſand: by which meanes, the Land was emptyed of all Coyne, and the *Engliſh* were brought ſo low, that they were faine to Till, and Eare the Ground, whileſt the *Danes* ſate idle, and ate the fruite of their labours, abuſing the Wives and Daughters of their Hoſts where they lay, and yet in every place, for very feare, were called *Lord-Danes*, (which afterward became a word of deriſion, when one would ſignifie a lazy Lubber.) In this diſtreſſed ſtate, the King at laſt bethought himſelfe of a courſe: He ſent forth a ſecret Commiſſion, into every City within his Dominions, that at an appointed time, they ſhould maſſacre all the *Danes* that were amongſt them; The day was the thirteenth of November, being the Feſtivall of Saint *Bricius*, in the yeare 1002. His command was accordingly performed, and with ſuch rigour, that in *Oxford* the *Danes* for refuge tooke into the Church of Saint *Frideſwyde*, as into a Sanctuary, when the *Engliſh*, neither regarding Place nor Perſon, ſet the Church on fire, wherein many of the *Danes* were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who

would not now thinke, but that *England* by this Fact had cleane ſhaken off the *Daniſh* yoke for ever: yet it proved cleane otherwiſe: For the newes of this maſſacre, adding a new edge of revenge, to the old edge of ambition: made the *Danes* ſharper ſet againſt the *Engliſh*, then ever they had beene before; ſo as the yeare following, their King *Sweyne*, with a mighty Navy, entred the Country, razed, and levelled with the ground the City of *Exceter*, all along from the Eaſt Gate to the Weſt; againſt whom the King levyed an Army, and made Generall over it, the Earle *Edricke*, his great Favourite; whom he had created Duke of *Mercia*; and given him his Daughter *Edgyth* in marriage; yet all this great favour could not keepe him from being treacherous, for being ſent Embaſſadour to the *Danes*, to mediate for Peace, he revealed to them the weakneſſe of the Land, and treacherouſly diſſwaded them from conſenting to any Truce. Upon this King *Ethelred* gave order, that every three hundred and ten Hydes of Land ſhould build a Ship, and every eight Hydes, finde a compleat Armour furniſhed, yet all this great preparation came to nothing, but onely to make a ſhew. After this, the King ſeeing no end of their invaſions, nor promiſe kept upon any compoſition; (for three *Daniſh* Princes, with a great Fleet, were now newly arrived) He intended to adventure once for all, and to commit his cauſe to God, by the fortune of a Battaile. To which end he ſecretly gathered a mightily Power, and comming unlooked for, when the Enemy was unprepared, he had certainely given an end to the Quarrell, if the wicked *Edricke* had not diſſwaded him from fighting, and put him into a cauſeleſſe feare, by forged tales. After this, the *Danes* forraged many Countryes; burnt *Oxford*, *Thetford*, and *Cambridge*: and laſtly entred *Wiltſhire*, which was the ſeventh ſhire in number, they had laid waſte like a Wilderneſſe. The yeare after, they make a new Expedition, and beſiege *Canterbury*; which by treaſon of a Church-man they wonne, tooke *Alphegus* the Arch-biſhop, and ſlew nine hundred Monkes, and men of Religion, beſides many Citizens, without all mercy; for they Tythed the people, ſlaying all by nines, and reſerving onely the tenth to live; ſo that of all the Monkes in the Towne, there were but foure ſaved, and of the Lay people, foure thouſand eight hundred, by which account Maſter *Lambert* collecteth, that there dyed in this Maſſacre, three and forty thouſand, and two hundred perſons. The Arch-biſhop *Alphegus*, for that he refuſed to charge his Tenants with three thouſand pounds to pay for his ranſome, they moſt cruelly ſtoned to death at *Greenewich*. *Turkillus* the leader of theſe murtherers, tooke into his poſſeſſion all *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, over whom he tyrannized in moſt ſavage manner; the reſt compounding with the *Engliſh* for eight thouſand pounds, quietly for a while ſojourned among them. The yeare following came King *Sweyne* againe, and with a great Navy arrived in the mouth of *Humber*, and landed at *Gainſborough*, to whom the *Northumbrians*, and the people of *Lindſey*, yeelded themſelves; So that now over all the North from *Watlingſtreete*, he Raigned ſole King, and exacted pledges of them for their further obedience. From the North he paſſed into the South, ſubduing all before him, till he came to *London*, where he was ſo valiantly encountred by the *Londoners*, that he was glad to retire, in which retyring notwithſtanding he entred *Bathe*, where *Ethelmore* Earle of *Devonſhire*, with his Weſterne people, ſubmitted himſelfe to him. Yet after this, betweene him and the *Engliſh* was ſtrucke a fierce battaile, which had beene with good ſucceſſe, if the treachery of ſome in turning to the *Danes*, had not hindered it. After this the *Danes* proceeded on victoriouſly, and had gotten moſt part of the Land, and even *London* alſo by ſubmiſſion: whereupon the unfortunate King *Ethelred* ſending his Wife *Emma*, with her two ſonnes, *Edward* and *Alfred*, to her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*, himſelfe alſo the Winter following paſſed thither, leaving the *Danes* Lording it in his Realme. *Sweyne* now as an abſolute King, extorted from the *Engliſh* both Victuals, and Pay for his Souldiers; and demanding ſuch a Compoſition for preſerving of Saint *Edmunds* Monaſtery in *Suffolke*, as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refuſed to pay; he thereupon threatned ſpoyle, both to the Place, and to the Martyrs bones there interred, when ſuddenly, in the middeſt of

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his jollity (ſaith *Houeden*) he cryed out, that he was ſtrucke by Saint *Edmund* with a ſword, being then in the midſt of his Lords: and no man ſeeing from whoſe hand it came, and ſo with great horrour and torment, three dayes after, upon the third of February, he ended his life at *Thetford*, or (as others ſay) at *Gaynsborough*. And now who would not thinke, but this was a faire opportunity offered to the *Engliſh*, to free themſelves wholly from the *Daniſh* yoke? but when all was done, either croſſed by treachery, or fruſtrated by misfortune, nothing proſpered. It is true, upon this occaſion of *Sweynes* death, King *Ethelred* returned out of *Normandy*, but at his comming, *Canutus* the ſonne of *Sweyne*, had gotten the people of *Lindſey* to be at his devotion, and to find him both Horſe and Men againſt their owne King; ſo as *Ethelred* was now to encounter as well his owne Subjects, as the *Danes*, which he did ſo valiantly, that he made *Canutus* glad to returne into *Denmarke*, as utterly hopeleſſe of any good to be done in *England*. And now one would certainely thinke the *Danes* had beene removed, Roote and Branch, out of *England*, and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the appearance of probability for it, that could be. But it is a true ſaying, *That which will be, ſhall be; let all be done that can be.* For now *Turkill* the *Dane*, who had before revolted to King *Ethelred*, growing ſenſible of his fault, which was this, or no way to be redeemed; and tender of his Countrymens caſe, which was now or never to be helpt; with nine of his Ships ſailed into *Denmarke*, and firſt excuſing himſelfe to *Canutus* for his former defection, as though he had done it of purpoſe, to learne all advantages againſt the *Engliſh*, which now he could diſcover to him, he ſo prevailed with *Canutus* once againe to try his fortune, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he ſet ſaile for *England*, and landed at *Sandwich*, where he gave the *Engliſh* a great overthrow, and paſſed victoriouſly through the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, and *Wilts*. When (*Ethelred* lying dangerouſly ſicke at *Coſſam*) the managing of the Warre was committed to Prince *Edmund* his ſonne, who preparing to give the *Danes* battaile, had ſuddenly notice given him, that his Brother in Law *Edricke*, meant to betray him into his Enemies hands; which made him ſuſpend his proceeding; and *Edricke* perceiving his deſigne to be diſcovered, caſt off the maſque, and with forty of the Kings ſhips fled openly to the Enemy; and thereupon, all the Weſt Countries ſubmitted themſelves unto *Canutus*. By this time King *Ethelred* having recovered his ſickneſſe, prepared to goe on with the Battaile, which his ſonne *Edmund* had intended, but his Forces being aſſembled, he likewiſe had ſuddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the *Danes*. Hereupon he withdrew himſelfe to *London*, as the place in which he moſt confided; where falling into a relapſe of his former ſicknes, he ended his unfortunate dayes, in the yeare 1016. when he had Raigned 37. yeares; and was buried in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, whoſe bones as yet remaine in the North wall of the Chancell, in a cheſt of gray Marble; adjoyning to that of *Sebba* King of the Eaſt *Saxons*. He had by his two Wives, eight Sonnes, and foure Daughters; of whom, his youngeſt named *Goda*, was marryed to one *Walter de Maigne*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*; by whom ſhe had a ſonne named *Rodolph*, which *Rodolph* had a ſonne named *Harold*, created afterward by King *William* the Conquerour, Baron of *Sudeley*, in the County of *Gloceſter*, and Anceſtor to the Barons of that place ſucceeding, and of the Lord *Chandowes* of *Sudeley* now being.

Ethelred being dead, his third ſonne *Edmund* called *Ironſide* (of his ability in enduring labour) but the eldeſt living at his fathers death, ſucceeded, and was Crowned at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, by *Levingus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the yeare 1016. A great part of the *Engliſh* both feared and favoured, and indeed out of feare favoured *Canutus*, eſpecially the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, and ſware Feaalty to him: but the *Londoners* ſtood firme to Prince *Edmund*, and were the principall authors of his Election. *Canutus* before the death of King *Ethelred*, had beſieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompaſſed it: but the new King *Edmund* comming on, raiſed the ſiege, and made *Canutus* flie to the Iſle of *Sheppey*, where having ſtayed the winter, the Spring following, he aſſayled

the Weſt of *England*, and at *Penham* in *Dorſetſhire*, a battaile was fought, and the *Danes* diſcomfitted. After this, in *Worceſterſhire* at a place called *Sheroſtan*, another battaile was fought, where the *Danes* were like againe to be diſcomfited, but the traiterous *Edrick* perceiving it, he cut off the head of a ſouldier like unto King *Edmund* both in haire and countenance, and ſhaking his bloody ſword, with the gaſping head, cried to the Army of the *Engliſh*, *Fly ye wretches flie, & get away, for your King is ſlain, behold, here is his head*: but King *Edmund* having notice of this treacherous ſtratagem, haſted to ſhew himſelf where he might beſt be ſeen: whoſe ſight ſo encouraged his men, that they had gotten that day a finall Victory, if night had not prevented them. Duke *Edrick* excuſed his fact, as being miſtaken in the countenance of the man, and deſirous to ſave the blood of the *Engliſh*; upon which falſe colour hee was received into favour againe. After this, *Canutus* ſecretly in the night brake up his Campe, and marched towards *London*, which in a ſort was ſtill beſieged by the *Daniſh* ſhips: but King *Edmund* hearing of his departure, followed him, and with ſmall adoe removed the ſiege, and in Triumphant manner entred the City. After this, neere unto *Otford* in *Kent*, was another great battaile fought, in which *Canutus* loſt foure thouſand five hundred men, and King *Edmund* onely ſix hundred; the reſt of the *Danes* ſaving themſelves by flight; whom if King *Edmund* had purſued, it is thought that day had ended the warres betweene theſe two Nations for ever. But the ever traiterous *Edrick*, kept King *Edmund* from purſuing them, by telling him of Ambuſhes and other dangers: So as *Canutus* had leiſure to paſſe over into *Eſſex*, but thither alſo King *Edmund* followed him; where at *Aſhdone* three miles from *Saffron Walden*, another battaile was fought, in which the *Danes* being at the point to be overthrowne, the traiterous *Edrick* with all his Forces revoulted to their ſide, by which treachery the *Engliſh* loſt the day. There died of King *Edmunds* Nobility, Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Goodwyn*, Duke *Athelward*, Duke *Athelwyn*, Earle *Urchill*, *Codnoth* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, *Woolſey* Abbot of *Ramſey*, with many other. The remembrance of which battaile is retained to this day, by certaine ſmall hils there remaining, whence have beene digged the bones of men, Armour, and horſebridles. After this, at *Dercherſt* neere to the river *Severne*, another battaile was ready to be fought; when ſuddenly a certaine Captaine ſteps forth, and for ſaving of blood uſed great perſwaſions, that either they ſhould try the matter by ſingle Combat, or elſe divide the Kingdome betwixt them. Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entering into a ſmall Iſland called *Alney*, adjoyning to the City of *Gloceſter*, in compleat Armour aſſayled each other, at firſt on horſebacke, and after on foote: when *Canutus* having received a dangerous wound, and finding himſelfe overmatched in ſtrength, deſired a Compromiſe, and with a loud voyce uſed theſe words. What neceſſity ſhould move us moſt Valiant Princes, for obtaining of a Title to endanger our lives? were it not better to lay malice aſide, and condeſcend to a loving agreement? let us therefore become ſworne brothers, and divide the Kingdome betweene us. This motion was by King *Edmund* accepted, and thus was the Kingdome divided betweene theſe two Princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part which lies upon the coaſt of *France*, and *Canutus* the reſt. But now Duke *Edrick* hath his laſt and greateſt Act of treachery to play: for King *Edmund* being retired to a place for natures neceſſity, he thurſt from under the draught a ſharpe ſpeare into his body, and then cutting off his head, preſented it to *Canutus*, with theſe fawning words, *All hayle, thou ſole Monarch now of England, for here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy ſake I have adventured to cut off.* *Canutus* though ambitious enough of ſoveraignty, yet abaſhed at ſo diſloyall a fact, replyed and vowed, that in reward of that ſervice his own head ſhould bee advanced above all the Peeres of his Kingdom, which ſoone after he performed, for by his command the falſe *Edricks* head was cut off, and placed upon the higheſt gate in *London*. The death of this King in this manner, ſome ſay was acted at *Oxford*, other, that he died of naturall ſickneſſe in *London*, but howſoever he came to his death, his Raigne was but onely ſeven months, & his body was buried at *Glaſtenbury*, neere to his Grandfather King *Edgar*. This King *Edmund* had by his wife *Algyth*, two ſonnes; the eldeſt named *Edward*, ſurnamed

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the Outlaw, because he lived out of *England* in *Hungary* as a banished man, for feare of King *Canutus*: but when his Uncle King *Edward* the Confessor, had obtained the Crowne, he was recalled, and honourably entertained till he died. He married *Agatha*, sister to Queene *Sophia*, wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungarie*, and daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the second; by whom he had *Edgar* surnamed *Atheling*, the right Heire of the *English* Crowne, though he never enjoyed it. King *Edmund* had also two daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*, of whom the younger became a Veyled Nunne at *Ramsey* in *Hampshire*, the elder *Margaret*, after sole Heire to the *Saxon* Monarchie, married *Malcolme* the third King of *Scotland*, from which Princely bed in a lineall Descent, our High and Mighty Monarch King *James* the first, doth in his most Royall person, unite the *Britaines*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and *Scottish* Imperiall Crownes in one.

of the first Danish *King in* England.

Canutus being possest of halfe the Kingdome by composition with King *Edmund*, now after his death seised upon the whole, and to prevent all further question, he called a Councell of the *English* Nobility, wherein it was propounded, whether in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claime of Title to the Crowne had beene reserved for King *Edmunds* brethren or sonnes: to which (not daring to say otherwise) they absolutely answered no, and thereupon tooke all of them the Oath of Allegeance to *Canutus*. Being thus cleered of all Opposites he prepared with great solemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Levingus* surnamed *Elstane*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the yeare 1017. being the first *Dane* that Raigned Monarch of *England*. But *Canutus* not thinking himselfe sufficiently safe, as long as any that might pretend, were in the peoples eye, caused first *Edwyn* the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*, to abjure the Realme, who was yet afterward recalled, and treacherously murthered by his owne men, and his body buried at *Taveſtock* in *Devonshire*. Next were the two sonnes of *Edmund Ironside*, *Edward* and *Edmund*, whom to the end the people might not see him shed the blood of Innocents, he sent to his halfe brother King of *Sweden* to be made away. Then remained *Edward* and *Alfred*, the sonnes of King *Ethelred*, and them their mother Queene *Emma* had sent away before to her brother the Duke of *Normandie*, there to be in safety: so as none of the Royall blood was now left in the land, to give *Canutus* any feare of competition. After this, he tooke to wife the vertuous Lady *Emma*, the Relict of King *Ethelred*, by which match he procured to himselfe three great benefits: one that hee wonne the love of the people by marrying a Lady whom they so entirely loved; another, that he got the Alliance of the Duke of *Normandie*, a neighbouring Prince of great power; the third, that by marrying the mother, hee secured himselfe against the sons: as likewise Queene *Emma* was not unwillingly perswaded to the match, upon agreement to make her issue, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crowne of *England*. And to winne the love of the people more, hee caused great numbers of his *Danes*, who pestered the Country, to return home, bestowing amongst them for their satisfaction foure score and two thousand pounds. And to winne the love of the people yet more, he now set himselfe to the making of good lawes, in a Parliament at *Oxford*, whereof, for a Patterne of those times, some that concerne Religion, may not unfitly be here related. First, for the celebration of divine Service, it was ordained, that all Ceremonies tending to the encrease of reverence & devotion should bee used as need required. Secondly, that upon the Sabbath day, all publike Faires, Markets, Synods, Huntings, and all secular actions should be forborne, unlesse some urgent ne cessity should require it. Thirdly, that every Christian should thrice in the yeare receive the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Fourthly, that if a Minister of the Altar killed a man, or committed any notorious crime, he should bee deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifthly, that a married woman convict

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of adultery, ſhould have her noſe and eares cut off, Sixthly, That a widow marrying within a twelvemonth after her husbands deceaſe, ſhould loſe her Joynture. Theſe and many other good lawes were made, whereby the kingdome remained during all his time, in a moſt peaceable ſtate and government. In the third yeare of his Raign, he heard how the *Vandales* taking advantage of his abſence, had entred *Denmarke*, and annoyed his ſubjects; whereupon with a great Army of *Engliſh* hee paſſed over the Seas, and gave them battaile, but with ill ſucceſſe the firſt day; when preparing for the next dayes battaile, the Earle *Goodwyn* who was Generall of the *Engliſh*, ſecretly in the dead of the night, ſet upon the *Vandals* Campe, & with a great ſlaughter of their ſouldiers, made their two Princes *Ulfus* and *Anlave*, to flie the field. In the morning it was told *Canutus*, that the *Engliſh* were fled, for that their ſtation was left, and not a man of them to be found, which did not a little trouble his patience: but he going in perſon to ſee the truth, found the great overthrow the *Engliſh* had given, for which ſervice ever after, hee held the *Engliſh*, and eſpecially the Earle *Goodwyn* in great eſtimation. After this, returning home hee made a proſperous Expedition againſt *Malcolme* King of *Scots*; and at laſt, in the fifteenth yeare of his Raigne, wearied with the honourable troubles of the world, and out of devotion, he tooke a Journey to *Rome*, to viſit the Sepulchre of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, from whence he writ to the Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, that they ſhould carefully adminiſter Juſtice, and never ſeeke to advance his profit by any undue wayes, or with the detriment of any man. At his returne frō *Rome*, he built in *Eſſex* the Church of *Aſhdone*, where he got the victory againſt King *Edmund*, in *Norfolke*, the Abbey of St. *Benets*, which Saint he greatly reverenced; and in *Suffolke* the Monaſtery of St. *Edmund*, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of *Wincheſter* hee gave many rich Jewels, whereof one was a Croſſe, valued to be worth as much as the whole Revenue of *England* amounted to in one yeare. To *Coventry* he gave the arme of the great St. *Auſtin*, which he bought at *Pavia* in his returne from *Rome*, for which he payd an hundred Talents of ſilver and one of gold. One ſtrange Act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning flatterers, who uſed to tell him that his power were more then humane. For being one time at *Southampton*, he commanded that his chaire of State ſhould be ſet on the ſhoare when the Sea began to flow, and then ſitting downe there in the preſence of his many attendants, he ſpake thus to that Element: I charge thee that thou preſume not to enter my Land, nor wet theſe Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heede to his command, but keeping on his uſuall courſe of Tyde, firſt wet his skirts, and after his thighes, whereupon ſuddenly riſing, he thus ſpake in the hearing of them all. Let all the worlds Inhabitants know, that vaine and weake is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the name of King, but he that keepes both heaven and earth and ſea in obedience. After which time he would never ſuffer the Crowne to be ſet upon his head, but preſently Crowned therewith the Picture of Chriſt on the Croſſe at *Wincheſter*: from which example aroſe perhaps the cuſtome, to hang up the Armour of Worthy men in Churches, as Offerings conſecrated to him who is the Lord of battaile. When he had Raigned nineteene yeares, he deceaſed at *Shaftesbery* in the County of *Dorſet*, the twelfth of *November*, in the yeare 1035. and was buried in the Church of the old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, which being after new built, his bones with many other *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, were taken up, and are preſerved in gilt Coffers, fixed upon the wals of the Quire in that Cathedrall Church. He had by his two wives, three ſonnes, *Sweyne*, and *Harold* by his firſt wife *Alfgive*; and *Hardicnute* by his ſecond wife Queene *Emma*, and two daughters, of whom the eldeſt, called *Guinhilda*, was married to the *Romane* Emperour *Henry* the third, who being accuſed of adultery, and none found to defend her cauſe, at laſt an *Engliſh* Page adventured to maintaine her Innocency againſt a mighty Gyantlike-Combatant; who in fight, at one blow cutting the ſinewes of his adverſaries legge, with another he felled him to the ground, and then with his ſword taking his head from his ſhoulders, redeemed both the Empreſſes life and honour. But the Empreſſe after this hard uſage forſooke her husbands bed, and tooke upon her the

Veyle

Veyle of a Nun, in the Towne of *Burges* in *Flanders*, where she devoutly spent the rest of her life.

Of the second Danish King in England.

KIng *Canutus* dying left his Kingdome of *Norway*, to his eldest Son *Sweyne*, and his Kingdome of *England*, to his youngest Sonne *Hardiknute*, whom he had by his wife *Emma*, but he being at the time of his Fathers death in *Denmarke*, *Harold* his elder Brother, by a former wife, taking advantage of his absence, layes claime to the Crowne. For determining of which Right, the Lords assembled at *Oxford*, where Queene *Emma* pleaded for her sonne *Hardiknute*, urging the Covenant of *Canutus* at their marriage, and his last Will at his death; as also Earle *Goodwyn* of *Kent* did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and keeper of his last Will. But *Harolds* presence, together with the favour of the *Londoners*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, so wrought with the Lords, that the absent *Hardiknute* was neglected, and *Harold* was Proclaimed and Crowned King at *Oxford*, by *Elnothus* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in the yeare 1036.

Harold having now attained the Crowne, was not so jealous of his Brother *Hardiknute*, as of his mother in Law Queene *Emma*, and her Sonnes by King *Ethelred* who were beyond Sea, and therefore how to secure himselfe against these, was his first care. For effecting whereof, he framed a Letter, as written by Queene *Emma*, to her two Sonnes *Edward* and *Alfred*, instigating them to attempt the Crown usurped by *Harold*, against their Right: to which letter, comming first to the hands of *Alfred*, he suspecting no fraud, returned Answer, that he would shortly come over, and follow her Counsaile. And thereupon with a small Fleet, and some few souldiers, lent him by *Baldwyn* Earle of *Flaunders*, he tooke the Sea for *England*, where comming to shoare, Earle *Goodwyn* met him, and bound himselfe by Oath to be his guide to his Mother Queene *Emma*, but being wrought firme for *Harold*, he led him and his company a contrary way, and lodged them at *Guilford*, making knowne to King *Harold* what he had done, who presently committed them all to slaughter, sparing onely every tenth man, for service or sale. Prince *Alfred* himselfe he sent Prisoner to the Isle of *Ely*, where having his eyes inhumanely put out, in griefe and torment he ended his life. Some adde a more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawne out, and fastned to a stake, his body pricked with Needles, or Poignards, and forced about, till all his Entrailes were extracted. This done, he then set upon Queene *Emma*, confiscated her Goods, and banished her the Realme. And now further to secure himselfe, he kept the Seas with sixteene *Danish* Ships, to the maintenance whereof, he charged the *English* with great payments, by which, if he procured the safety of his Person, he certainly procured the hatred of his Subjects. This King for his swiftnesse in running was called Harefoot, but though by his swiftnesse he outrunne his Brother for the Kingdome, yet could he not runne so fast, but that death quickely overtooke him; For having Raigned onely foure yeares and some moneths, he dyed at *Oxford*, and was buryed at *Westminster*, having never had Wife or Children.

Of the third and last Danish King in England.

KIng *Harold* being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former neglect, send now for *Hardiknute*, and offer him their Allegeance, who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*, the sixth day after he had set saile out of *Denmarke*; and with great pompe conveyed to *London*, was there Crowned King by *Elnothus* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in the yeare 1040. His first Act, was to be revenged of his deceased

Brother

brother *Harold*, whose body he caused to be digged up, and throwne into the *Thames*, where it remained till a Fisherman found it, and buryed it in the Church yard of Saint *Clement* without *Temple Barre*, commonly called Saint *Clement Danes*, because it was the burying place of the *Danes*, as some write. But towards his Mother, and halfe Brother Prince *Edward*, he shewed true naturall affection, inviting them both to returne into *England*; where he received them with all the honour, that from a Sonne or Brother could be expected.

But now, as the King *Harold*, for his swiftnesse in running was surnamed Harefoote, So this King for his intemperance in dyet, might have beene surnamed Swines-mouth, or *Bocca di Porco*, for his Tables were spread every day foure times, and furnished with all kindes of curious dishes, as delighting in nothing but Gormandizing and Swilling; and as for managing the State, he committed it wholly to his Mother Queene *Emma*, and to the politicke Earle of *Kent*, *Godwyn*, who finding this weakenesse in the King, began to thinke himselfe of aspiring; and to make the better way for it, he sought by all meanes to alien the Subjects hearts from the Prince, amongst other courses, he caused him to lay heavy Taxes upon them; onely for Ship-money to pay his *Danes*, amounting to two and thirty thousand pounds: which was so offensive to the people, that the Citizens of *Worcester* slew two of his Officers, *Thurstan* and *Feudax*, that came to Collect it. But this King had soone the reward of his Intemperance; For in a Solemne Assembly and Banquet at *Lambeth*, Revelling and Carowsing, he suddenly fell downe without speech, or breath, after he had Raigned only two yeares, and was buryed at *Winchester*. His death was so welcome to his Subjects, that the day of his death, is to this day commonly celebrated with open pastimes in the street, and is called *Hocks-tide*, signifying scorning or contempt, which fell upon the *Danes* by his death. For with him ended the Raigne of the *Danes* in *England*; after they had miserably afflicted the kingdome, for the space of two hundred and forty yeares, though in Regall Government, but onely six and twenty.

Of English *Kings againe, and first of* Edward *the Confessour.*

KIng *Hardiknute* dying without issue, as having never beene marryed, and the *Danish* line cleane extinguished, *Edward*, for his Piety called the Confessour, halfe Brother to the deceased *Hardiknute*, and sonne to King *Ethelred* by his Wife Queene *Emma*, was by a generall consent admitted King of *England*, and was Crowned at *Winchester* by *Edsyne* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, on *Easter* day, in the yeare 1042. being then of the age of forty yeares. He was borne at *Islip*, neare to *Oxford*, and after his Fathers death, for safety sent into *France*, to the Duke of *Normandy* his Mothers Brother, from whence he now came, to take upon him the Crowne of *England*. His Acts for gaining the Peoples love, were first, the remitting the yearely tribute of forty thousand pounds, gathered by the name of *Danegilt*, which had beene impoled by his Father, and for forty yeares together paid out of all mens Lands, but onely the Clergy; and then, from the divers Lawes of the *Mercians*, *West Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he selected the best, and made of them one Body certaine, and written in Latine, being in a sort the Fountaine of those which at this day we tearme the Common Lawes, though the formes of pleading, and processe therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquerour. The Raigne of this King was very peaceable: Onely in his sixth yeare, the *Danish* Pirates entred the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-coast of *Essex* they spoyled, and then in *Flanders* made merchandise of their prey. As likewise the *Irish*, with thirty ships entred *Severne*, and with the assistance of *Griffyth* King of *Southwales*, burnt or slew all in their way, till at last, *Reese* the brother of *Griffyth* was slaine at *Bulendon*, and his head presented to King *Edward* at *Gloucester*. His Domesticall troubles were onely by Earle *Godwyn* and his sonnes; who yet after many contestations and affronts, were reconciled, and *Godwyn* received againe

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into as great favour as before. But though King *Edward* forgave his Treaſons, yet the Divine Providence did not; for ſoone after, as he ſate at Table with the King, on *Eaſter* Munday, he was ſuddenly ſtrucken with death, and on the Thurſday following dyed, and was buryed at *Wincheſter*. Some make his death more exemplar; as that juſtifying himſelfe for Prince *Alfreds* death, he ſhould pray to God, that if he were any way guilty of it, he might never ſwallow downe one morſell of bread, and thereupon by the juſt Judgement of God, was choaked by the firſt morſell he offered to eate.

In this Kings time, ſuch abundance of ſnow fell in *January*, continuing till the middle of *March* following, that almoſt all Cattell and Fowle periſhed, and therewithall an exceſſive dearth followed.

Two Acts are related of this King, that ſeeme nothing correſpondent to the generall opinion had of his Vertue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife. That concerning his Mother Queen *Emma* was this, that becauſe after King *Ethelreds* death, ſhe marryed the *Daniſh* King *Canutus*, and ſeemed to favour her iſſue by him, more then her iſſue by King *Ethelred*, therefore he diſpoſſeſt her of all her Goods; and committed her to cuſtody, in the Abbey of *Worwell*; and more then this, ſo farre hearkned to an aſperſion caſt upon her, of unchaſte familiarity with *Alwyne* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that for her Purgation, ſhe was faine to paſſe the tryall of Fire Ordeall, which was in this manner; nine Plow-ſhares red hot were laid in unequall diſtance, which ſhe muſt paſſe bare-foote and blindfold; and if ſhe paſſed them unhurt, then ſhe was judged Innocent, if otherwiſe, Guilty. And this tryall ſhe paſſed, and came off fairely, to the great aſtoniſhment of all beholders. The other touching his Wife was this; He had marryed *Editha* the beautifull, and indeed vertuous daughter of the Earle *Godwyn*, and becauſe he had taken diſpleaſure againſt the Father, he would ſhew no kindneſſe to the daughter; he had made her his wife, but converſed not with her as his wife, onely at board, but not at Bed, or if at bed, no otherwiſe then *David* with *Abiſhagh*, and yet was content to heare her accuſed of Incontinency, whereof if ſhe were guilty, he could not be innocent. So as, what the vertues were, for which after his death, he ſhould be reputed a Saint, doth not eaſily appeare. It ſeemes he was chaſte, but not without injury to his wife; Pious, but not without ungratefulneſſe to his Mother; Juſt in his preſent Government, but not without neglect of Poſterity; for through his want of providence in that point, he left the Crowne to ſo doubtfull ſucceſſion, that ſoone after his deceaſe it was tranſlated out of *Engliſh* into *French*, and the Kingdome made ſervile to a fourth forraine Nation. One Ability he had which raiſed him above the pitch of ordinary Kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with Kings, that by his onely touching and laying his hand upon it, he cured a Diſeaſe, which from his Curing, is called *The Kings Evill*. His Mother Queene *Emma*, in memory of the nine Plow-ſhares ſhe had paſſed in her Tryall, gave nine Manors to the Minſter of *Wincheſter*, and himſelfe remembring the wrong he had done her, beſtowed on the ſame place, the Iſland of *Portland* in *Dorſetſhire*, being about ſeven miles in compaſſe. He made alſo of a little Monaſtery in the Weſt of *London*, by the River of *Thames*, a moſt beautifull Church, (called of the place *Weſtminſter*) where he provided for his owne Sepulchre, and another Dedicated to Saint *Margaret*, ſtanding without the Abbey. This of *Weſtminſter* he endowed with many rich revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his broad Seale, being the firſt of the Kings of *England*, who uſed that large and ſtately Impreſſion in their Charters and Patents. He Founded alſo the Colledge of Saint *Mary Otterey* in *Devonſhire*, and gave unto it the Village of *Otereg*, and removed the Biſhops See from *Cridington* to *Exceter*, as to a place of farre more Dignity: and when he had Raigned the ſpace of three and twenty yeares and ſix moneths, he ended his life, the fourth of *January*, in that roome of his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, which is now called the *Paynted Chamber*, in the yeare 1066. and was buryed in the Church at *Weſtminſter*, which he had builded.

Of Harold *the ſecond* Engliſh *King after the* Danes.

KIng *Edward* the Confeſſour, being himſelfe without iſſue, had in his life time, ſent into *Hungary* for his Nephew *Edward* called the Outlaw, the ſonne of *Edmund Ironſide*; with a purpoſe to deſigne him his Succeſſour in the Crowne, but he dying ſoone after his comming into *England*, King *Edward* then gave his Sonne *Edgar* the name of *Atheling*; as to ſay, Prince *Edgar* meaning to deſigne him for his Succeſſour, but being prevented by death, before the ſucceſſour was fully eſtabliſhed, and *Edgar Atheling*, though he had right, yet being young, and not of power to make good his Right, *Harold* the ſonne of Earle *Goodwyn* ſteps into the Throne, and never ſtanding upon ceremonies, ſet himſelfe the Crowne upon his owne head, wherein, though as a violater of holy Rites, he offended the Clergy, yet not any either of Clergy or Layity, durſt oppoſe him, as being at that time the moſt martiall man in the Kingdome; and ſuch a one, as the ſtate of the Realme ſtood at that time in need of, and beſides his owne worthineſſe had the aſſiſtance of *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two great Earles of *Yorkeſhire* and *Cheſter*, whoſe ſiſter *Algyth* he had marryed. It is true withall, that King *Edward* had appointed the Crowne after his owne deceaſe, ſometimes to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, ſometimes to *Edgar Atheling*, and ſometimes to this *Harold*, ſo as he was Crowned by *Aldred* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, as not comming in by intruſion or wrong, but by the appointment of King *Edward*, though that appointment of King *Edward*, was rather to make him Regent, during the minority of *Edgar*, then to make him abſolute King, but howſoever, being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his owne Title, and to make Prince *Edgar* ſome amends, he created him Earle of *Oxford*, which was indeed to uſe him like a Childe, take away a Jewell, and pleaſe him with an Apple. Yet *Harold* having once gotten into the Throne, he carryed himſelfe with great Valour and Juſtice, for the time he ſate in it, which was but very ſhort, as being indeed but tottering from the very beginning, and that chiefly by meanes of his owne Brother *Touſtayne*, who by diverting his Forces to ſuppreſſe a Rebellion, made him of leſſe force to reſiſt an invaſion. But now that we have ſhewed how *Harold* entred the Throne, we muſt forbeare to ſhew how he was caſt out, till we come to him that caſt him out, who becauſe he was not onely of another Family, but of another Nation, we muſt neceſſarily take the beginning from a deeper roote, and indeed, ſeeing in him, we ſhall joyne our Iſland to the Continent, which is a larger world: Our Kings hereafter, will afford a larger Extent for matter of Diſcourſe then heretofore they have done.

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THE LIFE OF KING WILLIAM THE FIRST, CALLED THE CONQVEROUR.

His Parentage and Descent.

THere were six Dukes of *Normandie* in *France*, in a direct line succeeding from father to sonne. The first was *Rollo*, who of a private man in *Denmarke*, comming forth with the exuberancy of his Nation, wrested by force of Armes from *Charles* the Simple King of *France*, to bee made Duke of *Normandy*. The second was *William* his sonne, called *Long Espee*, or *Long Sword*. The third was *Richard* his sonne, called the *Hardie*, who had *Richard*, and a daughter called *Emma*, married to *Ethelred* King of *England*, father of *Edward* the Confessor. The fourth was *Richard* the second his sonne, called the Good. The fifth was *Richard* the third his sonne, who by a first wife had three sonnes, *Richard*, *Robert* and *William*, and by a second, two other sonnes, *William* Earle of *Argues*, and *Mauger*, Archbishop of *Roan*. So as *Richard* his eldest sonne by his first wife succeeded him by the name of *Richard* the fourth, and dying without issue, the Dukedome descended to *Robert* his second sonne by his first wife; which *Robert* was father to our *William* the Conquerour, of whom it is thus recorded: that riding one time abroad, he happened to passe by a company of Country Maides that were a dancing, where staying a while to looke upon them, he was so taken with the handsomnesse and gracefull carriage of one of them whose name was *Arlotte*, a Skinners daughter, (from whence as some thinke our word Harlot comes) that affection commanding him, and authority her, he caused her that night to be brought to his bed; where being together, what was done or said betweene them is no matter for History to record, though some Historians have recorded both; making her not so modest as was fit for a Maide: onely tenne monthes after, it appeared that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; who proving a man of extraordinary spirit, we may attribute it to the heate of affection in which he was begotten.

His succeeding in the Dukedome, notwithstanding his Bastardie.

IT appeares by many examples, that Bastardie in those dayes was no barre to succession, till a law was afterward made to make it a barre. It brought some disgrace where the mother was meane, but no impediment where the father was Noble; and even his Bastardie seemed to have some allay, if it be true (as some write) that his father tooke the said *Arlotte* afterward to be his wife, and yet perhaps he had not the Dukedome so much by succession, as by gift. For when hee was a-

bout nine yeares old, his father calling his Nobility together, caused them to swear Allegeance to this base sonne of his, and to take him for their Liege Lord after his decease. Neither was this in those dayes unfrequent, for Princes to conferre their Principalities after their owne deceases upon whom they pleased; counting it as lawfull to appoint successours after them, as substitutes under them; even in our time and Kingdome, the Duke of *Northumberland* prevailed with King *Edward* the sixth, to exclude his two sisters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to appoint the Lady *Jane Grey*, daughter of the Duke of *Suffolke*, to succeed him.

His Education and Tuition in his minoritie.

His father having declared and appointed him to be his Successour, went soone after (whether out of devotion, or to do Penance for procuring his brothers death, whereof he was suspected) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he died, having left the tuition of his young sonne to his two brothers, and the Guardianship to the King of *France*, in whose Court for a time he was brought up. A strange confidence, to commit the tuition of a sonne that was base, to Pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of *France*, who aimed at nothing more, then to reannexe this Dukedome to his Crowne. But it seemes his confidence was grounded upon the proximitie of blood in his brothers, and upon the merits of his owne service formerly done to the King of *France*, which though it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into example to follow.

His Troubles in his minoritie.

First, *Roger de Tresny*, who derived his Pedegree directly from *Rollo*, and had won much honour by his valour in the warres, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegeance he had formerly taken) takes exception to his Bastardy, and invites Complices to assist him in recovering the Dukedome to a legitimate Race; a faire pretext if the Fate of Duke *William* had not beene against it; who though hee were himselfe but young, and could not do much in his owne person, yet the Divine Providence raised him up friends that supplied him with Assistance, and particularly *Roger de Beamont*, by whose valour this *Roger de Tresny*, with his two brothers, was defeated and slaine. After *Roger de Tresny*, *William de Arques* his Uncle layes claime to the Dutchy, and assisted by the King of *France* comes to a battaile, but by the valour of Count *Gifford*, the Dukes Generall, was likewise defeated: and these were troubles before he arrived to seventeene yeares of age. After this, one *Guy* Earle of *Burgoigne*, Grandchild to *Richard* the second, Duke of *Normandy*, grew sensible also of his Right to the Dukedome, and joyning with Viscount *Neele*, and the Earle of *Besin*, two powerfull *Normans*, conspired Duke *Williams* death, and had effected it, if a certaine Foole about him, had not stolne away in the night, to the place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the gate, till he was admitted to his presence, willing him to flye for his life instantly, or he would be murthered. The Duke considering that being related by a Foole, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be danger in staying, none in going, rode instantly away, all alone, toward *Falaise*, his principall Castle, but missing his way, he happened to passe where a Gentleman was standing at his doore, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done, but the conspiratours came presently inquiring if such a one had not passed that way, which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertooke to be their guide to overtake him, but leading them of purpose a contrary way, the Duke by this meanes, came safely to *Falaise*; and from thence journeyes to the King of *France*, complaining of his injuries, and imploring his ayd, as one that was his homager, and committed to his care, by his servant his Father. The King of *France* moved with his distresse, and remembrance of his Fathers merits, though he wished he was lesse then he was, yet he so ayded him, that he made him greater then he was;

was; for himselfe in person, suffering much in the Battaile, procured him the Victory. By which we may see that folly, and fortune, and even Enemies themselves are all assistants to the Destinies; or to say better, indeed to the divine Providence. Many other affronts were offered him, some by meaner Princes, some afterward by the King of *France* himselfe, who was now growne jealous of his Greatnesse; all which he encountred with such dexterity, that made his Bastardy, as it were become Legitimate, and Vertue her selfe to grow proud of his person.

His Carriage afterwards in Peace.

BY this time he was come to the age of two and twenty yeares, and where all this while he had shewed himselfe a valiant Generall in Warre, he now began to shew himselfe a provident Governor in Peace, composing and ordering his state, wherein he so carryed himselfe, that as his Subjects did both feare and love him, so his Neighbouring Princes did both feare and hate him, or if not hate him, at least emulate him.

His Incitements for Invading of England.

HE was now growne about fifty yeares old: an Age that might well have arrested all ambitious thoughts in him, but who can thinke himselfe too old for a Kingdome; when *Galba* for attaining the *Romane* Empire, was contented to buckle on Armour, being fourescore yeares old? The Duke in his time of peace came over into *England* to visite his cousin King *Edward*, who besides his Princely entertainment, made him at that time (as some thinke) a promise to leave him his Successour in the Kingdome; & *Harold* after this going over to the Duk: in *Normandy*, for procuring some friends of his to be released, the better to effect it, tooke his solemne Oath to assist him for obtaining the Kingdome. So as having the word of *Edward*, and the oath of *Harold*, he had now sufficient obligations to expect it. But hearing of the death of King *Edward*, and that *Harold* was Crowned King, he thought himselfe not more forgotten by *Edward*, then wronged by *Harold*; and therefore sent messengers to him to put him in mind of K. *Edwards* Promise, and his owne Oath: but *Harold* puffed up with the conceit of being a King, as though that very name were enough to expiate all breach of Oathes, and that nothing could binde him, who had now the fetters in his owne hand; returned onely sleight answers, that his Oath was forced, and voyd in it selfe, as being made without consent of the Kingdome. Whereupon the Duke thus sleighted by *Harold*, endevours to make him an honest man by force, assuring himselfe, he should find him the weaker Enemy, for finding him a perjured Friend.

The Reasons that facilitated his Conquest of England.

DUke *William* incensed with *Harolds* answers, acquaints his Nobility with his purpose, who with some adoe consented to ayd him, as likewise many other great Lords of *France*, but specially *Baldwyn* Earle of *Flanders*, whose daughter he had marryed; and who being at that time Guardian of the young King of *France*, procured ayde from him also; and to make the Enterprise the more successefull, Pope *Alexander* the second sent him a Banner with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*. So as the preparation of the Duke, both by Sea and Land was very great, having three hundred saile of ships, and as some write, 890 and as one *Norman*, above a thousand, and as *Genesicensis*, three thousand: and though *Harold* had likewise provided a warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time unfortunately diverted another way, for *Tostayne* his Brother, being then in rebellion in the North, and *Harold Harfager* King of *Norway*, at the same time invading those parts, and perhaps upon a bruite, that the Dukes Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither: where though he got

got the Victory at *Stamford*, with the death both of his Brother *Tonſtayne*, and of the King of *Norway*, yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he entred the Kingdome, as one may enter a houſe, when the doores are all left open. By this meanes King *Harolds* ſhipping, (the beſt wall of defence to an Iſland) was utterly fruſtrate: and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battaile at *Stamford*, exceedingly both weakned and impaired; yet hearing that Duke *William* was landed at *Pemſey*, not farre from *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, he repaired thither with all ſpeed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and encreaſing them by all the meanes he could, made himſelfe ready to give the Duke Battaile. Duke *William* in the meane time, as ſoone as he had landed his men, ſent his ſhips preſently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory. And then going himſelfe on land, it is ſaid, his foot ſlipped, and he fell downe; which ſome that ſtood by, taking for an ill ſigne, No (ſaith he) I have by this, taken poſſeſſion of this Land. And indeed Preſages are but as *Animus ejus qui præſagit*, as in this Dukes fall it afterwards fell out. Many wayes of compoſition, betweene Duke *William*, and King *Harold* were propounded, yet *Harold* would hearken to none, as nothing doubting of ſucceſſe, and perhaps thinking it a diſgrace, to capitulate for that, which was now his owne: and when one of his Brothers called *Gyrth*, being leſſe intereſſed, and therefore clearer ſighted, intreated him to conſider what a fearefull thing it was to breake an Oath, which he ſo ſolemnely had ſworne: *Harold* ſeemed to conceive, that nothing which he did, being a private man, could be of force to binde him now being a Prince; and ſo on the fourteenth day of *October*, being Saturday, in the yeare 1066. (which day he liked the better, becauſe it was his Birth-day, hoping, that the day of his Birth would not ſo much degenerate, to prove the day of his death, though even this alſo bred no good blood to the Action, for the Souldiers of *Harold*, thinking thereby to honour their Kings Birth-day, ſpent the night before in revelling and drinking, where the Souldiers of the Duke, out of conſideration of their next dayes worke, ſpent the night in quietneſſe and devotion) they joyned battaile, (the *Kentiſh-men* being placed in the Fore-front, as by an ancient cuſtome is their due, and King *Harold* with his *Londoners*, leading the maine Battaile) where though their Armies were not much unequall in number, (for they were each of them neare about threeſcore thouſand men) yet there was great oddes in the expertneſſe of their Souldiers, and more in the advantage of their weapons: for, the Duke had with him all the flowre of *France* and *Flanders*, where King *Harold* had loſt his beſt men, in his late Battaile: and for advantage of weapons, the *Normans* had long Bowes and Arrowes, which of the *Engliſh* at that time, were not at all in uſe: what mervaile then that the *Normans* got the Victory, though King *Harold* loſing his life, yet loſt no Reputation; and though the *Engliſh* Souldiers ſhewed no leſſe valour, in being Conquered, then the *Normans* did in Conquering. One circumſtance may not be omitted, that King *Harold* as an expert Generall, had ordered his men in ſo firme a Body, that no force of the *Normans* could diſorder their Rankes, till Duke *William*, uſed a Straragem, commanding his men to retire, and to counterfeit flight; by which he drew the *Engliſh* on, upon a hollow ground, covered with earth, whereinto many of them fell, and periſhed, and beſides into an ambuſh of his Horſemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Withall, there ſeemes one great errour to have beene committed (at leaſt, if it were an errour, and not rather a neceſſity) that there was not a ſupplementall Army provided; (as his Brother *Gyrth* would have had it) which might have come on if the firſt had failed, and would have beene of great advantage againſt a wearyed Army. But when *Sic viſum eſt ſuperis*, all humane force is weake and cannot withſtand, all humane Providence is unprovided, and cannot prevent. The body of *Harold* at his Mother *Thyrace* ſuite was recovered, and lyes buryed in *Waltham* Abbey, which he had begunne to build, at leaſt to repaire. But here *Gyraldus Cambrenſis* tels a ſtrange ſtory, that *Harold* was not ſlaine in the Battaile, but onely wounded and loſt his left eye, and then eſcaped by flight to *Cheſter*, where he afterwards led a holy Anchorets life.

How

How Duke William *proceeded after his victory at* Haſtings.

AS his Valour wonne him the Victory, ſo his Victory wonne him a Crowne; that now of an old Duke, he was ſuddenly become a young King: and indeed, nothing ſo much renues life, and makes the yeares in a manner young againe: as addition of Honour, ſpecially when it is the fruite of merit. Firſt therefore, having given publicke thankes to God for his happy ſucceſſe, he led his Army towards *London*, not the direct way (perhaps doubting ſome new Encounter) but coaſting about through part of *Kent*, through *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Hampſhire* and *Barkeſhire*, where at *Wallingford* he paſſed over the *Thames*; and then through *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Hartfordſhire*, untill he came to *Barkehamſtead*, where there came unto him *Aldred* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, *Woolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Willfere*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, and many other Prelates, accompanyed with *Edgar Atheling*, with Earle *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers, and men of the greateſt ſway in the Kingdome, and many others of the Nobility. It is true, upon the defeate at *Haſtings*, Earle *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, had a purpoſe to ſet up *Edgar Atheling*, as next Heire of the Royall blood; and Grand-childe to *Edmund Ironſide*, and ſo beloved of the people, that he was called their Darling: but conſidering his young yeares, and other inabilities, but ſpecially finding the mindes of the Biſhops, (who at that time bore all the ſway) to be otherwiſe inclined, they deſiſted from that courſe, and thus the Duke, without any oppoſition, comming to *London*, was received by Biſhops, and Lords and all, with great joy, though ſmall gladneſſe, and if he had not their hearts, yet he had their knees, for in moſt humble manner they ſubmitted themſelves to him, acknowledging him for their Soveraigne Lord, and upon *Chriſtmas*-day after, he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Aldred* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury Stigand*, not being admitted to doe that office, for ſome defect in his Inveſtiture; and perhaps for ſome aſperſion in his manners.

How he rewarded his followers.

THough he hath had the name of Conquerour, yet he uſed not the Kingdome as gotten by Conqueſt, for he tooke no mans living from him, nor diſpoſſeſſed any of their goods, but ſuch onely, whoſe demerit made unworthy to hold them; as appeares by his Act to one *Warren* a *Norman*, to whom he had given the Caſtle of *Sherborne* in *Norfolke*; for when *Sherborne*, who was owner of it, acquainted the King, that the Caſtle was his; and that he had never borne Armes againſt him; he preſently commanded *Warren*, to deliver it quietly up unto him. Onely vacancies of Offices, and filling up the places of thoſe who were ſlaine or fled, were the preſent meanes he made uſe of, for preferring his Followers. One ſpeciall preferment we cannot omit, that where one *Herlowyn* a Nobleman in *Normandy*, had marryed his Mother *Arlette*, and had by her a Sonne named *Hugh Lupus*, he gave to the ſaid *Hugh*, the Earledome of *Cheſter*, to hold of him as freely by his ſword, as himſelfe held *England* by his Crowne, by vertue of which Grant, the ſaid *Hugh* ordained under him foure Barons, *Nigell* he made Baron of *Halton*: *Malbanke*, Baron of *Nantwich*: *Euſtace* Baron of *Mawpaſe*; and *Vernon*, Baron of *Shipbrooke*: Such an Honour, as no Subject before or ſince, ever enjoyed the like.

What meanes he uſed for ſecuring himſelfe in the Kingdome.

BEſides the Oath of Fealty, which he tooke of all his Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, at his Coronation; in Lent following, going into *Normandy*, he tooke along with him the greateſt part of the great men of the Kingdome, of whom, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two Earles of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, *Stigand* Arch-

Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Edgar Atheling*, *Waltheoff* ſonne to *Syward* formerly Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* were the chiefe; leaving the care of the Kingdome in his abſence to *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, his Brother by the Mother; and to *William Fits Osburne*, whom he had made Earle of *Hereford*. And to abate the greatneſſe of the Prelates, which at that time was growne in a manner unlimited, he ordained that from thenceforth, they ſhould not command with any Temporall Authority whatſoever. And becauſe the common people are no leſſe to be feared for their number, then the Nobility for their greatneſſe, he firſt tooke from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving them without ſtings, they might afterward be but Droanes. And becauſe there is ſeldome any danger from ſingular numbers, but all the danger riſeth from plurality: therefore to prevent conſpiracies and combinations, which are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded that in all Townes and Villages, a Bell ſhould be rung at eight a clocke in the Evening, and that in every houſe they ſhould then put out their Fire and Lights (which was called *Couure Feu*) and goe to Bed. And for more ſecurity he erected Caſtles in the moſt doubtfull places of the Kingdome. One at *Yorke*, another at *Lincolne*, a third at *Nottingham*, (at that time called *Snottingham*) and a fourth at *Haſtings*, where he firſt Landed. By theſe meanes the Kingdome was quiet all the time of his being away in *Normandy*, ſaving onely that *Edrick* the Foreſter, in the County of *Hereford*, calling in to his ayde the Kings of *Wales*, made ſome ſmall diſturbance. And indeed all the States of the Kingdome might in his very perſon finde ſomething to make them apt to tolerate his Government. For firſt, the People might thinke themſelves in a ſort advanced, being now made members of a greater Body; when the Dukedome of *Normandy* ſhould come to be annexed to the Kingdome of *England*; and by experience of his good Governement being a Duke, they might well hope, he would not governe worſe being made a King. And the Nobility might be well content, as having a King of their former Kings chooſing, and though a Stranger, yet no Alien, as having in him many veines of the ſame blood, and therefore likely alſo to have ſome veines of the ſame goodneſſe, of their good King *Edward*. But ſpecially the Clergy could not chuſe but be content, as having a King who came commended to them, by a commending as ſtrong as a commanding, the Popes Benediction.

What Troubles or Inſurrections were during his Raigne.

BUt the Body of a State being more obnoxious to crudities and ill humours, then the ſtate of a Naturall body; It is impoſſible to continue long without diſtempers; notwithſtanding any preſervatives that can be applyed. And therefore in the ſecond yeare of his Raigne, brake forth the diſcontentment of *Edgar Etheling*, juſtly the firſt, as having moſt cauſe, being the next of the late Royall blood, and therefore moſt apt to be ſenſible of ſervitude; who taking along with him his mother *Agatha*, and his two Siſters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtine*; ſtole ſecretly away to Sea, with intention to paſſe into *Hungary*, the Country where he was borne; but by contrary winds was caſt upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, where the King *Malcolme*, not onely moſt kindly entertained him, but for a ſtricter bond of kindneſſe, tooke his Siſter *Margaret* to Wife, by whom he had many Children, out of which, in the ſecond Generation after, a match was found, by which in the perſon of King *Henry* the ſecond, the *Saxon* and *Norman* blood were conjoyned, the union whereof continues in the race of our Kings of *England* to this day. Not long after to *Edgar* in *Scotland*, came the two great Earles, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, brothers to *Agatha* the late King *Harolds* Wife; alſo *Hereward*, *Goſpatrick*, and *Syward*, with many other Lords; and ſhortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Arch-biſhops, with divers of the Clergy. And theſe Lords being together in *Scotland*, did but watch opportunity, to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity they had loſt; And aſſiſted by the *Scots*, they invaded the North parts, ſpoyling the Country, and killing many for the fault they had themſelves committed, but all they could do, was but to forrage the Country, and ſo returne.

After

After this, in the third yeare of his Raigne, the two ſonnes of *Swayne* King of *Denmarke*, *Harold* and *Canutus*, with a Fleet of 240. ſhips, entered *Humber*, and invaded the North parts, with whom the *Engliſh* Lords in *Scotland* joyned, and forraged all the Country, till they came neere to *Yorke*. When the *Normans* that were in the Towne, to ſave the City, ſet fire on the ſuburbs; but the fire not ſo contented, by aſſiſtance of a violent winde, tooke hold of the City it ſelfe, burning a great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth then the City, a Library of excellent Bookes, and the *Normans* that were left in defence of the City, to the number of three thouſand, were all ſlaine. King *William* hearing hereof was ſo much incenſed, that with all ſpeed he raiſed an Army, and entred *Northumberland*, waſting the Country that already lay waſt; and yet for all his great rage, was contented with a great ſumme of money, to purchaſe the *Danes* departure. By theſe devaſtations in many Shires of the Kingdome, but eſpecially in *Northumberland*, ſo great a Dearth and Famine followed, that men were glad to eate horſes and dogges, cats and rats, and what elſe is moſt abhorrent to nature; and betweene *Yorke* and *Durham*, the ſpace of 60. miles, for nine yeares together, there was ſo utter deſolation, as that neither any houſe was left ſtanding, nor any ground tilled.

Many other inſurrections there were in his Raigne, as at *Exceter*, at *Oxford*, in the Iſle of *Ely*, and many times by the *Scots* in the Northerne parts; but all theſe were eaſily ſuppreſt, for they were but ſcattered Forces; *Et dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur*; whereas if they had united themſelves into an Army, they might perhaps have made it a Warre, which now were little more then Routs and Riots. Yet ſome write, that King *William* granted *Cumberland* to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, to hold from him conditionally, that the *Scots* ſhould not attempt any thing prejudiciall to the Crowne of *England*, for which Grant King *Malcolme* did him Homage.

The greateſt and laſt was an Inſurrection raiſed in *Normandie*, by his ſonne *Robert*, the more dangerous becauſe unnatural, for by the inſtigation and aſſiſtance of *Philip* King of *France*, (emulous now of K. *Williams* greatneſſe) he entred *Normandie*, & claimed it as in his owne right. His father indeede had made him a promiſe of it long before, but *Robert* impatient of delay, as counting ſo long ſtaying to bee little better then diſinheriting, endeavoured by ſtrong hand to wreſt it from his father. But his father King *William* hearing hereof, with a ſtrong Army paſſeth over into *Normandie*, where in a battaile meeting hand to hand with his ſonne, was by him unhorſed, and hurt in the arme: but his ſonne perceiving him by his voyce to bee his father, ſuddenly leapes off his horſe, takes up his father, caſts himſelfe downe at his feete, and humbly intreats his pardon; which as a father he eaſily grants, embraceth his ſonne, and ever after, the ſonne from the father had fatherly love, and the father from the ſonne a filiall obedience. But though his father did thus pardon him, yet it ſeemes there is a *Nemeſis*, or to ſay better, a Divine Providence, that did not pardon him; for after this, it is obſerved he never proſpered in any thing hee undertooke. It cannot perhaps be diſcovered, whether the Kings ſeverity begat his ſubjects Inſurrections, or his ſubjects Inſurrections the Kings ſeverity; but which of them ſoever was the mother, it is certaine they were nurſes each of them to other.

His aptneſſe to forget Injuries.

CErtainly there is no ſuch goodneſſe of nature, as aptneſſe to be reconciled, of which vertue it ſeemes King *William* had a large proportion, for he ſeldome remembred injuries after ſubmiſſion. *Edric* the firſt that rebelled againſt him, he placed in Office neere about him. *Goſpatric* who had beene a factious man, and a plotter of conſpiracies againſt him, he made Earle of *Glocester*, and truſted him with managing a War againſt *Malcolme* King of *Scots*. *Euſtace* Earle of *Boleyne*, who in the Kings abſence in *Normandy* attempted to ſeiſe upon *Dover* Caſtle, he received afterward into great favour and reſpect. The Earles *Marchar* & *Syward*, with *Wolnoth* the brother of *Harold*, a little before his death, he releaſed out of priſon. *Edgar*, who as

next heire to the *Saxon* Kings, had often attempted by Armes to recover his right, he not onely after twice defection pardoned, but gave him alſo allowance as a Prince: It is ſaid twenty ſhillings a day, or rather a pound weight of ſilver, and other large livings beſides; ſo as *Edgar* finding the ſweetneſſe of ſafety, and the pleaſures of a Country life, ſpent the reſt of his dayes (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying nor being envyed. Only *Waltheoff* Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Northampton*, of all the *Engliſh* Nobility was put to death in all the time of this Kings Raigne; and not he neither, till hee had twice falſified his Oath of Allegeance.

Of new Acqueſts to this Kingdome, by this Kings meanes.

IN the thirteenth yeare of his Raigne, he ſubdued *Wales*, and made it tributary to him, as before in the ſeaventh yeare of his Raigne, he brought *Malcolme* King of *Scots* to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him Hoſtages; that if *England* made him greater then he was before, a King of a Duke; he no leſſe made *England* greater then it was before, three Kingdomes in one.

Of his Exactions and courſes for rayſing of money.

AS his Taxations were many in number, ſo they were various in kinde, not alwayes bringing in money directly, but ſometimes obliquely ſaving it. The firſt taxe he laid upon his ſubjects was in the firſt yeare of his Raigne, after his returne out of *Normandie*; a grievous taxe all writers ſay, but none what taxe it was. In the third yeare of his Raigne he ranſacked all Monaſteries, and all the gold and ſilver of either Chalices or Shrines, he tooke to his owne uſe. Likewiſe he Seſſed all Biſhops and Abbots what number of ſouldiers they ſhould finde to ſerve him in his warres: alſo the ſtrangers which he maintained in Pay, he diſperſed into Religious houſes, and ſome alſo among the Nobility to bee maintained at their charge. Many other taxations he made, but laſt of all in the eighteenth yeare of his Raigne, by the adviſe of *Roger* Earle of *Hertford*, he cauſed the whole Realme to be deſcribed in a Cenſuall Roll, (whereof hee tooke a Preſident from King *Alfred*) ſo as there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearely rent, and the owner thereof was therein ſet downe: How many Ploughlands, what Paſtures, Fennes or Mariſhes, what Woods, Farmes, and Tenements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Alſo how many Villaines every man had; what Beaſts, what Cattell, what Fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his Poſſeſſions did yeeld. This booke was called the Roll of *Winton*, becauſe it was kept in the City of *Wincheſter*. By the *Engliſh* it was called Doomeſday booke, either by reaſon of the generality thereof, or elſe corruptly, inſtead of *Domus Dei* booke, for that it was laid in the Church of *Wincheſter*, in a place called *Domus Dei*. According to this Roll taxations were impoſed; ſometimes two ſhillings, and at this time ſix ſhillings upon every Hyde of Land, (a Hyde containing as ſome account it, twenty Acres, but as Maſter *Lambert* proveth, a hundred Acres.) In all thoſe Lands which he gave to any man, hee reſerved Dominion in chiefe to himſelfe, as alſo a yearely rent, and likewiſe a Fine whenſoever the Tenant did alien or dye. Theſe were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage, and if any died, his heire being within age, the King received the profits of his Lands, and had the cuſtody and diſpoſing of the heires body, untill his age of one and twenty yeares. To be ſhort, his greedineſſe of money was ſo great, that he ſpared not his owne brother *Odo*, but found accuſations againſt him, to the end he might ſeiſe upon his Treaſure; which was infinite great, and which he had gathered in hope to buy the Papacy. Onely one kinde of profit he forbare to meddle with, that is, Vacancies of Abbeys and Biſhopricks, which he alwayes reſerved for the Succeſſours: but then he tooke another courſe of farre greater profit, for he compelled all men to make new Fines at his pleaſure, for confirmation of any Grant or Priviledges formerly granted by any Prince of the

Realme:

Realme: by which deviſe he got into his poſſeſsion, the greateſt part of all the riches of the Land, as well of the Clergie, as of the Laity. And one particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monkes of *Ely* to purchaſe their peace, agreed to give him ſeven hundred Markes, when comming to pay it, there wanted a Groat in the weight, (for in thoſe dayes greater ſummes were not payd by tale, but by weight) which the King underſtanding, denied them all compoſition for Peace, untill with much ſuite he was intreated to accept of a thouſand Markes more.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances, and Courts of Juſtice erected by him.

ALthough at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to obſerve the Lawes of King *Edward* then in uſe, yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of courſe) he abrogated many, and in their ſtead brought in the Lawes of *Normandie*, commanding them to be written in *French*, and alſo that all Cauſes ſhould be Pleaded, and all matters of Forme diſpatched in *French*; upon a pretenſe to dignifie the *French* tongue, but with a purpoſe to intrappe men through ignorance of the language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the *Normans* language predominant in the Kingdome as he had made their perſons; which yet hee was ſo farre from effecting, that there is not ſo much as any footſteps remaining of the *Norman* language in the *Engliſh* tongue. Formes of Judgement, and trials by Fire and Water, called *Ordeal*, formerly uſed, were in ſhort time after the Conqueſt diſuſed, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganiſme. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary uſe: and all actions both criminall and reall, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve men, according to the cuſtome of *Normandie*, where the like Forme is uſed, and called by the name of Enqueſt, with the ſame cautions for the Jurours, as it is here continued to this day; though by the Lawes of *Ethelred* it appeares, that the triall by twelve men was in uſe long before his time. And where before the Biſhop and the Alderman were the abſolute Judges to determine all buſineſſe in every Shire, and the Biſhop, in many Caſes, ſhared in the benefit of the Mulcts with the King; now hee confined the Clergie within the Privince of their owne Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction, to deale onely in buſineſſe concerning rule of ſoules, according to the Canons and Lawes Epiſcopall. And where the Cauſes of the Kingdome were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward*, all matters in queſtion were upon ſpeciall penalty decided in their Gemote, or Conventicle held monethly in every Hundred: Now he ordained that foure times in the yeare, for certaine daies, the ſame buſineſſes ſhould be determined in ſuch place as he would appoint, where he conſtituted Judges to attend for that purpoſe. Alſo he Decreed there ſhould be Sheriffes in every Shire, and Juſtices of Peace for puniſhment of Malefactors. Finally he ordained his Councell of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (*Scaccarium* corruptly called ſo, of the word *Statarium*, or rather of the Boord or Table where the Officers ſate,) alſo his Courts of Juſtice, which alwayes removed with his Court. Theſe places he furniſhed with Officers, and aſſigned foure Termes in the yeare for determining controverſies among the people. The place of theſe Courts was *Weſtminſter*, where King *William Ruſus* afterward built a ſtately Palace. Now for his proviſionary Revenues, the Kings Tenants who held Lands of the Crowne, payd him no money at all, but onely Corne and other victuals; and a juſt note of the quality and quantity of every mans ratement, was taken through out all the Shires of the Kingdome, and levyed ever certaine, for maintenance of the Kings houſe. Onely the *Kentiſh* men procured the continuance of their ancient Lawes by a trick; for King *William* riding towards *Dover*, at *Swanſcombe* two miles from *Graveſend*, the *Kentiſh* men met him, but in the forme of a moving wood, by reaſon of the great boughes they had cut and carried in their hands, and compaſſing the King about, they onely made ſuite for the continuance of their Lawes, which the King without any great ſcruple granted, and glad he was ſo ridde of them. A ſtrange conceite

ceite in the *Kentish* men, to hazard themselves more, for the preserving a simple Custome; then for preserving the Liberty of themselves and their Country: But such is the violence of conceit, till it be mastered by time, or rather so very a Changeling is Humane Reason, that what they then cut downe great Woods to defend, they have since beene content to see abolished, without cutting downe so much as a twigge. But one Law especially he made, extreamely distastefull to all the Gentry of the Land: for where before they might at their pleasure hunt and take Deere which they found abroad in the Woods; Now it was Ordained, under a great penalty, no lesse then putting out their eyes; that none should presume to kill or take any of them, as reserving them onely for his owne delight. And indeed so great delight he tooke in that kinde of sport, that he depopulated a great part of *Hamshire*, the space of thirty miles, where there had beene (saith *Carton*) six and twenty Townes, and fourescore Religious Houses, and made it a Habitation for such kind of Beasts; which was then, and to this day is called the New-Forest. But the lamentable dysasters that have happened to this Kings Issue, doe plainely shew, that there is a power, that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be *Memorem Fandi atque Nefandi*. But in the first yeare of this Kings Raigne, he granted to the City of *London*, their first Charter and Liberties, in as large forme, as they enjoyed them in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, which he granted at the suite of *William* a *Norman*, Bishop of *London*, in gratefull remembrance whereof, the Lord Major and Aldermen, upon the solemne dayes of their resort to *Pauls*, doe still use to walke to the Gravestone, where this Bishop lies interred. Also this King was the first, that brought the Jewes to inhabite here in *England*, as likewise he made a Law, that whosoever forced a woman, should lose his genitals: and in his time, long Bowes came first into use in *England*, which as they were the weapons with which *France* under this King Conquered *England*: so they were the weapons with which *England* under after-Kings, Conquered *France*; as if it were not enough for us to beate them, if we did not beate them with their owne weapons. This King also appointed a Constable of *Dover* Castle, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with Immunities as they are at this day.

Affaires of the Church in his Raigne.

IN the twelfth yeare of his Raigne; *Lanfranke* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, held a Synod at *London*, where amongst other things, he removed Bishops Sees, from small Townes to great Cities, as from *Silliway* to *Chichester*; from *Kyrton* to *Exeter*; from *Wells* to *Bathe*; from *Shirborne* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorchester* to *Lincolne*; and from *Lichfield* to *Chester*; and from thence againe to *Coventry*; and not long before, the Bishopricke of *Lindisferne*, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the river *Tweede*, had beene translated to *Durham*. In the sixth yeare of his Raigne, a controversie arising betweene the two Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, they appealed to *Rome*, and the Pope remitted it to the King and Bishops of *England*. Hereupon a Synod is holden at *Windsor*, where sentence was given on *Lanfranks* then Arch-bishop of *Canterburies* side: that in matters of Religion, the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, should ever be subject to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*: Onely at *Rome* it was decreed, for matter of Title, that the See of *Yorke* should be stiled *Primas Angliæ*, and the See of *Canterbury*, *Primas totius Angliæ*, as it is at this day. And as the Arch-bishop of *Yorke* oweth obedience to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; So all the Bishops of *Scotland* owe obedience to the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, as to the Primate of *Scotland*.

But as this King tooke downe the Prelates in Temporalties, for he ordained they should exercise no Temporall Authority at all; So in Spiritualties, he rather raised them, as may be seene by a passage betweene *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, and the King: for at a time, upon the repulse of a certaine suite, the Arch-bishop in great discontentment offered to depart, when the King, in awe of his displeasure, stayed him,

him, fell downe at his feet, desired pardon, and promised to grant his suite. The King all this while being downe at the Arch-bishops feet; the Noblemen that were present, put him in mind that he should cause the King to arise, Nay (saith the Arch-bishop) let him alone, let him find what it is to anger Saint *Peter*. And as by this story, we see the insulting pride of a Prelate in those dayes: So by another, we may see the equivocating false-hood of a Prelate at that time; For *Stigand* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* would often sweare, he had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterward found he had hidden great Treasure. Also it is memorable, but scarce credible of another Bishop, who being accused of Simony, and denying it, the Cardinall before whom he was to Answer, told him, that a Bishopricke was the gift of the Holy Ghost, and therefore to buy a Bishopricke, was against the Holy Ghost, and thereupon bid him say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Sonne, and to the Holy Ghast; which the Bishop beginning, and oft essaying, could never say, [*and to the Holy Ghost*] but said it plainely when he was put out of his Bishopricke. And yet was not the Church in that Age so barren of Vertue, but that it afforded some good Bishops, as *William* Bishop of *Durham*, Founder of University Colledge in *Oxford*, but specially Bishop *Woolstan*; whom, upon *Lanfrankes* reporting, to be insufficient for the place, for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his Pontificall Robes, and to leave his Bishopricke: when suddenly out of a divine Inspiration, *Woolstan* answered: A better then you, O King, bestowed these Robes upon me, and to him I will restore them. And therewithall going to Saint *Edwards* Shrine, who had made him a Bishop, and putting off his Robes, he strucke his Staffe upon Saint *Edwards* Monument, which stucke so fast in the stone of it, that by no strength it could be drawne forth, till he drew it forth himselfe: which so terrifyed both *Lanfranke* and the King, that they intreated him to take his Robes againe, and keepe his Bishopricke. Also *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who devised a Forme of Prayers to be daily used in his Church, and was used afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common saying of *Secundum usum Sarum*. In this Kings time was *Berengarius*, who denyed the true body of Christ to be in the Sacrament; Also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the seventh, removed marryed Priests from executing Divine Service, whereof great troubles arose in *England*.

Workes of Piety, by him, and others in his time.

THis King Founded the Abbey of *Baltell* in *Sussex*, where he overcame *Harold*; the Abbey of *Selby* in *Yorkeshire*; and a third neere *London*, called Saint *Saviours*. He founded also the Priory of Saint *Nicholas* at *Exceter*; and gave great priviledges to Saint *Martins le Grand* in *London*; which Church was founded before the Conquest, by *Ingelricus* and *Emardus* his Brother, Cousins to King *Edward* the Confessour. These were this Kings workes of Piety in *England*, but in *Normandy* he Founded also an Abbey at *Caen*: where his Wife *Maude* built likewise a Monastery of Nunnes. He gave also to the Church of Saint *Stephens* in *Caen*, two Manors in *Dorsetshire*, one Mannor in *Devonshire*, another in *Essex*, much Land in *Barkeshire*, some in *Norfolke*, a Mansion house in *Woodstreete*, *London*, with many Advowsons of Churches, and even he gave his Crowne and Regall Ornaments to the said Church, being of his owne Foundation, for the redemption whereof, his Sonne *Henry* gave the Manour of *Brydeton* in *Dorsetshire*. In this Kings time, *Robert*, sonne to *Hyldebert Lucie*, Founded the Priory of *Pontfraite*; *Henry* Earle *Ferrers* Founded a Priory within his Castle at *Tutbury*; *Alwyn Chylde*, a Citizen of *London*, Founded the Monastery of Saint *Saviours* at *Bermondsey* in *Southwarke*, and gave to the Monkes there divers Rents in *London*: Also in this Kings time, *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, after the firing of the former Church of Saint *Paul* in *London*, began the Foundation of the new Church, a worke so admirable, that many thought it would never have beene finished. Towards the building of the East end whereof, the King gave the choyce stones of his Castle, at

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the West end of the City, upon the banke of the River *Thames*; which Castle having beene at that time fired, in place thereof *Edward Kilwarby* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, did afterwards Found a Monastery of *Blacke-fryers*. The King also gave the Manor of *Storford* to the same *Maurice*, and to his Successours in that See; after whose decease, *Richard* his next Successour, bestowed all the Rents of his Bishopricke, to advance the building of this Church, maintaining himselfe by his private Patrimony; and yet all he could doe, made no great shew, but the finishing of the worke was left to many other succeeding Bishops. In the fifteenth yeare of this Kings Raigne, *William* Bishop of *Durham*, Founded University Colledge in *Oxford*: Also one *Gylbert* a *Norman* Lord, Founded the Abbey of *Merton* in *Surrey*, seven miles from *London*; and *Thomas* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, first builded the Minster of *Yorke*. In this Kings sixteenth yeare, his Brother Duke *Robert*, being sent against the *Scots*, builded a Fort, where at this day standeth *New Castle* upon *Tyne*: but the Towne and Walls were builded afterward by King *John*. Also in this Kings time, *Ledes* Castle in *Kent* was builded by *Creveken*, and the Castle of *Oxford*, by *Robert d' Oylie:* two Noble men that came into *England* with him. *Osmond* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the new Church there; Also *Waring* Earle of *Shrewesbury*, built two Abbeyes, one in the Suburbs of *Shrewesbury*, and another at *Wenlocke*.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the twentyeth yeare of his Raigne, so great a fire happened in *London*, that from the West-gate to the East-gate, it consumed Houses and Churches all the way, and amongst the rest the Church of Saint *Paul*, the most grievous fire that ever happened in that City. Also this yeare, by reason of distemperature of weather, there insued a Famine: and afterwards a miserable mortality of Men and Cattell. Also this yeare in the Province of *Wales*, upon the Sea shoare, was found the body of *Gawen*, sisters sonne to *Arthur*, the great King of the *Britaines:* reported to be foureteene foot in length. Also in this Kings time, a great Lord sitting at a Feast, was set upon by Mice, and though he were removed from Land to Sea, and from Sea againe to Land, yet the Mice still followed him, and at last devoured him.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE had to Wife, and her onely; *Mathilde* or *Maude*, Daughter to *Baldwyn* Earle of *Flanders*. She was Crowned Queene of *England*, the second yeare of his Raigne: the seventeenth yeare of his Raigne, she dyed; a Woman onely memorable for this, that nothing memorable is Recorded of her, but that she built a Nunnery at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where she lies Buryed. By her he had foure sonnes and five daughters. His Sonnes were, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: of whom *Robert* the eldest, called Court-cayse, of his short thighes, or Court-hose, of his short Breeches, or Courtois, of his courteous behaviour: (for so many are the Comments upon his name) succeeded his Father in the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *Richard* his second Sonne, was kild by mis-fortune, hunting in the New-Forest. *William* his third Sonne, called *Rufus*, succeeded his Father in the Kingdome of *England*. *Henry* his youngest Sonne called *Beauclerke*, for his Learning, had by his Fathers Will, five thousand pounds in money, and the inheritance also of his Mother. His Daughters were *Cicelie*, *Constance*, *Adela*, *Margaret*, and *Elenor*, of whom *Cicelie* was Abbesse of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Constance* was marryed to *Alan* Earle of *Britaine*. *Adela* to *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*. *Margaret* affianced to *Harold* King of *England*, but never marryed, and dyed young. *Elenor*, betroathed to *Alphonsus* King of *Gallitia*, but desiring to dye a Virgin, she had her wish, spending her time so much in Prayer, that with continuall kneeling, her knees were brawned.

Of

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was but meane of ſtature, yet bigge of body, and therewithall ſo ſtrong, that few were able to draw his Bow: growing in yeares, he was bald before, his beard alwayes ſhaven, after the manner of the *Normans*; and where in his younger time, he was much given to that infirmity of Youth, which grows out of ſtrength of Youth, Incontinency: after he was once marryed, whether out of ſatiety, or out of Grace, he was never knowne to offend in that kind. Of ſo perfit health, that he was never ſicke, till that ſickneſſe whereof he dyed. Of a ſterne countenance, yet of an affable nature: In warre, as expert as valiant: In Peace, as provident as prudent: and in all his Enterpriſes, as Fortunate, as Bold and Hardy. Much given to Hunting and Feaſting, wherein he was no leſſe pleaſant then magnificent. He made no great proficience in Learning; as having had his education in the licentiouſneſſe of the *French* Court: yet he favoured learned men; and drew out of *Italy*, *Lanfranke*, *Anſelme*, *Durand*, *Traberne*, and divers others, famous at that time for Learning and Piety. Very devout he was, and alwayes held the Clergy in exceeding great Reverence: And this is one ſpeciall honour attributed unto him, that from him we beginne the Computation of our Kings of *England*.

His Places of Reſidence.

HIs *Chriſtmas* he commonly kept at *Gloceſter*; his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*; and his *Whitſontide* at *Weſtminſter*; and once in the yeare, at one of theſe places would be new Crowned; as though by often putting on his Crowne, he thought to make it ſit the eaſier upon his head. And for the houſes which the Kings of *England* had in thoſe dayes in *London*; I finde that at *Weſtminſter* was a Palace, the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*, from the time of *Edward* the Confeſſour: which in the Raigne of King *Henry* the Eight, was by caſuall fire burnt downe to the ground. A very large and ſtately Palace this was, and in that Age, for building incomparable. The Remaines whereof, are the Chamber of aſſembling the High Court of Parliament, and the next unto it, wherein anciently they were wont to beginne the Parliament, called Saint *Edwards* painted Chamber, becauſe the Tradition holdeth, that the ſaid King *Edward* dyed in it. Adjoyning unto this, is the White-hall, wherein at this day the Court of Requeſts is kept; Beneath this is the Great Hall, where Courts of Juſtice are now kept: This Hall which we now have, was built by King *Richard* the ſecond, out of the Ground; as appeareth by his Armes engraven in the ſtone worke: (when he had plucked downe the old Hall, built before by *William Rufus*) and made it his owne habitation. But the aforeſaid Palace, after it was burnt downe in *anno* 1512. lay deſolate, and King *Henry* the Eighth ſhortly after tranſlated the Kings ſeat, to a houſe not farre off, built by Cardinall *Woolſey*, and is called White-Hall. The Tower of *London* alſo was anciently uſed by the Kings of *England* to lodge in. Other Houſes they anciently had; one where Bridewell now ſtandeth, out of the ruines whereof, the now Bridewell was built. Another called the Tower Royall, now the Kings Wardrobe. Another in Bucklers-bury, called *Strues* Tower. Another where now the Popes-head Taverne is, over againſt the Old Exchange; and oftentimes they made uſe of *Baynards* Caſtle. But theſe are all long ſince demoliſhed, that we may ſee Palaces and places have their Fates and periods as well as men.

His Death and Buriall.

TOwards the end of his Raigne, he appointed his two ſonnes *Robert* and *Henry* with joynt authority, Governors of *Normandy*: Theſe went together, to viſit the King of *France*, lying at *Conſtance*, where entertaining the time with variety of

ſports,

ſports; *Henry* played with *Lewis* the *Daulphin* of *France* at Cheſſe, and winning much money of him, *Lewis* grew ſo cholericke, that he threw the Cheſſ-men at *Henries* face, calling him the ſonne of a Baſtard: and thereupon *Henry* ſtrucke *Lewis* with the Cheſſ-board, and had preſently ſlaine him, if his Brother *Robert* had not ſtept in, and ſtayed him. Upon this the King of *France* invades *Normandy*, and drawes *Robert*, King *Williams* eldeſt ſonne, to joyne with him againſt his Father: but King *William* comming preſently over with an Army, was ſoone reconciled to his Sonne, yet being corpulent and in yeares, was by this meanes much diſtempered in Body, and ſo retyred to *Roan*, where he ſtayed, as not being well in health. The *French* King hearing of his ſickneſſe, ſcoffingly ſaid, that he lay in Childe-bed of his great belly. Which ſo incenſed King *William*, that he ſwore by Gods Reſurrection and his Brightneſſe, (his uſuall Oath) that aſſoone as he ſhould be Churched of that Childe, he would offer a thouſand Lights in *France*; and indeed he performed it; for he entred *France* in Armes, and ſet many Townes and Corne-fields on fire, in which he was ſo violent, that by reaſon of his travaile and the unreaſonable heate, being in the moneth of *Auguſt*, it brought upon him a relapſe of his ſickneſſe, and withall, leaping on horſe-backe over a ditch, his fat belly did beare ſo hard upon the pommell of his ſaddle, that he tooke a rupture in his inner parts; whereupon returning to *Roan*, his ſickneſſe ſo encreaſed, that in ſhort time he dyed; and that which is ſcarce credible, yet Recorded for certaine, the very ſame day he dyed at *Roan*, his death was knowne at *Rome*, a thouſand miles off. In all the time of his ſickneſſe, he retained to the very laſt, his memory and ſpeech: and ſhewed many demonſtrations of Devotion, and true contrition, ſpecially for his ſeverity uſed towards the *Engliſh*. And thus he who was a Conquerour of men, was conquered himſelfe by death; the ninth day of *September*, when he had Raigned twenty yeares, and neare eleven moneths, in the threeſcore and fourth yeare of his age: I may well ſay, he was conquered by Death; ſeeing death uſed him more deſpitefully, then ever he living uſed any whom he had conquered: For no ſooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants purloyning what they could lay hands on, forſooke him and fled; leaving his body almoſt naked upon the Ground. Afterwards, *William* Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, commanded his body ſhould be conveyed to *Caen*, but his command was little regarded: till at laſt, one *Herlewyne*, a Country Knight, at his owne charges cauſed his body to be Embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abbot and Monkes meeting the Corps, ſuddenly in the middeſt of their ſolemnities, a violent fire brake out in the Towne, with the fright whereof, every man left the place; and thus was his body the ſecond time left forlorne. In the end a few Monkes returned and accompanyed the Herſe to the Abbey Church: but when the Divine Office was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the Grave, one *Anſelme Fitz Arthur*, ſtood up, and claimed that Ground to have beene the Floore of his Fathers houſe, which King *William* had violently wreſted from him; and thereupon charged them, as they would anſwer it before the dreadfull face of God, not to cover his Body with the Earth of his Inheritance. Whereupon after ſome pauſe, agreement was made with him, and three pound was payed in hand for the Ground broken up, and a hundred pounds more afterward for the Ground it ſelfe, payed him by *Henry* the Kings youngeſt Sonne, who onely of all his Sonnes was preſent at the Funerall. And yet this was not all, but when his Body was to be put in the Earth, it happened that the Sepulchre of Stone which ſtood within the Grave, was hewne ſomewhat too ſtrait for his fat belly, ſo as they were faine to preſſe it downe with ſome violence, with which, whether his bowels burſt, or whether ſome Excrements were forced out of their naturall paſſage; ſuch an intolerable ſtinke proceeded from him, that none were able to endure it, but made all the haſt they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the laſt of his miſeries: For in the yeare, 1562. when *Caſtillion* tooke the City of *Caen*, certaine diſſolute Souldiers opened his Tombe, and not finding the Treaſure they expected, threw forth his bones with great deriſion: whereof ſome were afterward brought into *England*.

So

So that if we consider his many troubles in life, and after his death, we may well thinke, that notwithstanding all his greatnesse, a very meane man would hardly be perswaded to change fortunes with him.

Men of Note in his time.

MEn of Learning in his time, were but rare in this Island, yet some there were, particularly *Marianus Scotus*, a Historiographer, and *Alpheredus* a Monke of *Beverley*, a Writer also of Historicall Argument. And as for Men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a time of Servitude, but as if all the *Englisb* Valour were now remaining in the *Kentish* men, they onely made resistance, when all other Countries had submitted.

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THE RAIGNE OF KING WILLIAM THE SECOND.

KING *William* the Second called *Rufus*, ſecond Son to *William* the Conquerour, appointed Succeſſor by his Fathers Will; was upon the fifth of *October*, in the yeare 1087. by *Lanfranke* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Crowned at *Weſtminſter* King of *England*. Wherein his Father ſeemes to have followed the Example of *Jacob*, who gave to his younger ſonne *Joſeph*, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: for with his ſword and his Bow, had King *William* gotten the Land of *England*; and therefore might juſtly beſtow it on which of his Sonnes he pleaſed. And beſides, there was cauſe enough, why he ſhould ſhew this Sonne of his ſome extraordinary favour, ſeeing in the Rebellion of his brother *Robert*, yet he ſtood firmely for his Father; and in his quarrell incurred no ſmall hazard of his life, as wherein he received divers wounds: and perhaps alſo, his Father thought the rough diſpoſition of this ſonne, fitter to bridle the inſurrections of the *Engliſh*, then the ſoftly diſpoſition of his ſonne *Robert*.

But though he have thus quietly gotten the Crowne, he muſt not looke to hold it ſo; and indeed at his very beginning is aſſaulted with two troubles in one: for both his Brother *Robert* prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdome combine with *Robert* to aſſiſt him in it. The firſt mover of this trouble was *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, his Unckle, who finding himſelfe not to beare the ſway he expected, and ſpecially for an old grudge he bore to *Lanfranke*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, as by whoſe means, in the former Kings time he had bin impriſoned (the Arch-biſhop telling him, that though he might not impriſon a Biſhop, yet he might impriſon an Earle of *Kent*, as this *Odo* was made not long before) he drawes many other Biſhops and Temporall Lords to joyne with him, in behalfe of Duke *Robert*, againſt the King: but though the ſtorme were violent for a while, yet it ſoon paſſed over; that indeed of his Lords, with more difficulty: but that of his brother *Robert* with more coſt: For it was at laſt agreed, that *Rufus* ſhould pay him three thouſand markes a yeare, during his life, and leave him the Kingdome after his owne deceaſe. But there was difficulty in repreſſing his Rebell Lords, by reaſon of their ſpreading themſelves abroad in many quarters. For *Odo* fortifyed himſelfe in *Kent*; *Roger Montgomery*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, in *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, and *Cambridgeſhire*; *Hugh de Grandmenill*, in *Leyceſterſhire*, and *Northamptonſhire*; *Robert*

bert Mowbray Earle of *Northumberland*, poſſeſt himſelfe of *Briſtow*; *William* Biſhop of *Durham*, of the North parts of the Realme; and divers other of the Clergy, and Nobility, fortify themſelves in *Herefordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and all the Countries adjoyning to *Wales*, thinking by this meanes to diſtract the King that he ſhould not know where to beginne, nor whither to turne him. But this courſe, as it made it hard to repreſſe them ſuddenly, ſo it made it eaſie to repreſſe them at leiſure; for being thus divided, they were but as ſingle ſtickes, that are eaſily broken; where if they had united themſelves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a ſtrength of farre greater reſiſtance. But the King having *Lanfranke* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Woolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, firme of his ſide: partly by their Authority and love amongſt the people; but chiefely by his owne promiſes, to reſtore their ancient Lawes, and to allow them liberty of hunting in his Foreſts, he ſo firmely wonne the hearts of all unto him; that ſome of the Rebell Lords he reconciled with faire words; as *Robert Montgomery*; (a principall ſinew of the Faction) ſome againe he maſtered by ſtrong hand; and *Odo* the chiefe Engineere of all the worke, he beſieged in the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, tooke him Priſoner, and forced him to abjure the Realme. And thus this great Rebellion was ſuppreſſed: In which it is obſervable, that though ſo many hot bloods were up, yet there was but little blood ſpilt. A happy rebellion for the *Engliſh*; for the Rebell Lords and Biſhops being all *Normans*, the King had none to truſt to, but the *Engliſh*, whom for their faithfulneſſe to him in this ſervice, he ever after reſpected more then he had done before.

After this ſtorme was over in the South, there ariſeth another in the North; For now *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, thinking it a fit time to doe ſome feates when King *William* was troubled at home; invades *Northumberland*, and having burnt and ſpoyled the Country, returnes home laden with booties. Which King *William* hearing, he takes his brother *Robert* along with him, and with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, brings *Malcolme* to acknowledge his ancient homage: and upon Faith given, returnes to *London*. After this, Duke *Robert* finding his brother King *William*, not to keep his promiſe, in paying his Penſion, complaines to the King of *France*, and with his ayde, aſſaults and takes ſome Townes, which he before had delivered in pawne for money to his brother King *William*; who hearing of it, haſtens into *Normandy* with an Army, and by the mediation of money takes off the King of *France*, and makes his brother, being left deſtitute of aſſiſtance, to aske him pardon: a wiſe and mercifull courſe in King *William*; for to buy his peace with the King of *France*, did coſt him but money, where to have purchaſed it by Warre, muſt beſides money, have coſt the lives of many. After this *Malcolme*, King of *Scots*, came in kindneſſe to viſit King *William* at *Gloceſter*: but the King not vouchſafing ſo much as to ſee him, put him into ſo great an indignation, that returning home, he makes ready an Army, invades *Northumberland*, making great ſpoyle and getting great ſpoyles, but by *Robert Mowbray*, the Kings Lieutenant there, was taken in ambuſh, and together with his eldeſt ſonne *Edward*, defeated and ſlaine. This King *Malcolme* was a moſt valiant Prince, as may appeare by an Act of his of an extraordinary ſtraine; for hearing of a conſpiracy plotted to murther him, whereof one was Authour, whoſe name is not recorded, he diſſembled the knowing it, till being abroad one day a hunting, he tooke the fellow apart from the company, and being alone, ſaid unto him: Here now is a fit time and place, to doe that manfully, which you have intended to doe treacherouſly; draw your weapon, and if you kill me, none being preſent, you can incurre no danger: with which ſpeech of the King, the fellow was ſo daunted, that preſently he fell downe at his feet, confeſſed his fault, humbly asked forgiveneſſe, and being granted him, was ever after ſerviceable and faithfull to him. The death of King *Malcolme* and his Sonne, was ſo grievous, and ſo grievouſly taken of *Margaret* his Queene, the ſiſter of *Edgar Atheling*, that ſhe made it her Prayer, and had it granted, not to over-live them, and ſo, within three dayes after dyed: a woman as full of vertues all her life, as at this time of ſorrowes; whom yet I ſhould

not breake order to mention, but for one pious Act of hers, in cauſing a moſt barbarous cuſtome of *Scotland* to be abrogated, that when a man marryed, his Lord ſhould lye the firſt night with his Bride. Which cuſtome by her indevour was altered to a payment in money.

After theſe troubles were ended in the North, a new trouble ariſeth in the Weſt; for now the *Welſh* men hearing of King *Williams* diſtractions, enter upon the *Engliſh* borders, making ſpoyle and havocke of men and Townes: whom King *William* went with an Army to encounter, but could doe no good upon them, till he was faine to returne to *London*, and provide him a ſtronger Army. About this time alſo *Robert Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, by whom *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in King *Williams* ſervice formerly ſlaine, finding his ſervice not rewarded as he expected, enters into Conſpiracy againſt the King; but the King being informed of the practiſe, ſeiſeth ſuddenly upon many of his Compl.ces, and himſelfe, after many deviſes and ſhifts for flight, is taken and put in priſon, in the Caſtle of *Windſor*. After this, King *William* to take a further revenge of the *Welſh*, and to make an abſolute conqueſt of that unquiet people, with a farre greater Army then ever before, enters *Wales*, and thinkes with new devices of Caſtles and Forts, utterly to ſubdue them, but they defending themſelves, with their Woods, and Mountainous paſſages, tyre and weary out the King and his Army, ſo as he leaves the buſineſſe to two *Hughes*, one, Earle of *Salop*, the other of *Cheſter*, who firſt invaded and tooke *Angleſey*, (their Iſland of refuge) where they uſed all kinde of cruelty, pulling out of eyes, and cutting off hands and noſes: in proſecuting of which buſineſſe, *Hugh* Earle of *Salop* was ſlaine, but *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, entred *Wales*, and in the end, with the ſlaughter of *Rees*, the laſt King of *Wales*, made an abſolute Conqueſt of the Country. For after this, though they often rebelled, yet they were in a true ſubjection. And theſe for the moſt part, were all the troubles of his Raigne: where we may obſerve, that none of them did ever overtake him, but ſtill he met them, and from none of them he ever fled, but was ſtill the purſuer, and yet ſo many as might well have taken away all the comfort of a Crowne, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a paire of Beades, but that Ambition, though ſometimes weary, yet never tyres.

His Exactions and Courſes for raiſing of money.

IN the ſecond yeare of his Raigne, *Lanfranke* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* dyed, who had kept the kingdome and King in ſome good Order, but aſſoone as he was dead, the King, as though he were then got looſe, ranged without reines, in all licentiouſneſſe: preying eſpecially upon the Clergy, as amongſt whom he found the richeſt Booties. When Biſhoprickes or Abbeyes were vacant, it was familiar with him to ſeiſe them into his owne hands, as this of *Lanfranke*, he kept to his owne uſe foure yeares together, and longer would have kept it, if a ſickneſſe of his Body had not healed this diſeaſe of his minde: For finding himſelfe in ſome hazard of death, he then conferred the Arch-biſhopricke of *Canterbury* upon *Anſelme*, and the Biſhopricke of *Lincolne*, upon *Robert Bloet*, two eminent men of that time; but aſſoone as hee was well againe, it repented him of that he had done, and was not quiet, till hee had drawne from the ſaid *Bloet*, five thouſand pounds, and from *Anſelme* alſo good ſummes of money. For he repented not more in time of ſickneſſe for the evill he had done in health, then being in health, he repented him of the good he had done in ſickneſſe; that it may in a manner be ſaid, there was nothing made him ſicke but health, and nothing made him be in health but ſickneſſe. But this preying upon the Clergy was growne into ſuch a cuſtome with him, that he kept in his hands at one time, three Biſhoprickes, *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, and *Saliſbury*; and twelve Abbeys, all which he let out to Farme, and received the profits: and from this King, the uſe is ſaid to have riſen firſt in *England*, that the Kings ſucceeding had the Temporalties of Biſhops Sees, as long as they remained voyd. Having agreed to pay the King of *France* a great

ſumme

ſumme of money, he raiſed it in this manner; He cauſed twenty thouſand men to be levied, under pretence for his warres in *Normandy*; but when they were ready to be ſhipped, it was ſignified to them from the King, that whoſoever would pay tenne ſhillings towards the levying of Souldiers in *Normandy*, ſhould be excuſed from going, and ſtay at home; which was ſo plauſible an offer to the Army, that ſcarce a man was found that accepted not the condition. When Duke *Robert* went into the Holy Land he pawned his Dutchy of *Normandy* to his Brother King *William* for 6666. pounds, or as ſome write, for 12600. which money King *William* tooke up part by a grievous Impoſition: ſo that Biſhops melted their Plate, and the Temporall Lords ſpoyled their Tenants for the payment thereof: and part by loane; but chiefely of Religious perſons. He ſold the Abbey of *Glaſtenbury* to *Thurſtan* for five hundred pounds; and when he built *Weſtminſter* Hall, he made that an occaſion to lay a heavie taxe upon the people, who grudged at it, as done of purpoſe. He uſually ſold all Spirituall preferments, to them would give moſt; and tooke Fines of Prieſts for Fornication: as alſo he tooke money of Jewes, to cauſe ſuch of them as were converted, to renounce Chriſtianity, and returne to Judaiſme, as making more benefit by their Unbeliefe then by their Converſion. He cauſed divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for tranſgreſſing his Laws, though the fault were never ſo ſmall. He ſet forth a Proclamation that none ſhould goe out of the Realme without his Licence, by which he drew much money from many; for either they muſt tarry at home and live diſcontented, or elſe content him for giving them leave to goe abroad. And from thence the Cuſtome or Law of *Ne exeat Regno*, ſeemes to have taken its beginning: for Precedents of ſervitude are ſure to live, where Precedents of Liberty are commonly ſtill-borne. Theſe were his wayes for raiſing of money, wherein Promoters and Informers were his darling ſervants; and the moſt officious of all was *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, of whom he would often ſay, there was not ſuch another man in the world to ſerve a Kings turne. And yet he was not ſo greedy of lucre but that he did ſome Acts that may ſerve for examples: as one time, an Abbey being vacant, two Monkes of the Covent came ſuiters to him for the place, offering great ſummes, and each of them out-bidding the other; whereupon the King looking about, and eſpying another Monk ſtanding not farre off, asked him what he would give for the place? Who anſwering, he neither had any thing to give, nor would give any thing if he had it: Well (ſaid the King) thou haſt ſpoken honeſtly, thou art fitter to be Abbot then either of theſe; and ſo beſtowed the place upon him gratis.

Of his Magnanimity.

WOrd was brought him as he ſate at dinner, that his City of *Mans* in *Normandy* was beſieged, and in great danger to be taken, if not preſently relieved: whereupon the King asked which way *Mans* lay; and then cauſed Maſons preſently to take downe the Wall, to make him paſſage the next way, and ſo rode inſtantly towards the Sea. His Lords about him, adviſing him to ſtay till his people were ready: No (ſaith he) but ſuch as love me I know will follow me. And being come on Shipboard, and the weather growing very tempeſtuous, he was adviſed by the Maſter of his Ship, to ſtay for ſome calmer ſeaſon: No (ſaith he) Feare nothing, I never yet heard of any King that was drowned. And thereby comming to *Mans* unexpected, he preſently diſperſed the Beſiegers, and tooke *Helias Count de la Fleſche*, who had been Authour of the tumult, Priſoner; who vaunting to the King, and ſaying, Now indeed you have taken me by a wile; but if I were at liberty againe, you ſhould finde me to doe other manner of feats: at which the King laughing; Well then (ſaith he) go your wayes and doe your worſt, and let us ſee what feats you will do. Being reconciled to his Brother *Robert*, he aſſiſted him to recover the Fort of Mount Saint *Michael*, which their Brother *Henry* did forcibly hold in *Normandy*: during which ſiege, ſtraggling one time alone upon the ſhoare, he was ſet upon by three horſmen, who aſſaulted him ſo fiercely, that they drove

drove him from his ſaddle, and his ſaddle from his horſe; but he taking up his ſaddle, and withall drawing out his ſword, defended himſelfe till reſcue came: and being afterward blamed for being ſo obſtinate to ſave his ſaddle, he anſwered: It would have angred me at the very heart, that the knaves ſhould have bragged they had wonne the ſaddle from me.

Of his juſtneſſe in keeping his word.

THis vertue ſpecially was commended in him, and he would often ſay, that even God himſelfe was obliged by his word. But if we obſerve the courſe of his life, we ſhall finde that howſoever he might keepe his word in ſmall matters, yet certainly not in great: For he kept not his word with his Brother *Robert*, to whom he promiſed to leave the Kingdome of *England* after his deceaſe, but performed it not. Nor he kept not his word with his ſubjects, for in the rebellion of the *Norman* Lords, he promiſed the *Engliſh*, if they would now ſtick to him, they ſhould have their ancient Lawes reſtored, and be allowed liberty to hunt in his Foreſts; which promiſe he either kept not at all, or at leaſt ſoone brake. Nor he kept not his word with God himſelfe, for being ſick at *Gloceſter*, and in ſome hazard of his life, he made a ſolemne vow, that if he recovered, he would leade a new life, and give over all his diſorderly courſes: but being recovered, he grew more diſorderly then he was before: that if denomination be made from the greateſt actions, it cannot be truly ſaid that he was juſt of his word; but ſuch is the priviledge of Princes over their ſubjects, that if they make a promiſe it muſt be beleeved; and if they breake it, it muſt not be queſtioned.

Of his Incontinencie.

MUch is ſpoken of his laſcivious life in generall, but nothing in particular: for neither is mentioned any violence he ever offered to any; nor is any woman named to have beene his Concubine, and Princes Concubines are ſeldome concealed. It is true he was never married, and of a ſtrong conſtitution of body, and ſo probable he might be inclining to that vice; but probabilities are not alwayes concluding, and therfore whether it be a true accuſation, or but a ſlander, it may well be doubted: only one baſe ſon of his is ſpoken of, called *Bertrannus*, whom he advanced in honour, and matched in a Noble Family. But why ſhould we more look for particulars of his Incontinency, then of his Prodigality? for he was taxed no leſſe for being Prodigall, then for being Incontinent; and yet of his Prodigality there is not ſo much as one inſtance recorded, unleſſe we take this for an inſtance; that when his Chamberlaine brought him a paire of hoſe, which becauſe they were new, he asked what they coſt? And being told they coſt three ſhillings, in a great chafe he threw them away; asking him, If he thought a paire of hoſe of three ſhillings, to be fit for a King to weare? Get thee gone (ſaith he) and let me have a paire of a Marke. His Chamberlaine went, and bringng him another paire ſcarce ſo good as the former, and telling him they coſt a Marke; I marry (ſaith the King) theſe are ſomething like, and was better ſatisfied with hearing what they coſt, then with ſeeing what they were worth: and yet was this no imputation to his wiſdome, for to ſay the truth, it is no defect of wiſdome in a King to be ignorant what his cloaths are worth.

Of his wavering in Religion.

HE appointed a diſputation to be held betweene Chriſtians and Jewes, and before the day came, the Jewes brought the King a Preſent, to the end they might have an indifferent hearing; The King took the Preſent, encouraging them to quit themſelves like men: and ſwore by Saint *Lukes* face (his uſuall oath) that if they prevailed in Diſputation, he would himſelfe turne Jew, and be of their Religion.

gion. A young Jew on a time was converted to the Christian Faith, whose Father being much troubled at it, presented the King sixty Markes, intreating him to make his sonne to returne to his Judaisme; whereupon the King sent for his sonne, commanding him without more adoe to returne to the Religion of his Nation. But the young man answered, he wondred his Majesty would use such words; for being a Christian, he should rather perswade him to Christianity: with which answer the King was so confounded, that he commanded the young man to get him out of his sight. But his Father finding the King could doe no good upon his sonne, required his money againe; Nay (saith the King) I have taken paines enough for it, and yet that you may see how kindly I will deale, you shall have one halfe; and the other halfe you cannot in conscience deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accused for hunting and killing the Kings Deere, which they denied, and were therefore condemned to the triall of fire; which by Gods mercifull judgement they passed through untouched: the King hearing it, and deceived of the confiscation he expected, is said in a great chafe to say; How happens this? Is God a just Judge in suffering it? Now a murraine take him that beleeves it. It seemes also he doubted of many points of Religion, then in credit. For he would often protest, that he beleeved not that Saints could profit any man in Gods sight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wise (as he affirmed) make Intercession either to *Peter*, or to any other for helpe.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

THe King claimed the Investiture of Bishops to be his right, and forbad Appeales and Intercourse to *Rome*; (for no Appeales had ever beene used till *Anselme* in this Kings Reigne appealed to the Pope) upon whose complaint the Pope was about to Excommunicate the King, but having a little before Excommunicated the Emperour *Henry* the fourth (the first Christian Prince with Soveraigne authority, that was ever Excommunicate by any Pope) he forbore at that time to doe it, lest by making Excommunication common, he should make it be slighted. At this time great contention arose betweene the King and the Arch-Bishop *Anselme*: and *Anselme* not yeelding to the King in any point prejudiciall to the Popes authority; nor the King yeelding to *Anselme* in any point prejudiciall to his owne Prerogative; (which were points indeed Incompatible) the contention continued long and hot, and the hotter, because there were at that time two Popes on foote at once: one elected by the Conclave, called *Urbanus* the second; another set up by the Emperour, called *Clement* the third: for *Anselme* held with *Urban*, the King with *Clement*: and thus not agreeing in a third, it was impossible they should agree betweene themselves; and this contention, though palliated with pretentions, sometimes of one side, sometimes of another, yet brake out againe, and was renewed both in this Kings time, and in the times of many Kings after. *Anselme* often threathing his going to *Rome*, the King told him plainely he would not thrust him out of the Realme, but if he would goe without his leave, he would then keepe him out during his pleasure; and besides, he should carry nothing out of the Realme with him: yet *Anselme* ventured it, and the King performed it; for *William Warlewast* was sent to rifle him in his passage at Sea of all he had, neither was he suffered to returne as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King tooke the profits of his Archbishoprick to his owne use. It may not be amisse to shew a passage here concerning the first cause of contention betweene the King and *Anselme*, which some say was this; The King required a thousand Markes of him for having preferred him to that See: which *Anselme* refused to give, as judging it no lesse Simony to give after the preferment then before: but yet afterward offering five hundred pounds, the King refused to accept it, as being worth (he said) five times as much: whereupon *Anselme* told him, Your Grace may have me, and all that is mine, to serve your turne in a friendly manner; but in the way of servitude and bondage, you shall never have me nor mine: Which words so angred the King, that they could

could never after be reconciled. In this Kings Reigne Pope *Urbane* exhorted all Chriſtian Princes to joyne together for recovery of *Jeruſalem* and the Holy Land: and by the ſolliciting of *Peter* an Hermite, there aſſembled for that enterpriſe, under the conduct of *Godefry* of *Bulloigne*, to the number of three hundred thouſand men; amongſt whom was *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who ſo valiantly carried himſelfe in the action, that after *Jeruſalem* was won, the Kingdome of it (as ſome write) was offered to him: but he looking more after the Kingdome of *England*, and therefore refuſing it; It is obſerved he never proſpered all his life after. In this Kings Reigne, although he had no command in *Ireland*, yet their Biſhop of *Dublin* was ſent over to *Anſelme* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, to be Conſecrated by him; and the Citizens of *Waterford* alſo deſiring to have a Biſhop, procured *Murcherdach*, King of *Ireland*, to write to *Anſelme*, to give his conſent. Alſo in this Kings dayes, the Pope forbad the marriage of Prieſts.

Workes of piety by this King, or by other in his time.

THis King gave to the Monkes of Southwarke, the Church of Saint *Saviour* of *Bermondſey*, and *Bermondſey* it ſelfe; he alſo Founded at *Yorke* the Hoſpitall of Saint *Leonards*: He gave the Church of Saint *Peter* in the City of *Bathe* to be a Biſhops See. *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, in this Kings dayes builded the Abbey of *Cheſter*: *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Founded the Cathedrall Church of *Salisbury*: *Remigius* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, to the end his Biſhoprick might be removed to *Lincolne*, beganne to build the Cathedrall Church of *Lincolne*; and *Lanfrank* Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury builded two Hoſpitals without the City, the one of Saint *John*, the other at *Harbaldowne*, repaired Chriſts Church, and cauſed five and twenty Manors to be reſtored to that See, which had unjuſtly beene withholden. He repaired alſo the Abbey of Saint *Albans*, and the Church of *Rocheſter*, where for foure ſecular Prieſts, he placed to the number of fifty Monkes. In the ſixth yeare of this Kings Reigne, *William Warren* the firſt Earle of Surrey, and *Gundred* his wife, Founded the Abbey of *Lewis* in *Suſſex*: and *Warren* Earle of *Shrewsbury* built two Abbeys, one in the Suburbs of *Shrewsbury*, the other at *Wenlock*. In his twelfth yeare, *Robert Loſaunge*, Biſhop of *Thetford*, removed his See from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, and founded there a faire Monaſtery.

His buildings and Structures.

THis King enlarged the Tower of *London*, and compaſſed it with new wals: he alſo built the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, being 270. foote in length, and 74. in breadth; but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which ſhould have ſtretched from the Thames to the Kings ſtreete. He repaired the City and Caſtle of *Carlile*, which had beene waſted by the Danes two hundred yeares before, and becauſe it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southerne parts. He finiſhed New-Caſtle upon Tyne, and many other Caſtles he erected or repaired upon the borders of *Scotland*; many alſo upon the frontires, and within the very breaſt of *Wales*.

Caſualties happening in his Reigne.

IN the fourth yeare of his Reigne, on Saint *Lukes* day, above ſix hundred houſes in *London* were throwne downe with tempeſt; and the roofe of Saint *Mary* Bow Church in Cheape, was ſo raiſed, that in the fall ſix of the beames being 27. foote long, were driven ſo deepe into the ground: (the ſtreets being not then paved with ſtone) that not above foure foote remained in ſight, and yet ſtood in ſuch ranke and order as the workmen had placed them upon the Church. Alſo in this Kings Reigne all the Lands in *Kent*, ſometimes belonging to Earle *Godwin*, were by breaking in of the Sea covered with Sands, and are called *Godwins* Sands to this day. In his

eleventh

eleventh yeare, at a Towne called *Finchamstead* in the County of *Barkshire*, a Well cast out bloud, as before it had done water: and after by the space of fifteene dayes, great flames of fire were seene in sundry places and at sundry times.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was but meane of stature, thick and square bodied, his belly swelling somewhat round, his face was red, his haire deepe yellow, whereof he was called *Rufus*, his forehead foure square like a window, his eyes spotted, and not one like another, his speech unpleasant, and not easily uttered, specially when he was moved with anger. Concerning the qualities of his minde, they may best be knowne by looking upon the actions of his life, in which we shall finde he was never more assured, then when he was least sure, never lesse dejected, then when in most extremity, being like a Cube, that which way soever he fell, he was still upon his bottome. For his delights to passe the time, there was none in more request with him then hunting, a delight hereditary to him, which was the cause that as his Father had begunne the great new Forest, so he enlarged it to a farre greater extent. Other delights of his we finde not any, unlesse we shall reckon his warres for delights: for though they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoyd them; yet sometimes he entred into them when he needed not, but for his pleasure. And in generall, it may be said that one of his greatest vertues, was that which is one of the greatest vertues, Magnanimity; and his worst vice, was that which was the worst of vices, Irreligion.

Presages that preceded his Death.

AT *Finchamstead* in *Barkshire*, neare unto *Abington*, a spring cast up liquor for the space of fifteene dayes, in substance and colour like to bloud. The night before the King was kild, a certaine Monk dream'd, that he saw the King gnaw the Image of Christ crucified with his teeth; and that as he was about to bite away the legges of the same Image, Christ with his feete spurned him downe to the ground: and that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoake. This being related to the King by *Robert Fits Mammon*, he made a jest of it, saying, This Monke would faine have something for his Dreame: Goe, give him a hundred shillings, but bid him looke that he dreame more auspitious Dreames hereafter. Also the same night, the King himselfe dream'd that the veines of his armes were broken, and that the bloud issued out in great abundance: and many other like passages there were, by which it seemes he had friends somewhere, as well as *Julius Cæsar*, that did all they could to give him warning: but that as *Cæsars*, so his *Malus Genius* would not suffer him to take it.

Of his Death and Buriall.

KIng *William* having kept his Christmas at *Gloceſter*, his Easter at *Wincheſter*, his Whitsontide at *Weſtminſter*, notwithstanding forewarned by many signes of some great dysaster towards him, would needs the day after *Lammas*, goe a hunting in the New Forest; yet something resenting the many presages, he stayed within all the forenoone: about dinner time, an Artificer came and brought him sixe Crosse-bow Arrowes, very strong and sharpe; whereof foure he kept himselfe, and the other two he delivered to Sir *Walter Tyrell*, a Knight of *Normandy* his Bow-bearer, saying, Here *Tyrell*, take you two, for you know how to shoot them to purpose: and so having at dinner drunke more liberally then his custome, as it were in contempt of Presages, out he rides into the new Forest, where Sir *Walter Tyrell* shooting at a Deere, the arrow glanced against a tree, or as some write, grazed upon the back of the Deere, and flying forward, hit the King upon the breast, with which he instantly fell downe dead. Thus it is delivered by a common con-

sent of all; onely one *Sugerius*, a writer that lived at that time, and was a familiar acquaintance of the said *Tyrels*; against the current of all Writers, affirmes that he had often heard the said Sir *Walter* sweare that he was not in the Forest with the King all that day. I have beene the longer upon this point, because a more pregnant example of Gods judgement remaines not any where upon Record. For not onely this King at this time, but before this, a brother of his named *Richard*, a young Prince of great hope, and also a Nephew of his, the sonne of his brother *Robert*, came all in this place to violent deaths: that although King *William* the Founder of the Forest, escaped the punishment in his owne person, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his issue. Thus died King *William Rufus*, in the three and fortieth yeare of his age, and twelfth and some moneths of his Reigne. His body was drawne in a Colliers Cart with one Horse to the City of *Winchester*, where the day following it was buried in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Swithen*, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble stone, till afterward it was translated, and laid by King *Canutus* bones.

Men of Note in his time.

FOr men of valour, he must stand alone by himselfe: for men of learning, there was *Lanfranke*, a *Lombard*, but Bishop of *Canterbury*: also *Robert* a *Lorayne*, who Epitomized the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*: also *Turgotus* an English man, Deane of *Durham*, who wrote the Annals of his owne time; and divers other works: but especially *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who composed the ordinary Office, or book of Prayer.

THE

THE RAIGNE OF KING HENRY THE FIRST.

of his comming to the Crowne.

ALthough *Henry* came not to the Crowne, as his Brother *William* did, by the gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the Propheſie of his Father: For, when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Eſtate in Land betweene his two eldeſt Sonnes, giving to *Henry* his youngeſt onely a portion in money, with which diviſion he perceived him to be much diſcontented; he ſaid unto him, Content thy ſelfe *Harry*, for the time will come, that thy turne ſhall be ſerved as well as theirs. And now the time was come that his prediction was accompliſhed; for on the fifth of *Auguſt*, in the yeare 1100. he was Crowned King of *England*, at *Weſtminſter*, by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, (as Deane of all the Biſhops of *England*, and therefore might doe it without any prejudice to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, though he had beene preſent, who was indeed at this time in Exile.) But though it appeares *fuiſſe in Fatis*, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it ſhould be ſo, yet it would not have been ſo, if his owne endevours had not beene concurring. And therefore being in the New Foreſt, when his Brother King *William* was killed, he never ſtayed to compliment the Dyſaſter, but rode preſently to *Wincheſter*, and there, not without ſome oppoſition of the keepers, ſeiſed upon his Brothers Treaſure, as knowing treaſure to be the meanes for getting of Friends, and Friends the meanes for getting the Crowne; and having now gotten the firſt meanes, he made uſe of it for the ſecond, and both of them together brought him to this he is. Yet withall there were circumſtances in his owne Perſon that conduced to it; his Brother was borne, when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; *Robert* was a Forrainer, being borne in *Normandy*, himſelfe a Native, borne at *Selby* in *Yorkeſhire*; and it was not the leaſt circumſtance, that he was called *Beauclerke*, as to ſay, a good Scholar, having beene bred in *Cambridge*; not perhaps that his learning was ſo great, but that it was great, either in reſpect of that age, which had but little; or in reſpect of his Brothers, who had none at all: and the People having beene oppreſſed before, by the ill Government of two Kings, that were illiterate, could not chuſe but be glad to come under the Government of a King that was Learned. And though his Brother *Robert*, as being the Elder, had right unto it, yet he as out of ſight was out of minde, and perhaps neglected, as being himſelfe negligent; withall it was given out, that he was choſen King of *Hieruſalem*, and therefore no looking for him to come home; and to give force to all theſe reaſons, *Henry Newborough* Earle of *Warwicke* was a principall furtherer.

His course for establishing himselfe in the Kingdome.

IT is a hard matter to keepe that safely, which is unjustly gotten; and therefore he tooke all possible care to overcome that hardnesse: which he effected by these meanes; First, he called *Anselme* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* home from Exile; placed *William Gyfford* a learned man, in the Bishopricke of *Winchester*; and Monasteries that had beene long vacant, he furnished with good Abbots. And because it is no lesse pleasing to the People, to have bad instruments punished, then the good to be advanced, he cast *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, (a principall cause of their late oppressions) into prison: then mitigated the rigour of the new Lawes; and promised restitution of the old. And that there might be no abuse in measures, he ordained a measure, made by the length of his owne Arme, which is called a Yard. He restored to his Subjects the use of Lights and Fire in the night, which before had beene forbidden after eight a clocke at night. He acquited the People from the Taxe of Danegelt, and from all other unjust payments, which had beene imposed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free liberty to the Nobility and Gentry of the Realme, to inclose Parkes for Deere, and Warrens for Coneyes; and such like game. And because he knew *Scotland* might be an ill Neighbour to him, if not tyed by some Bond, and none so sure as the Bond of Alliance, he therefore takes *Matild* sister of the present King *Edgar* to be his Wife.

His Troubles during his Raigne.

Ralph Bishop of *Durham*, the late King *Williams* great Instrument for Exactions, that had by this King beene committed to the *Tower*, made an escape, and passing over to Duke *Robert* in *Normandy*, incenseth him, not to suffer himselfe to be baffled by a younger Brother; as for his Brother *William*, there was some reason, because his Father had given him the Kingdome by his Will, but what could *Henry* pretend, who had his Portion given him in money? Besides, it was an agreement with his Brother *William*, with consent of all the Lords of the Realme, that the Surviver of them should succeed. With such like instigations, and withall assuring him, there were many in *England* would take his part, he easily perswaded the Duke to that, from which he could hardly have disswaded him, who thereupon with a convenient Army, puts to Sea, and lands at *Portsmouth*, while *Henry* waited for his comming about *Hastings*; and being landed there, much people resorted to him, that it was like to have beene a bloody businesse, but by mediation of Friends, working upon the flexible nature of Duke *Robert*, it was brought at last to this agreement, that King *Henry* should pay to Duke *Robert*, three thousand markes yearely, and Duke *Robert* should succeed him in the kingdome, if he survived. And thus, this cloud, that threatned so great a storme, brought with it, rather Sunshine and faire weather: for now, to his possession of the Kingdome, there was added a right, and he might now justifie his being a King, without any scandall or usurpation. After this, another little cloud arose, but was soone dispersed: For *Robert de Belesme* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, a rash young man of disposition, but more through discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great Estate, he was not a King as well as some others, fortifyed the Towne of *Shrewsbury*, and the Castle of *Bridgenorth*, and got many *Welshmen* to assist him, but the King comming with a mighty Army, so terrifyed the *Welsh*, that they abandoned the Earle, and left him a prey to the King in his person, and more in his Estate, for the King seised his Estate into his hands, but for his Person he onely banisht it the Realme. For as yet, the shedding of blood and putting to death, though for great Treasonable practises, was not much in use; Policy of State was not yet growne to that heighth of severity. The like attempt, and upon the like occasion, was made by *William* Earle of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwall* in *England*, Uncle to the King, onely for denying him the Earledome of *Kent*, which because he could not obtaine, he entred into Treasonable practises, by which he

lost

loſt the Earledomes he had before. But theſe troubles were but as the labour of a Woman that is ſafely delivered, painefull for a time, but ending in joy: and indeed for the moſt part this King had the fortune to be a gainer by his loſſes.

After this, Duke *Robert* came in kindneſſe into *England*, to viſite his Brother *Henry*, where he was ſo well pleaſed with his entertainment, that in requitall thereof, and to doe a favour to the Queene, that was his God-daughter, he releaſed to King *Henry*, the three thouſand markes, which he was yearely to pay him. But returning into *Normandy*, and conſidering better what he had done, he ſo repented him, that he ſpared not to give out, that his Brother had directly couſened him. Which comming to King *Henryes* eare, ſo incenſed him, that he preſently ſent over a mighty Army, which forraged the Country, and wonne many Townes and Cities, and ſoone after went over himſelfe; where he ſo prevailed, that he left Duke *Robert* but onely *Roan* in all *Normandy* to put his head in, and this done, returnes into *England*. And now Duke *Robert* beginnes to be ſenſible of his owne weakneſſe, and therefore comes over into *England* to try the uttermoſt of his Brothers good nature, himſelfe had ſent him a Tunne of Wine to refreſh him withall, when in a ſiege he was ready to periſh for want of water: and it cannot be, but that gratefulneſſe and naturall affection, meeting together, muſt needes worke ſomething in the minde of a Brother. Thus reſolved, he preſents himſelfe to the King, referring both his Dukedome and himſelfe, and all differences and debates to his will and pleaſure. But whether incenſed with the ſcandalous words, Duke *Robert* had given out of him, or whether aſpiring to joyne *Normandy* to *England*, as his Father had done before; King *Henry* ſcarce vouchſafed to heare him ſpeake, at leaſt vouchſafed not to make him any anſwer, but in a ſullen manner turned away, and ſo left him: which ſcornefull uſage put the Duke into ſuch indignation, that he reſolved to ſet his whole ſtate at ſtake, and either to redeeme his diſgrace, or to forfeit his life. So returning into *Normandy*, he uſeth all his force in raiſing of Forces, but King *Henry* ſuſpecting his intentions, and not uſing to give Inſurrections time to ripen, came upon him ſo ſuddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a battell before he was halfe ready to fight. Yet deſire of revenge ſo animated the Duke, and the Duke his Souldiers, that never battell was more fiercely fought, and the *Normans* ſeemed at firſt to have the better, till King *Henry* ſhewing himſelfe in the Army, put ſuch courage into his Souldiers, that they quickly made good the advantage they had in number, and King *Henry* obtained a compleate victory, both in ſlaughter of men, (of whom there were ſlaine above ten thouſand) and in taking of priſoners, (to the number of foure hundred) amongſt whom, beſides divers other Great ones, as the Earle of *Mortaigne*, *William Criſpine*, and *William Ferreis*, was Duke *Robert* himſelfe, whom the King, (having firſt taken order for all things, in his new State of *Normandy*) brought over with him into *England*, and committed him to the Caſtle of *Cardyffe* in *Wales*, where he remained a priſoner till he dyed, uſed for a time with reaſonable liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an eſcape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes, which though it encreaſed his miſery, yet it ſhortned not his life, for he lived many yeares after, in all, from the time of his firſt impriſonment, ſixe and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who in his birth was the joy of Nature, in his life was the ſcorne of Fortune, and it is not unworthy the obſerving, that the *Engliſh* wonne *Normandy*, the very ſame day forty yeare, the *Normans* had wonne *England*. Such Revolutions of fortune there are in kingdomes, and ſo unſtable is the ſtate of all worldly Greatneſſe.

And now is King *Henry* as great as ever his Father was, and as Greatneſſe draws envy, as much envyed as ever his Father was; and as Envy makes Enemies, as much oppoſed as ever his Father was: for now *Fulke* Earle of *Anjou*, and *Baldwyne* Earle of *Flanders*, upon ſmall occaſions, and *Lewis* the groſſe King of *France*, upon none, but ſuch as envy ſuggeſted, ſeeking to place *William*, Sonne to Duke *Robert*, in his Right to *Normandy*, aſſaulted the Kings Dominions, perhaps to try whether Greatneſſe had not made him unwieldy, but King *Henry*, to

ſhew that Greatneſſe had made him more Active, went over into *Normandy* with a mighty Army, and at *Nice* encountred the *French* King, where a bloody Battell was fought, with exceeding valour on both ſides, but at laſt King *Henry* repelled the *French* King, and recovered *Nice*, and after many other conflicts betweene them, with variety of Fortune, at laſt the King made peace with the Earle of *Angiou*, confirmed by a marriage of the Earles Daughter with his Sonne *William*: and upon this alſo the two Kings grow to a peace, in which *William*, Son to King *Henry*, being about ſeventeene yeares of age, was inveſted into the Dutchy of *Normandy*, doing homage for the ſame to the King of *France*: From whence it was afterward a Cuſtome, that the King of *Englands* eldeſt Sonne (as long as *Normandy* remained in their hands) was made alwayes Duke of *Normandy*. After this, *Charles* Earle of *Flanders*, being ſlaine at *Bruxels* by a conſpiracy of his owne people, and leaving no iſſue behind him, *Lewis* King of *France* inveſted *William*, Sonne to Duke *Robert*, in the Earledome of *Flanders*, as deſcended from Earle *Baldwyn*, whoſe Daughter *Maude* was wife to King *William* the firſt, and Grandmother to this *William*: ſo as *William* now having gotten this ſteppe of advancement, ſeekes to goe on, and to recover *Normandy*, and was thereof, by aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, in a faire poſſibility, when in a certaine light conflict, receiving a wound in his hand, the thread of his faire poſſibility was upon a ſuddaine cut off, and of that light wound he ſhortly after dyed.

King *Henry* now in perfect peace abroad, was not without ſome little diſquietings at home, and marching thorow *Powiſ-land* in *South Wales*, to repreſſe ſome Inſurrections of the *Welſh*, he came to certaine Straights, where his maine Army could not paſſe, in which place the King was ſmitten with an Arrow full upon the breaſt, whereat he ſwore by our Lords death (his uſuall Oath) that it was no *Welſh* arme, had ſhot that Arrow, yet in this diſtreſſe, for a thouſand head of Cattell, he had the paſſage left open, and came ſafely off. And theſe were his troubles of Armes, both at home and abroad, during all his Raigne.

His Taxations and wayes for raiſing of money.

TOwards the marriage of his Daughter *Maude* with the Emperour, he obtained at his firſt Parliament at *Salisbury*, three ſhillings upon every Hide of Land, throughout the kingdome, which was afterward drawne to a cuſtome, to receive ayde from the Subjects, whenſoever the King gave his eldeſt Daughter in marriage. Beſides this he had no more in all his Raigne, but onely one ſupply for his Warres in *France*, but he kept Biſhoprickes and Abbeyes voyd in his hands, and that of *Canterbury* five yeares together. By an Act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Biſhops holden at *London*, he was authoriſed to puniſh marriage, and incontinency of Prieſts; which the Biſhops afterwards repented, for he ſuffered Prieſts to have Wives for Fines, or rather tooke Fines of them whether they had wives or no, becauſe they might have them if they would. Puniſhments which before his time were mutilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Proviſions of his houſe, which were uſed to be paid in kind, were in his time rated at certaine prizes, and received in money. By this Chapter and the next before, it appeares there were in this Kings dayes, but few troubles at home, nor but few Taxations; whereof the one may be thought to be cauſe of the other, the firſt perhaps of the ſecond, but certainely the ſecond of the firſt.

Lawes firſt inſtituted in his time.

HE firſt inſtituted the forme of the High Court of Parliament: for before his time, onely certaine of the Nobility, and Prelates of the Realme were called to conſultation, about the moſt important affaires of State, but he cauſed the Commons alſo to be aſſembled, by Knights and Burgeſſes of their owne appointment, and made the Court to conſiſt of three parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the

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Common people, repreſenting the whole body of the Realme, and appointed them to ſit in ſeverall Chambers; the King, the Biſhops, and Lords of the Realme in one Chamber, and the Commons in another, to conferre together by themſelves. Other Orders of that Court he Ordained, as they are in uſe at this day. The firſt Councell of this ſort was held at *Salisbury*, on the 19. day of *Aprill*, in the 16. yeare of his Raigne. He forbad the wearing of long haire, which at that time was frequent, after the manner of the *French*. He commanded Robbers upon the High way, to be hanged without redemption: of whom a famous one at that time was one *Dunne*, and of him, the place where he moſt uſed, by reaſon of the great Woods thereabouts, is to this day called *Dunſtable*, where the King built the Borough as now it ſtandeth. Counterfeiters of money he puniſhed with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy members, a puniſhment both leſſe then death, and greater.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

AT his firſt comming to the Crowne, he forbore his claime to the Inveſtitures of Biſhops, but after he had beene King ſome time, he claimed that both to inveſt Biſhops, and to allow, or hinder appeales to *Rome*, belonged to him. In theſe, *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* oppoſed him, affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope. The contention at laſt was brought to the Pope, to whom King *Henry* ſent *William Warlewaſt*, elect Biſhop of *Exceter*, who ſaying to the Pope, that his Maſter would not, for the Crowne of his Realme, loſe the Authority of Inveſting his Prelates, the Pope ſtarted up and anſwered, Neither will I loſe the diſpoſing of Spirituall Promotions in *England*, for the Kings head that weareth the Crowne, before God (ſaid he) I avow it. So the contention grew long and hot, and many meſſengers were ſent to and fro about it, the concluſion was (which proved no concluſion) that the King ſhould receive homage of Biſhops elect, but ſhould not Inveſt them by Staffe and Ring: to which the King ſaid no hing for the preſent, but forbore not to doe it ever the leſſe: for five yeares after the death of *Anſelme*, *Ralph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was by the King made Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and notwithſtanding all former Decrees, and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Inveſtiture of the King. About this time a Canon was made againſt the Marriage of Prieſts, to which purpoſe *Johannes Cremenſis*, a Prieſt Cardinall, by the Kings licence came into *England*, and held a ſolemne Synod at *London*, where inveighing ſharpely againſt it, affirming it to be no better then profeſt Adultery, he was himſelfe the night following, taken in bed with a common harlot. Even *Anſelme* himſelfe, the moſt earneſt enforcer of ſingle life, dyed not, it ſeemes, a Virgin, for elſe he would never in his Writings make ſuch lamentation for the loſſe thereof. *Anſelme* about this time dying, *Radulph* ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* dying, *Thurſtine* ſucceeded in the Arch-biſhopricke of *Yorke*: betweene which two Prelates, there aroſe great contention, *Radulph* would not conſecrate *Thurſtine*, unleſſe he would profeſſe obedience; *Thurſtine* was content to embrace his benediction, but profeſſe obedience he would not: In this contention the King takes part with *Radulph*, the Pope with *Thurſtine*: after many paſſages in the buſineſſe, upon the Popes threatning to Excommunicate the King, *Thurſtine* entred upon his Biſhopricke, and the King connived. In the tenth yeare of his Raigne, the Abbey of *Ely* was made a Biſhops See, and *Cambridgeſhire* was appointed for the Dioceſſe thereof, which becauſe it belonged before to the Juriſdiction of *Lincolne*, the King gave the Biſhop of Lincolne, in recompence thereof, the Manor of *Spalding*. This King alſo created a Biſhopricke at *Carlile*, and endowed it with many Honours. In his time, the Order of the *Templars* beganne, and in the 27. yeare of his Raigne, the *Grey Fryers*, by procurement of the King, came firſt into *England*, and had their firſt houſe builded at *Canterbury*. I may here have leave to tell two ſtories of Church-men, for refreſhing of the Reader: *Guymond* the Kings Chaplaine, obſerving that unworthy men for the moſt part were

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advanced to the best dignities of the Church, as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read these words out of Saint *James*, [It rained not upon the Earth, I I I yeares and V I moneths] he read it thus; It rained not upon the Earth, one, one, one yeares, and five one moneths. The King observed his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it, but *Guymond* answered, that he did it of purpose, for that such Readers were soonest preferred by his Majesty. The King smiled, and in short time after, preferred him to the Government of Saint *Frideswids* in *Oxford*. The other is this, *Thomas* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* falling sicke, his Physitians told him, that nothing would doe him good, but to company with a woman; to whom he answered that the Remedy was worse then the disease, and so dyed a Virgin. This King granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, and to *William* and his successours, the Custody, and Constable-ship of the Castle of *Rochester* for ever.

Workes of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.

THis King Founded and erected the Priory of *Dunstable*, the Abbey of *Circester*, the Abbey of *Reading*, and the Abbey of *Shirborne*. He also new builded the Castle of *Windsor*, with a Colledge there: He made also the Navigable River, betweene *Torkesay* and *Lincolne*, a worke of great charge, but greater use. His Wife Queene *Maude*, passing over the River of *Lue*, was somewhat endangered, whereupon she caused two stone-Bridges to be built, one at the head of the Towne of *Stratford*, the other over another Streame there, called *Channel-bridge*, and paved the way betweene them with Gravell. She gave also certaine Manors, and a Mill called *Wyggon* Mill, for repairing the same Bridges and Way. These were the first stone-Bridges that were made in *England*, and because they were Arched over like a bow, the Towne of *Stratford* was afterward called Bow. This Queene also founded the Priory of the Holy Trinity, now called Christs Church, within the East Gate of *London* called *Aldgate*; and an Hospitall of Saint *Giles* in the Field, without the West part of the City. In this Kings time *Jordan Briset* Baron, Founded the House of Saint *John* of *Hierusalem*, neare to *Smithfield*, in *London*, and gave 14. Acres of ground, lying in the field next to *Clerkenwell*, to build thereupon a House of Nunnes, wherein he with *Myriell* his Wife were buryed in the Chapter house. *Robert Fitsham*, who came out of *Normandy* with the Conquerour, Founded anew the Church of *Tewkesbury*, and was there buryed. *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, Founded the Cathedrall Church there. The Priory and Hospitall of Saint *Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, was Founded by a Minstrell of the Kings, named *Reior*, who became first Prior there. Before this time *Smithfield* was a Laystall of all ordure and filth, and the place where Felons were put to Execution. *Hugh Lacy* Founded the Monastery of Saint *John* at *Lanthony*, neare to *Gloucester*. *Fuga Baynard*, Lady of little *Dunmow*, Founded the Church there, and gave to maintaine it, halfe a Hide of Land. This Lady *Fuga* was late Wife to *Baynard*, that first built *Baynards* Castle in *London*. *Eudo* the Kings Sewer, Founded the Monastery of Saint *John* at *Colchester*, of blacke Chanons, and those were the first of that Order in *England*. *Simon* Earle of *Northampton*, and *Maude* his Wife, Founded the Monastery of Saint *Andrew* in *Northhampton*. In the seventh yeare of this Kings Raigne, the first Chanons entred into the Church of our Lady in *Southwarke*, called Saint *Mary Overey*, Founded by *William Pountlarge* knight, and *William Dancyes*, *Normans*. *Robert* the first Earle of *Gloucester*, the Kings base Sonne, builded the Castles of *Bristow* and *Cardyffe*, with the Priory of Saint *James* in *Bristow*: And his Sonne Earle *William* began the Abbey of *Kensham*. *Geoffrey Clinton*, Treasurer, and Chamberlaine to the King, Founded the Priory at *Kenelworth*, of Regular Chanons. *Henry* Earle of *Warwicke*, and *Margaret* his Wife, Founded the Colledge of Saint *Mary*, in the Towne of *Warwicke*, and *Roger de Belemond* his Sonne, and *Ellyne* his wife, translated the same Colledge into the Castle of *Warwicke*, in the yeare 1123. *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the Devises in *Wiltshire*;

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the Caſtles alſo of *Mamesbury* and *Shirborne*. He repaired the Caſtle of *Salisbury*, and environed it with a wall; he alſo built the ſtately Church of *Salisbury*: deſtined to a longer life then any of his other workes. *Ralph*, Biſhop of *Durham*, began to build the Caſtle of *Norham*, upon the banke of the River of *Tweed*. In the 32. yeare of this Kings Raigne, the Priory of *Norton* in *Cheſhire*, was founded by one *William*, the ſonne of *Nychel*, and the Abbey of *Cumbermere* in the ſame Shire. The Colledge of *Secular Chanons* alſo in the Caſtle of *Leyceſter*, and the Abbey without the North gate of the ſame Towne, called Saint *Mary de Prato*. Alſo in this Kings Raigne, was Founded the Monaſtery of *Plimpton* in *Devonſhire*, with the Cathedrall Church of *Exeter*, the Priory of *Merton*, the Hoſpitall of *Kepar*, the Priory of *Oſeney* neare *Oxford* by *Robert de Oylye* Knight: and the Hoſpitall of Saint *Croſſe* neare *Wincheſter* by *Henry Blois* Biſhop there: alſo *Robert* Earle of *Ferrers* Founded the Abbey of *Merivall*: and indeed ſo many in his time were built, that one would thinke the Inhabitants of *England* to be all Carpenters and Maſons, that were able to finiſh ſo many great buildings in ſo ſhort a time as this Kings Raigne.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN this Kings dayes all the foure Elements were guilty of doing much miſchiefe, but chiefely the water: For King *Henry* returning into *England* after his conqueſt of *Normandy*, left his ſonne *William* with his ſiſter *Mary* Counteſſe of *Perche*, *Richard* his ſonne by a Concubine, the Earle of *Cheſter* with his wife *Lucie*, the Kings Neece by his ſiſter *Adela*, and other Lords and Ladies, and paſſengers to the number of 180. to follow after him: who taking Shipping (and the beſt Ship the King had) whether by careleſneſſe, or drunkenneſſe of the Saylours, were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-boate, and out of danger; but hearing the lamentable cries of his ſiſter, compaſſion wrought ſo in him, that he turned about his boate to take her in, which over-charged with the multitude, over-turned, and they all periſhed: none eſcaped but onely one Saylour, who had been a Butcher, who by ſwimming all night upon the Maſt, came ſafe to Land. An accident not more grievous then exemplary; for amongſt other concluſions, from hence we may gather, that no ſtate is ſo uncertaine as proſperity, no fall ſo ſudden as into adverſity; and that the rule [He that ſtands, let him take heed he fall not] cannot alwayes be obſerved, becauſe a man happens ſometimes to fall before it is poſſible for him to take heed. Another great miſchiefe was in this Kings dayes wrought by the water; for by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of *Flanders* was drowned: whereupon a great number of Flemmings being Suiters to King *Henry* for ſome place to inhabit, he aſſigned them a part in *Wales* neare the Sea, called *Pembrokeſhire*, where they have inhabited to this day: the King by this one action, working two good effects, both ſhewing compaſſion to diſtreſſed ſtrangers, and putting a bridle upon unquiet Natives. But the water had another way to doe miſchiefe as much by defect, as this was by exceſſe, for upon the tenth of *October*, the River of *Medway* many miles together did ſo fayle of water, that in the midſt of the Channell, the ſmalleſt veſſels could not paſſe: and the ſame day alſo in the *Thames*, betweene the Tower of *London* and the Bridge, men waded over on foote for the ſpace of two dayes: alſo at another time the River of *Trent* at *Nottingham* was dryed up a whole day. Now for the Earth, though naturally it be without motion, yet it moves ſometimes when it is to do miſchiefe, ſpecially being aſſiſted by the Aire, as in this Kings dayes, it moved with ſo great a violence, that many buildings were ſhaken downe, and *Malmesbery* ſaith, that the houſe wherein he ſate, was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time ſetled againe in the proper place. Alſo in divers places it yeelded forth a hideous noyſe, and caſt forth flames at certaine rifts many dayes together, which neither by water, nor by any other meanes could be ſuppreſſed. But yet the active Element of Fire was buſieſt of all, for firſt *Chicheſter* with the principall Monaſtery was burnt downe to the ground: From *Weſt-cheape*

in *London* to *Aldgate*, a long tract of buildings was consumed with fire: *Worcester* also and *Rochester*, even in the Kings presence; then *Winchester*, *Bathe*, *Gloucester*, *Lincolne*, *Peterborough*, and other places, did also partake of this calamity, that there could be no charging the fire with any partiality: and to speake of one forraine casualty, because a strange one. In *Lombardy* this yeare was an Earthquake that continued forty dayes, and removed a Towne from the place where it stood, a great way off.

Of his Wives and Children.

AT his first comming to the Crowne, he married *Matild* or *Maude*, sister to *Edgar* then King of *Scotland*, and daughter to *Malcolme* by *Margaret* the sister of *Edgar Etheling*. This *Matild*, if she were not a veyled Nun, she was at least brought up in a Nunnery, and thereby growne so averse from marriage, that when the motion was first made her to marry with King *Henry*, she utterly refused it, as resolved, though perhaps not vowed, to die a Virgin; till at last importuned, and even forced by the authority of her brother, she rather yeelded then consented; for she did it with so ill a will, that it is said she prayed, if ever she had issue by the marriage, that it might not prosper: and indeed it prospered but untowardly, as will be seene in the sequell. But though she made this imprecation before she knew what it was to be a Mother, yet when she came to be a Mother, she shewed her selfe no lesse loving and tender of her children, then loyall and obsequious to her husband. And to make amends for this seeming impiety towards her children, there is a story related of her reall piety towards the poor: for a brother of hers comming one morning to visit her in her chamber, found her sitting amongst a company of *Lazar* people, washing and dressing their ulcers and sores; and then kissing them afterward when she had done: who wondring at it, & saying to her, How could she think the King should like to kisse that mouth, which had kissed such filthy ulcerous people? she answered; she had a greater King to kisse, who she knew would like her never the worse for it. By this Queen *Matild*, King *Henry*, according to some Writers, had foure children; but as the received opinion is, onely two, a sonne named *William*, and a daughter called *Maude*; of whom the sonne at fourteene yeares old had fealty sworne to him by the Nobility of *Shrewsbury*: at seventeene married the daughter of *Fulke* Earle of *Anjou*: and at eighteene was unfortunately drowned, as hath beene shewed. The daughter lived to be an Empresse, and afterwards a Dutchesse; but could never come to be a Queene, though borne to a Kingdome, as shall be shewed hereafter. She survived her second husband seventeene yeares, living a Widow, and at *Roan* in *Normandy* died, and was buried there in the Abbey of *Bec*, though there be a Tradition that she was buried at *Reading*, in the Abbey there beside her Father: but it appeares to have beene a custome in those dayes, for great personages to have their Monuments erected in divers places. After the death of this Queene *Matild*, who died at *Westminster*, in the eighteenth yeare of his Raigne, King *Henry* married *Adeliza*, the daughter of *Godfry* Duke of *Lorraine*; who though she were a beautifull and accomplisht Lady, yet had he never any issue by her. When she was to be Crowned, *Ralph* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who was to doe the office, came to King *Henry*, sitting Crowned in his chaire of State, asking him who had set the Crowne upon his head? the King answering, he had now forgotten, it was so long since. Well (said the Arch-bishop) whosoever did it, did me wrong, to whom it belonged; and as long as you hold it thus, I will doe no office at this Coronation. Then (saith the King) doe what you thinke good: whereupon the Arch-bishop tooke the Crowne off from the Kings head; and after, at the peoples intreaty, set it on againe, and then proceeded to Crowne the Queene. By Concubines King *Henry* had many children; it is said seven sonnes, and as many daughters: of whom, some perished in the great Shipwrack; of the rest, two of the sonnes, *Reynold* and *Robert*, were made Earles: *Reynold* of *Cornwall*, *Robert* of *Gloucester*, and was a great assister of his sister *Maude*, in

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her troubles with King *Stephen*, who after many acts of valour performed by him, in the twelfth yeare of King *Stephen*, died, and was buried at *Briſtow*. The daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of *England* and *France*, from whom are deſcended many worthy Families: particularly one of thoſe daughters by *Anne Cambet*, was married to *Fitz-herbert*, Lord Chamberlaine to the King: from which *Fitzherbert*, our Family (*abſit invidia verbo*) is by Females deſcended; paſſing by the names of *Cummin*, *Chenduit*, *Brimpton*, *Stokes*, *Foxcote*, *Dyneley*, and ſo to *Baker*.

Of his Incontinency.

OF this enough hath beene ſaid, in ſaying he had ſo many children baſely begotten: but if compariſon be made betweene his brother *Rufus* and him, it may be ſaid, that howſoever they might be equall in looſeneſſe of life; yet in that looſeneſſe, *William Rufus* was the baſer, and King *Henry* the more Noble; for King *Henry* had certaine ſelected Concubines, to whom he kept himſelfe conſtant, where King *William* tooke onely ſuch as he found: conſtant to the pleaſure, but not to the perſons.

His courſe for eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion in Maude and her iſſue.

HE married his onely daughter *Maude*, being but ſixe yeares old, to the Emperour *Henry* the fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without iſſue, he married her againe to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, ſonne to *Fulke* Duke of *Anjou*: not the greateſt Prince that was a Suitour for her, but the fitteſt Prince for King *Henries* turne: for *Anjou* was neighbouring upon *Normandy*, a great ſecurity to it, if a friend; and as great a danger, if an enemy. And having thus placed her in marriage, he now conſiders how to eſtabliſh her ſucceſſion in the Crowne of *England*; whereupon he cals his Nobility together, and amongſt them *David* King of *Scots*, and cauſeth them to give their Oaths of Allegeance to her and her iſſue: and as thinking he could never make her ſucceſſion ſure enough, he cauſeth his Lords the yeare after againe to take the like Oath, and after that a third time alſo; as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the tye of Allegeance the ſtronger: wherein nothing pleaſed him ſo much, as that *Stephen*, Earle of *Blois*, was the firſt man that tooke the Oath, becauſe he was knowne to be, at leaſt knowne he might be, a Pretender. But the King ſhould have conſidered that *Nulla fides Regni*, and therefore no Oath, though never ſo often iterated, ſufficient to warrant loyalty in perſons ſo deeply intereſſed, as *Stephen* was: yet providence could doe no more, and the King was well ſatisfied with it; eſpecially when hee ſaw his daughter a mother of two ſonnes: for this, though it gave him not aſſurance, yet it gave him aſſured hope to have the Crowne perpetuated in his Poſterity.

Of Ireland *in his time.*

THE King of *England* as yet had nothing to doe with *Ireland*, the Country was governed by its owne Kings: and the people of both Nations, though they were neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted: but now beganne entercourſe to be more frequented: and *Murthoudath*, chiefe King of the *Iriſh*, bore ſuch awfull reſpect to King *Henry*, that he would doe nothing but by his counſell, and with his good liking.

Whom King Henry *uſed as his Vicegerent in his abſence.*

HE was abſent ſometimes in *Normandy*, three or foure yeares together; during which times, he committed commonly the care of the Realme to *Roger* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, a politick Prelate; and one as fit to be the ſecond in government, as King *Henry* to be the firſt.

His personage and conditions.

HE was a person tall and strong, broad breasted, his limbes well knit, and fully furnished with flesh; his face well fashioned, his colour cleare, his eyes large and faire, his eye-browes large and thick, his hairo black, and somewhat thinne towards his forehead; his countenance pleasant, specially when he was disposed to mirth. A private man, vilified, and thought to have but little in him: but come to the Crowne, never any man shewed more excellent abilities: so true is the saying, *Magistratus indicat virum.* His naturall affection in a direct line was strong, in an oblique, but weake, for no man ever loved children more, nor a brother lesse. Though a King in act, yet he alwayes acted not a King; but in battels sometimes the part of a common Souldier, though with more then common valour: as at a battell in *France*, where he so farre hazarded himselfe, that though he lost not his life, yet he lost his bloud.

Of his death and buriall.

A Discontent of minde upon some differences between him and his sonne in law, the Earle of *Anjou*, brought upon him a distemper, which encreased by eating, against his Physitians advise, of a Lamprey; a meate alwayes pleasing to him, but never agreeing with him, cast him into a Feaver, which in few dayes put a period to his life: So certaine it is, that one intemperate action is enough to overthrow the temperance of a whole life; as of this King *Henry* it is said, that he seldome did eat but when he was hungry, never did drink but when he was athirst, yet this but once yeelding to his sensuall appetite, made him forfeit all benefit of his former abstinence: though some write he tooke his death by the fall off his horse. He died upon the first of *December* at night, in the yeare 1135. when he had Raigned five and thirty yeares, lived threescore and seven. His bowels, braines, and eyes, were buried at *Rone* in *Normandy* where he died: the rest of his body was stuffed with Salt, wrapped in Oxe hides, and brought over into *England*, and with honourable Exequies, buried in the Monastery of *Reading*, which himselfe had Founded. His Physitian that tooke out his braines, with the intolerable stinch shortly after died. In this King *Henry* ended the line of the *Normans*, as touching the Heires Males, and then came in the *French*, by the title of Heires generall.

Men of note in his time.

MEn of learning in his time were many: first, *Stephen Harding* a Benedictine Monke, who was Founder of the Cistercian Order. Then *Anselme*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who besides his activenesse in matters of State, writ many great and learned bookes. Then *Walter Calne*, Arch-deacon of *Oxford*, who delivered a History written in the British tongue, from *Brute* to *Cadwallader*, to *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* to translate, and added forty yeares of his owne time. Also *Florentius* a Monk of *Worcester*, who writ *Deeches Gestis Anglorum*. Also *Eadmerus*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, who besides other works, writ the History of his owne time, under the two *Williams* and *Henry* the first.

THE

THE RAIGNE OF KING STEPHEN.

AFter the decease of King *Henry*, presently steps upon the Stage of Royalty, *Stephen* Earle of *Boleyne*, Sonne to *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, by *Adela*, Daughter of King *William* the Conquerour; and though there were two other before him, *Maude* the Empresse, and *Theobald* his elder Brother, She in a substantiall right, He in a colourable, yet taking advantage of being *Primus Occupans*, the first Invader, (as being quickly here after King *Henries* death, where the other stayed lingring about other Affaires) he solicits all the Orders of the Realme, Bishops, and Lords, and People, to receive him for their Soveraine: wherein besides his owne large promises, what great matters he would do for them all, he had the assistance also of *Henry* his Brother, Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Popes Legate, and of *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, his great friend: (two the most powerfull men at that time in the State) who partly by force of Reasons, but more indeed by force then Reasons, procure the State to accept him for their King, and so upon Saint *Stephens* day, in *Anno* 1135. he was Crowned at *Westminster*, in presence of but three Bishops, few of the Nobility, and not one Abbot; by *William* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with great solemnity. That which put a scruple in mens minds, and made them averse at first, from consenting to *Stephen*, was the Oath they had taken to receive King *Henries* Daughter *Maude* to be their Queen, after his decease; but the weight of this scruple was something abated, when it was urged, that no Precedent could be shewed, that ever the Crowne had beene set upon a Womans head. And *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, brought another Reason, because they had taken that Oath but upon condition, that the King should not marry her out of the Realme without their consents, and the King having broken the condition, was just cause to mallifie their Obligation: to which was added, that the Oath having beene exacted by Authority, which is a kind of forcing, it might have the Plea of *Per minas*, and therefore void. And yet more then all these, *Hugh Bigot*, sometime Steward to King *Henry*, immediately after his decease, came over into *England*, and tooke a voluntary Oath before divers Lords of the Land, that he was present a little before King *Henries* death, when he adopted and chose his Nephew *Stephen* to be his Successour, because his Daughter *Maude* had grievously at that time displeased him. But howsoever their breach of Oath was thus palliated, it is certaine that many of them, as well Bishops as other Lords, came afterward to an evill end, at least to many calamities before their end.

What course he stood to establish himselfe in the Kingdome.

IT is a true saying, *Ut verbum optimus servatur Imperium, quibus paratur*, and this was *Stephens* course, he got the kingdome by Promises, and he establisht it by Perfor-

Performances; he pleased the People with easing them of Taxes and Impositions; He pleased the Clergy with forbearing to keepe Bishoprickes and Abbeyes Vacant, and with exempting them from the Authority of the Temporall Magistrate; He pleased the Nobility with allowing them to build Castles upon their owne Lands; He pleased the Gentry with giving them liberty to hunt the Kings Deere in their owne Woods; and besides with advancing many of them in Honours: and for his Brother *Theobald*, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crowne, he pleased him with a grant to pay him two thousand Markes a yeare; and then to strengthen himselfe abroad no lesse then at home, he marryed his Son *Eustace* to *Constance* a Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, which alliance alone might be thought a sufficient security against all Opposition. And yet one thing more, which establisht him more then these, at least these the more for this, that he had seised upon King *Henries* treasure, which amounted to a hundred thousand pound, besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable value, which he spent not in vaine riot, but imployed to his best advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Souldiers out of *Britany* and *Flanders*.

Of his Troubles in his Raigne.

THere may wel be made a Chapter of the troubles of his Raign, seeing his whole Raign was in a manner but one continued trouble at least no longer intermission, then as to give him breath against new encounters; til at last, when he grew towards his last, he rather left to be in trouble, then was at quiet, being forced to make his adversary his Heire, and to leave his Crown to him that had sought his life. For he was no sooner set in his Chaire of State, but he was presently disquieted and made to rise, by the provocation of *David* King of *Scots*, who solicited by some Lords of *England*, but chiefly by *Maude* the Empresse (whose Right he had sworne to defend) with a mighty Army entred *Northumberland*, tooke *Carlile*, and *Newcastle*, and was proceeding further, till King *Stephen* with a greater Army comming against him, yet rather bought his Peace then wonne it; for to recover *Newcastle* out of his hands, he was faine to let King *David* hold *Cumberland*, and his Sonne *Henry* the Earledome of *Huntington*, as their Inheritance; for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Sonne for his, as being free, did Homage to King *Stephen*.

No sooner was this trouble over, but he was presently under another; for being faine somewhat ill at ease, it was bruited abroad that he was dead; which so distracted mens mindes, that every one thought it wisdome to shift for himselfe; and the Great Lords made a contrary use of Castles, to that which King *Stephen* intended, when he gave liberty to build them; for the King intended them for his owne defence against his Enemies, and they made use of them in their owne defence against the King; for now *Hugh Bigot* Earle of *Norfolke* possesseth himselfe of *Norwich*, *Baldwyn Rivers* of *Oxford*, and *Robert Quesquerius* of other Castles. In these difficulties King *Stephen*, though he could not in person be in all places at once, yet in care he was, and there most, where was most danger; imploying others against the rest; Against *Baldwyn* he went himselfe, whom, driven before out of *Oxford*, and gotten to the Isle of *Wight*, the King followed and drove him also from thence, and at last into Exile.

And now *England* afforded him once againe to take a little breath, but then *Normandy* presently begins with him afresh: For now *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Duke of *Anjou*, in right of *Maude* his Wife, enters upon his Townes there, and seekes to get possession of the Country, when King *Stephen* passeth over with an Army, and arrests his proceeding: and after some small defeates of his Enemies, brings the matter at last to a pecuniary Composition: He to pay the Duke five thousand Markes a yeare, and the Duke to relinquish his claime to *Normandy*. This done, he returnes into *England*, where new Commotions are attending him. For the Lords in his absence, relenting his breach of Promises, upon which they had admitted

mitted him to the Crowne, make uſe every one of their Caſtles, and ſtand upon their Guard: The Lord *Talbot* held *Hereford*, Earle *Robert Mauds* Brother, *Briſtow*; *William Lovell*, the Caſtle of *Cary*; *Paganell*, the Caſtle of *Ludlow*; *William Mounc*, the Caſtle of *Dunſter*; *Robert Nicholor* of *Lincolne*, the Caſtle of *Warham*; *Euſtace* the Sonne of *John*, the Caſtle of *Melton*; *William* the Sonne of *Alan*, the Caſtle of *Shrewsbury*; and withall *David* King of *Scots*, never regarding his former agreement, enters *Northumberland* with an Army, committing ſo great cruelty, in raviſhing of Maydes, murthering of Infants, ſlaughtering of Prieſts, even at the Altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the kingdome from the one end to the other was in Combuſtion, that if the King had had as many hands as *Briareus*, there would have beene worke enough for them all. Yet all this diſmayed not the King, but as having learned this Leſſon; *Tu ne cede malis, ſed contra audentior ito*, growes the more in confidence, the leſſe he was in aſſurance; and as if danger were the fuell of Courage, the more erected in himſelfe, the leſſe he was upheld by others; and ſo, venturing what his Rebels at home would doe in his abſence, he paſſeth himſelfe in perſon againſt *David* King of *Scots*; as being the moſt dangerous, and therefore the firſt to be repreſſed: but finding it hard to draw him to a Battell, and impoſſible without a battell to doe any good upon him; he leaves the care of that quarrell to *Thurſtine* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, and returnes himſelfe home, if it may be called home, where he ſcarce had a ſafe place to put his head in. But though many Lords were Rebellious againſt him, yet ſome there were ſtucke firmely to him, by whoſe Aſſiſtance and his owne induſtry, partly by inticements, partly by inforcements, he reduced moſt of them to Obedience, and all of them to Submiſſion; when in the meane time *Thurſtine* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*; and in his ſickneſſe, *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, aſſiſted with *William* Earle of *Aumerle*, *William Piperell* of *Nottingham*, and *Hubert de Lacy*, fought a memorable Battell againſt *David* King of *Scots*; wherein though King *David* himſelfe, and his Sonne *Henry* performed wonderfull Acts of Proweſſe, yet the *Engliſh* got the Victory, with the ſlaughter of eleven thouſand *Scots* in the Fight, beſides many other ſlaine in the flight; where of the *Engliſh* none of account were ſlaine, but onely a Brother of *Hubert Lacyes*, and ſome ſmall number of Common Souldiers. This Victory infinitely pleaſed and comforted King *Stephen*, who not long after to make an abſolute ſuppreſſion of the *Scots*, paſſeth againe with an Army, and inforceth King *David* to demand a Peace, delivering his Sonne *Henry* into King *Stephens* hands for a pledge; and comming homeward, by the way he beſieged *Ludlow*, one of Rebels neſts, where Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* had beene taken Priſoner, if King *Stephen* in his owne perſon had not reſcued him.

After this, once againe the King got a little breathing time, but it was but to prepare him for greater Encounters: For now *Maud* the Empreſſe her ſelfe in perſon comes into play; in whom the Oath before taken was to have its tryall; for till now, though never ſo really intended, yet it could not actually be performed; for how could they receive her for Queene, who came not in place to be received? but now that ſhe came in perſon, now was the time of tryall, how the Oath would worke; and worke it did indeed with many, and that ſtrongly; For *Maude* comming into *England*, with *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter* her Brother; was moſt joyfully received at *Arundell* Caſtle, by *William de Aubigny*, who had married *Adeliza* the Queene Dowager of the late King *Henry*, and had the ſaid Caſtle and County aſſigned her for her Dower. King *Stephen* having intelligence hereof, commeth to *Arundell* Caſtell with an Army, and beſiegeth it; but either diverted by ill counſell, or elſe finding the Caſtle to be inexpugnable, he left the ſiege, and ſuffered the Empreſſe to paſſe to *Briſtow*. The King hearing, that *Randolph* Earle of *Cheſter*, Sonne in law to *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, had poſſeſt himſelfe of the City of *Lincolne*, thither he goeth with an Army and beſiegeth it: thither alſo came the ſaid Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter* to raiſe his ſiege; at which time, a moſt fierce battell was fought betweene them, upon *Candlemas* day; wherein it is memorable what wonders of valour King *Stephen* performed; For, when

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all his men about him were either fled or slaine, yet he kept the field himselfe alone: no man daring to come neare him: *Horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem ictuum ejus immanitatem*, saith *Hoveden*: yet over-mastered at last by multitude, he was taken prisoner, and brought to *Maude* the Empresse; who sent him to be kept in safe custody in the Castle of *Brissow*, where he remained till *All-hallantide* after. And now the Empresse having gotten King *Stephen* into her hands, she takes her journey to *London*; received in all places, as she went, peaceably, and at *London* joyfully; where Queene *Matild* made humble suite unto her, for the liberty of King *Stephen* her husband; and that he might but be allowed to live a private life: the *Londoners* also made suite to have the Lawes of King *Edward* restored; but the Empresse not onely rejected both their suites, but returned them answers in harsh and insulting language; Indeed most unseasonably; and which gave a stop to the current of all her fortunes: for Queene *Matild* finding thereby, how high the Empresse pulses did beate; sent presently to her Sonne *Eustace*, being then in *Kent*, to raise Forces with all speed, with whom, the *Londoners*, as much discontented as she, doe afterwards joyne; and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, as much discontented as either of them, fortifies his Castles at *Waltham* and *Farnham*; and specially *Winchester*, where he stayes himselfe, attending upon what Coast the next wind of the Empresse would blow. Of all these things the Empresse had intelligence, and thereupon secretly in the night she fled to *Oxford*, sending streight charge, to have King *Stephen* more narrowly watched, more hardly used; put (as some write) into fetters; and fed with very bare and poore Commons; withall she sends to her Unkle *David* Kings of *Scots*, to come unto her with all speed possible, who comming accordingly, they fall into consultation what is first to be done; the lot fals upon *Winchester*, as being their greatest adversary, now, no lesse in apparence then in power: so *Winchester* they besiege, which Queene *Matild* hearing, she with her Sonne *Eustace* and the *Londoners*, come presently to the succour, where a fierce battell being fought, the end was, that the party of Queene *Matild* prevailed, and the Empresse to make her escape, was faine to be laid upon a Horse backe in manner of a dead Corps, and so conveyed to *Glocester*; while Earle *Robert* her brother disdaining to flie, was taken Prisoner, whom Queene *Matild* caused to be used the more hardly, in retaliation of the hard usage which the Empresse before had shewed to King *Stephen*. Things standing in these termes, propositions were made by the Lords for pacification, but such were the high spirits of the Empresse, and her brother *Robert*, that no conditions would please them, unlesse the Empresse might enjoy the Crowne. But after long debate, whether by agreement betweene themselves, or by connivence of the keepers, both King *Stephen* and Earle *Robert* got to be at liberty. When the first thing King *Stephen* did, was to looke out the Empresse, to requite the kindnesse she had shewed him in prison; and hearing her to be at *Oxford*, he layes siege to the Towne, and brings the Empresse to such distresse, that she had no way to free her selfe but by flight; and no way to flee but with manifest danger, yet she effected it by this devise: It was in the Winter season, when frost and snow covered all the ground over; she therefore clad her selfe, and her foure servants that were with her in white cloathes, which being of the colour of Snow, made her passe the Watches without being discerned, and by this meanes came safe to her friends at *Wallingford*. Yet *Mamesbury* who lived at that time, confesseth he could never learne certainely by what meanes she made her escape. But howsoever she escaped this present danger, yet it left such an impression of feare upon her, that she never after had any mind to appeare upon this stage of Warre, but left the prosecution of it to her Sonne *Henry*, who was now about sixteene yeares of age, and being forward of his age, and able to beare Armes; was by his great Unkle *David* King of *Scots*, Knighted, to make him more forward.

It was now the ninth yeare of King *Stephens* Raigne, when *Ralph* Earle of *Chester*, keeping possession of the City of *Lincolne*, was in the night time assaulted by the King; but the Earle perceiving the Kings Forces to be but small, suddenly issued

ſued forth, and repelled the King with the ſlaughter of foureſcore of his men. Yet two yeares after this, the Earle was reconciled to the King, and came of his owne accord to waite upon him, when perfidiouſly he was detained by the King; and not ſet at liberty, till he had ſurrendred into the Kings hands all the Caſtles that were in his poſſeſſion; which though it brought the King ſome preſent benefit, yet it wrought him a greater future loſſe; for it loſt him his credite with all men, and no man afterward would truſt his word.

Now was Duke *Henry* come to the age of nineteene yeares, and was in poſſeſſion of the Dukedome of *Anjou*, by the death of his Father *Geoffrey Plantagenet*; and not long after this, he marryed *Eleanor* the Daughter and Heire of *William* Duke of *Guyen*, by whom he had that Dutchy, and alſo the Earledome of *Poictou*: *Normandy* he had by his Mother; but more by the peoples inclination. So as being poſſeſt now of foure great Principalities; this greatneſſe of Eſtate added to the greatneſſe of his ſpirit, made him aſpiring to recover his Right in *England*; and over he comes, bringing with him but ſmall Forces, but promiſing himſelfe great, from the people of this kingdome: and many indeed reſorted to him; with whom he fell preſently, and beſieged *Marleborough*; but by the Kings greater Forces was repelled.

After this, their Armies continued in the field ſtill; rather watching advantages to be doing, then doing any thing; ſometimes advancing when no Enemy was neare, and then retiring when the Enemy came; till at laſt it was like to come to a ſet Battell, when ſuddenly *Euſtace* King *Stephens* onely Sonne unfortunately dyed: Unfortunately for himſelfe, but fortunately for the kingdome; For now King *Stephen* being left deſtitute of iſſue to ſucceed, was the more eaſily drawne to conditions of Peace, as likewiſe the Empreſſe *Maude*, having lately loſt her Brother *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, and *Miles* Earle of *Hereford*, (her two beſt Champions) was no leſſe willing of Peace then he; which being furthered by the Lords of both ſides, was at laſt concluded upon theſe conditions, that *Stephen* ſhould hold the kingdome of *England* during his life, and adopt Duke *Henry* as his Heire to ſucceed him. And this agreement thus made, and in a Parliament at *Wincheſter* confirmed, Duke *Henry* ever after accounted King *Stephen* no leſſe then a Father, and King *Stephen*, Duke *Henry* no leſſe then a Sonne: and well he might, if it be true which ſome write, that the Empreſſe, when a Battell was to be fought betweene King *Stephen* and her Sonne, went privily to him, asking him how he could find in his heart to fight againſt him that was his owne Sonne? could he forget the familiarity he had with her in her firſt Widow-hood? But this was no matter for the Writers of that time to deliver: It touched too neare the intereſt of Princes then in being: and Princes muſt not be touched while they live, nor when they are dead neither with uncertainties, as this could be no other: But howſoever it was, certaine it is, that after this Agreement betweene King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*, they continued in mutuall love and concord, as long after as they lived.

But what became of *Maude* the Empreſſe at this time? For, that ſhe was alive, and lived many yeares after this agreement betweene King *Stephen* and her Sonne *Henry*, all Writers agree; and to ſay that ſhe conſented to the Agreement, without any proviſion made for her ſelfe, is to make her too much a Woman; a very weake veſſell: and to ſay there might be proviſion made, though it be not Recorded, is to make all Writers defective in a great exceſſe. And beſides, being ſo ſtirring a woman as ſhe was, that upon a ſuddaine ſhe ſhould be ſo quiet, as not to deſerve to have one word ſpoken of her, in all the long time ſhe lived after, (being no leſſe then twelve or thirteene yeares) is as ſtrange as the reſt. And if ſhe placed her contentment ſo wholly in her Sonne, that in regard of him, ſhe regarded not her ſelfe at all; It deſerves at leaſt the *Encomium* of ſuch a motherly love as is very unuſuall, and not alwayes ſafe. Whatſoever it was, I muſt be faine to leave it as a Gordian knot, which no Writer helpes me to unty.

Of his Taxations, and wayes for raising of money.

OF Taxations in his time, there is no mention made; for Taxations indeed, are properly drawne from a body of State when it is entire, where the State all this Kings time was altogether in Fractions. But what he wanted in Taxations, he supplyed with Confiscations, which by reason of the many revoltings of men of all sorts, could not chuse but fill his Coffers; every Rebellion being in nature of a Purchase to him, for whatsoever became of the Persons, their Lands and Goods were sure to be his. And if it happened at any time, that Confiscations came in but slowly, he had then devises to hasten their pace, for upon light suggestions (not so much oftentimes as just suspitions) he would call men into question, and seise upon their good, as in the case particularly of *Ralph* Bishop of *Salisbury*; and it may not be unpleasing to heare from what beginning this Bishop grew to such a height of greatnesse, which was thus; In the time of King *William Rufus*, he was a poore Priest, serving a Cure in a village neare to *Caen* in *Normandy*, when the Kings younger Brother *Henry* chanced to passe that way, and to make some stay in the said Village; who being desirous to heare a Masse, this *Roger* being Curate, was the man to say it; which he dispatched with such celerity, that the Souldiers (who commonly love not long Masses) commended him for it, telling their Lord, that there could not a fitter Priest be found for men of warre then he. Whereupon *Henry* appointed him to follow him, and when he came to be King, preferred him to many great places, and at last to be Chancellour of *England*, and Bishop of *Salisbury*. You have heard his rising, now heare his fall; When King *Stephen* came to the Crowne, he held this man in as great account as his Predecessour King *Henry* had done, and perhaps in greater; For being a great begger of Suites, the King would say of him, If this man will never give over asking, neither shall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell first through Pride into Envy, and then through Envy into Ruine. For King *Stephen* having given liberty to build Castles, this man did so farre exceed all others in magnificence (for he builded the Castles of *Salisbury*, the *Vyes*, *Sherburne*, *Mamesbury* and *Newarke*, to which there were no Structures comparable in the kingdome) that the Lords out of envy put it into the Kings head, that these Castles of his were built thus magnificently for entertainment of *Maude* the Empresse: which so possessed the King, or he would be thought to be so possessed, that taking this for a just cause, he seised them all into his hands, and forty thousand Markes besides, which he had in money; and not contented with this, he tooke the like course also with *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*, onely because he was his Nephew and of his neare kindred. Another way he had for gaining of money: For in the first yeare of his Raigne, having given liberty to hunt in his Forests, he afterward at *Oxford* caused many to be impleaded for using that liberty; a tricke which perhaps he learned from hunting, First to give men leave to doe a thing, and then to Fine them for having done it. But this is the priviledge of Princes, that their leave must be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

HE gave licence to the City of *Norwich* to have Coroners and Bayliffes, before which time, they had onely a Sergeant for the King to keepe Courts, and after this, in the 37. yeare of King *Henry* the third, they had license to inclose the Towne with Ditches.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

VPon the Kings seising into his hands, the Bishop of *Salisburies* Castles, and Goods, complaint was made, and a Synod called by the Bishop of *Winche-*

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ſter the Popes Legate, to right the Biſhop, where the King was cited to appeare; who ſending to know the cauſe, Anſwer was made, that it was to anſwer for his impriſoning of Biſhops, and depriving them of their Goods, which being a Chriſtian King he ought not to doe. The King replies by his Lawyer, *Alveric de Ver*, that he had not arreſted the Biſhop of *Salisbury* as a Biſhop, but as his Servant, that was to make him accompt of his imployment. To this the Biſhop anſwereth, that he was never Servant or Accomptant to the King: and many Allegations and Probations were urged to and fro, but in concluſion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Biſhops durſt not Excommunicate the King without the Popes privity; ſo in the end they fell from Authority to Submiſſion, and in the Kings Chamber fell downe at his Feet, beſeeching him he would pity the Church; and not ſuffer diſſention to be betweene the Kingdome and the Prieſt-hood. And this was no ſmall magnanimity in the King, that he was able to pull downe the high ſtomachs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth yeare of his Raigne a Synod was held in *London* by *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, where it was decreed, that whoſoever ſhould lay violent hands upon any Clergy man, ſhould not be abſolved but by the Pope himſelfe: and from this time forward, Clergy men were exempt from the ſecular power. In the tenth yeare of his Raigne, by the ſoliciting of Saint *Bernard*, many tooke upon them the Croſſe, for a ſupply to the Holy Land, amongſt whom, ſome *Engliſh* Lords alſo.

Workes of piety done by him, or by others in his time.

HE Founded the Abbeys of *Cogſhall* in *Eſſex*; of *Furneys* in *Lancaſhire*; of *Hurguilers* and *Feverſham* in *Kent*; at *Heigham* in *Kent*, a Houſe of blacke Nunnes; alſo an houſe for Nunnes at *Carew*: His Queene *Matild* builded the Hoſpitall of Saint *Katherines* by the Tower of *London*: A knight called Sir *William* of *Mount Fitchet*, Founded the Abbey of *Stratford Langthorne*, within foure miles of *London*. *William* of *Ypre* Founded *Boxeley* Abbey in *Kent*; *Robert* Earle of *Ferrers*, Founded the Abbey of *Merivall* in *Warwickſhire*; and in the ſame Shire, *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Abbey of *Nonne Eaton*. Alſo by others were Founded the Abbeys of *Tilteys*, of *Rievall*; of *Newborough* and *Beeland*; of *Garedon* in *Leyceſterſhire*; of *Kirkſtead* in *Yorkeſhire*: and divers others in other places, ſo that more Abbeys were erected in his dayes, then had beene within the ſpace of a hundred yeares before.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE marryed, by his Unkle King *Henries* meanes, *Matild*, Daughter and Heire of *Euſtace* Earle of *Boleyne*, a Woman made for the proportion of both Fortunes: In adverſity not dejected; in proſperity not elated: while her Husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his durance, as it were a Man; Acting his part for him when he was reſtrained from acting it himſelfe; not looking that Fortune ſhould fall into her lappe, but induſtrious to procure it. By this Queene, he had onely one Sonne named *Euſtace*, a Prince more then of hope, for he lived to the bloſſoming of much Valour, though it came not to maturity, as being cut off at eighteene yeares of age, ſome ſay, by drowning, and ſome by a ſtranger accident. But ſtrange Relations muſt not alwayes be rejected, for though many of them be forged, yet ſome no doubt are true; and who knowes but it may be of this kind, which ſome Writers relate of the death of this Prince: that being at the Abbey of *Bury* in *Norfolke*, and denyed ſome money he required to have had; he preſently in a rage went forth, and ſet fire on the Cornefields belonging to the Abbey, but afterwards ſitting downe to dinner, at the firſt morſell of bread he put into his mouth, he fell into a fit of madneſſe, and in that fit dyed? Certainely, the Perſons of Princes are for more obſervation then ordinary people; and as they make Examples, ſo they are ſometimes made Examples. This Prince *Euſtace* was ſo

beloved of his father, that he had a purpoſe to have joyned him King with himſelfe, but that the Pope upon the Biſhops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howſoever being dead, he was buried in *Feverſham* Abbey, where his mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate iſſue King *Stephen* had none, but by a Concubine he had a ſonne named *William*, whom he made Earle of *Norfolke*; which honour was confirmed upon him, by a ſpeciall Article, in the agreement made betweene King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*: Onely a *French* Chronicle ſpeakes of another ſonne of his, named *Gervaſe*, made Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and that hee died in the yeare 1160. and was there buried.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was tall of ſtature, of great ſtrength, and of an excellent good complexion. Concerning the qualities of his minde, there was apparent in him a juſt mixture of valour and prudence; for if he had not had both, hee could never have held out with ſuch weake friends as he did, againſt ſuch potent adverſaries as he had. And ſpecially it muſt be confeſt, he was of an excellent temper for a ſouldier, ſeeing he never kild any enemy in cold blood, as *Anthonie* did *Cicero*; nor any friend in hot blood, as *Alexander* did *Clitus*. What he would have beene in Peace, we are left to Judge by onely a Patterne, the ſhort time betweene his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his death: which ſeeing he ſpent in travelling to all parts of the Realme, and ſeeking to ſtitch up the breaches which the violence of Warre had made; we may well thinke, that if his life had beene continued, he would have given as good Proofes of his Juſtice in Peace, as he had done of his Valour in Warre. For of his extraordinary good nature we have a ſufficient example in one Action of his, which was this: Duke *Henry* being on a time, in ſome ſtraights for money, ſent to his Mother *Maude* the Empreſſe, deſiring her to furniſh him, but ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was in as great ſtraights her ſelfe, and therefore could not do it; then he ſent to his Unkle Earle *Robert* to furniſh him, and he anſwered, he had little enough to ſerve his owne turne, and therefore could not doe it; at laſt he ſent to King *Stephen*, and he though an Adverſary, and ſtanding in termes of oppoſition, yet ſent preſently and ſupplyed him with it. He was withall a great oppugner of Superſtition, which made him on a time to ride into *Lincolne* with his Crowne upon his head, onely to breake the people of a ſuperſtitious opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in ſuch manner, but that ſome great dyſaſter would fall upon him. One ſpeciall Vertue may be noted in him, that he was not noted for any ſpeciall vice, whereof if there had beene any in him, Writers certainly would not have beene ſilent.

Of his death and buriall.

AS a Fiſh cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Deſtiny of this King, to live out of trouble; as ſoone as he came to enjoy quietneſſe, he left to enjoy life, no more time left him betweene his Agreement with Duke *Henry* and his Death, but onely ſo much as might reaſonably ſerve him to take his laſt leave of all his Friends; For it was but from *January* to *October*, and the laſt Friend he tooke leave of, was *Theodoricke* Earle of *Flanders*, whom he met at *Dover*, and as ſoone as he had diſmiſſed him, he was ſuddenly taken with the Iliake Paſſion, and with an old diſeaſe of the Emeraulds: and dyed in the Monaſtery there, the five and twentyeth of *October*, in the yeare 1154. when he had Raigned almoſt nineteene yeares, Lived nine and forty; and was Buryed in the Abbey of *Feverſham*, which he had Founded.

Men

Men of note in his time.

OF Clergy men, there was *Thurſtine* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* the Kings Brother, alſo *William*, another Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, whom we may finde in the Calender of Saints, as likewiſe Saint *Bernard* who lived in this time, though not of this Country, and if we may reckon ſtrangers, there lived at this time, *Peter Lombard*, Maſter of the Sentences; *Peter Comeſter*, writer of the Eccleſiaſticall Story; and *Gratian*, Compiler of the Canon Law, all three Brothers, and all three Baſtards; alſo *Avicen*, *Averroes*, *Meſues*, and Rabbi *Salomon* were in this time famous. Of military men, there was *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*; *Reynold* Earle of *Cornwall*; *Robert* Earle of *Leyceſter*; *Hugh Bigot*, Earle of *Norfolke*, but ſpecially *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Kings baſe Sonne, whoſe praiſes, if any deſire to heare ſounded out to the full, let him read *William* of *Malmesbury*, who writ the Hiſtory of thoſe times, of purpoſe to be his Trumpet. Of the Writers of our Nation, there was this *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry Huntington*, *Simon Dunelmenſis*, *William Revellenſis*, and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph* in *Wales*. Alſo *Hugo Carthuſianus*, a *Burgundian*, but made Biſhop of *Lincolne* here in *England*.

THE

THE LIFE and RAIGNE OF KING HENRY THE SECOND.

KING *Stephen* being dead, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, by his Father *Geoffry Plantagenet*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome of *England* by agreement; whom he preceded by right, as being Sonne and Heire of *Mawde*, ſole daughter and Heire of King *Henry* the firſt; and was crowned at *Weſtminſter*, by *Theobald* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, on the ſeventeenth of *December*, in the yeare 1155. and was now a greater Prince then any of his Anceſtours had beene before: and indeed, the Kingdome of *England*, the Dukedome of *Normandy*, and the Dukedome of *Anjou* in his owne right; and in the right of his wife Queen *Eleanor*, the Duchy of *Guyen*, and the Earldome of *Poicton*, being all united in his perſon, made him a Dominion of a larger extent then any King Chriſtian had at that time.

He was borne at *Ments* in *Normandy*, in the yeare 1132. a great joy to his Father *Geoffry*, Duke of *Anjou*; a greater to his Mother *Mawde* the Empreſſe; but ſo great to his Grandfather King *Henry* the firſt, that it ſeemed to make amends for his ſonne *William*, whom unfortunately he had loſt before by Shipwrack. The yeares of his childhood were ſpent at home under the care of his Parents: at nine yeares old or there abouts, he was brought by his Unkle *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter* into *England*, and placed at *Briſtow*, where under the tuition of one *Matthew* his Schoolemaſter, to inſtruct him in learning, he remained foure yeares, after which time he was ſent into *Scotland*, to his great Unkle *David* King of *Scots*, with whom he remained about two yeares, initiated by him in the Principles of State, but chiefely of his owne eſtate: and being now about fifteene yeares of age, was by him Knighted, and though ſcarce yet ripe for Armes, yet as a fruit gathered before its time, was mellowed under the diſcipline of his Unkle *Robert*, one of the beſt Souldiers of that time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to endure his abſence, ſent with great inſtance to have him ſent over to him; for ſatisfying of whoſe longing, Earle *Robert* provided him of paſſage, and conducted him himſelfe to the Sea ſide, where he tooke his laſt farewell of him. Being come into *Anjou*, his Father, perhaps over-joyed with his preſence, not long after died, leaving him in preſent poſſeſſion of that Dukedome, being now about nineteene yeares of age: when ſhortly after he married *Eleanor*, late the wife of *Lewis* King of *France*, but now divorced. A yeare or two after he came againe into *England*, where after ſome velitations with King *Stephen*, they were at laſt reconciled, and his

his succession to the Crowne of *England*, ratified by Act of Parliament. Not long after he went againe into *France*, and presently fell to besiege a Castle which was detained from him by the *French* King: in the time of which siege, newes was brought him of King *Stephens* death, which one would have thought should have made him hasten his journey into *England*, yet he resolved not to stirre till he had wonne the Caste: which resolution of his being knowne to the Defendants, they surrendred the Castle, but yet no sooner, but that it was sixe weekes after before he came into *England*, when he was now about the age of three and twenty yeares.

His first Acts after he came to the Crowne.

He beganne his Raigne as *Solomon* would have begunne it, if he had beene in his place: for, first he made choyce of wise and discreet men to be his Counsellours: then he banished out of the Realme all strangers, and especially *Flemmings*, with whom the Kingdome swarmed, as of whom King *Stephen* had made use in his warres, amongst whom was *William* of *Ypres*, lately before made Earle of *Kent*. Castles which by King *Stephens* allowance had beene built, he caused to be demolished, (of which there were said to be eleven hundred and fifteene) as being rather Nurseries of rebellion to the subject, then of any safety to the Prince. He appointed the most able men of that profession, to reforme abuses of the Lawes, which disorder of the wars had brought in: He banished many Lords, who against their Oath had assisted King *Stephen* against him, as thinking that men once perjured, would never be faithfull: and to the end he might be the lesse pressing upon the people with Taxations, he resumed all such Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way beene aliened or usurped, as thinking it better to displease a few then many: and many other things he did, which in a disjoynted State were no lesse profitable and expedient, then requisite and necessary.

His Troubles during his Raigne.

He had no Competitors, nor Pretenders with him for the Crowne, and therfore his troubles at first were not *in Capite*, strooke not at the roote, as K. *Stephens* did: but were onely some certaine niblings at inferiour parts, till at last he brought them himselfe into his own bowels. For what was the trouble in his first yeare with the *Welsh*, but as an exercise rather to keep him in motion, then that it needed to disquiet his rest? for though they were mutinous for a time, while they looked upon their owne Bucklers, their Woods and Mountainous passages: yet as soone as K. *Henry* did but shew his sword amongst them, they were soone reduced to obedience for the present, and to agreater awfulnesse for the future. It is true, *Henry* Earle of *Essex* that bore the Kings Standard, was so assaulted by the *Welsh*, that he let the Standard fall to the ground, which encouraged the *Welsh*, and put the *English* in some feare, as supposing the King had beene slaine, but this was soone frustrated to the *Welsh*, and punished afterward in the Earle, by condemning him to be shorne a Monke, and put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his lands seised into the Kings hands. And what was his trouble with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, but a worke of his owne beginning? for if he would have suffered him to enjoy that which was justly his owne, *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonshire*, by the grant of King *Stephen*, and *Northumberland*, by the gift of his Mother *Maude* the Empresse, he might have staied quietly at home, and needed not at all to have stirred his foote, but he could not endure there should be such parings off from the body of his Kingdome: and therefore went with an Army into the North, where he wonne not, but tooke *Northumberland* from him, with the City of *Carleil*, and the Castles of *Newcastle* and *Bamberg*: and meerely out of gratefulnesse, in remembrance of the many courtesies done him before, by *David* King of *Scots*, he left him the County of *Huntington*, but yet with condition to owe fealty, and to doe homage

to

to him for it. And what was his trouble with his brother *Geoffrey*, but a Bird of his owne hatching? For his Father *Geoffrey*, Duke of *Anjou*, had three ſonnes, *Henry*, *Geoffrey*, and *William*; and dying he left his Dukedome of *Anjou* to his eldeſt ſon *Henry*, but to hold no longer then till he ſhould come to be King of *England*, and then to deliver it up to his ſecond ſonne *Geoffrey*: and he made his Lords to ſweare, not to ſuffer his body to be buried, untill his ſonne *Henry* had taken his Oath to doe it; which Oath *Henry* afterward, in reverence to his Fathers body, did take: but as he tooke it unwillingly, ſo he willingly brake it, and ſent preſently to *Adrian* the then Pope, for a Diſpenſation of his Oath: which granted, he enters *Anjou* with an Army, and takes from his brother *Geoffrey*, being little able to make reſiſtance, not onely the Dukedome of *Anjou*, but ſome other Cities alſo, which his Father had abſolutely given him for his maintenance: yet out of brotherly kiſidneſſe was content to allow him a Penſion of a thouſand pounds a yeare: which brotherly kindneſſe was ſo unkindly taken by his brother *Geoffrey*, that it brake his heart, and within a ſhort time after died.

And thus theſe troubles begun by *Henry* himſelfe, were ſoone ended; but now a trouble is comming on, begun by *Lewis* King of *France*, and this is like to ſtick longer by him. For King *Lewis* not having yet digeſted King *Henries* marriage with his divorced wife *Eleanor*, ſeekes all opportunities to expreſſe his ſpleene, by doing him diſpleaſure; and a fit opportunity was now offered: for there fell out a difference betweene *Raymond* Earle of Saint *Giles*, and *Henry* King of *England*, about the Earledome of *Tholouſe*, which *Raymond* poſſeſt, and *Henry* claimed: in this difference, King *Lewis* takes part with *Raymond*, as pretending it to be the juſter ſide. Hereupon are great forces provided on both ſides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous battell; but that by mediation of friends, a Peace was made; and to make the Peace the firmer, a marriage was concluded betweene *Henry*, King *Henries* eldeſt ſonne, ſcarce yet ſeven yeares of age; and *Margaret*, daughter of King *Lewis*, not paſt three: who was delivered to King *Henry* to bring up till fit yeares for conſummation. This was then thought a ſtrong linke to hold them in friendſhip, but it proved afterward a cauſe to make the greater breach: and indeed when a ſonne is once matched into a Family, the Father muſt never looke from thence afterward to have a good wiſh; ſeeing the daughter thus matched can have no advancement, but by the advancement of her husband, and he none, at leaſt, none ſo well, as by the ruine of his Father: yet this brake not out till ſome yeares after. It was now about the eighteenth yeere of King *Henries* Raigne, and his ſonne *Henry* growne to be ſeventeene yeares of age, when it came into the Kings minde to have his ſonne *Henry* crowned King, and Raigne with himſelfe in his owne time; partly out of indulgence to his ſonne, but chiefely, as having found by his owne experience, that Oaths for ſucceſſion are commonly eluded: but Oaths for preſent Allegeance, as being *Verba de Præſenti*, can have no evaſion: and pleaſing himſelfe with this conceit, he acquaints his Lords with his purpoſe, and cauſeth his ſonne *Henry* to be crowned King by the hands of *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*; and all the Lords to ſweare Allegeance to him: at the Feaſt of which ſolemnity, King *Henry* to honour his ſonne, would needs carry up the firſt diſh to his Table; whereupon the Arch-biſhop *Roger* ſtanding by, and ſaying merrily to the new King: What an honour is this to you, to have ſuch a waiter at your Table? Why (ſaith he) what great matter is it for him that was but the ſonne of a Duke, to doe ſervice to me, that am the ſonne of a King and Queene? Which the old King hearing, beganne to repent him, now it was too late of that he had done. For indeed the honour which by Gods commandement, children are to doe to their Parents, is by ſuch making them their equals, in a manner aboliſhed, at leaſt it gives them ſtomachs to take more upon them then is fit. But King *Henry* paſſed it over, and meant to ſet the beſt ſide outward.

And now King *Lewis* tooke diſpleaſure that his daughter was not crowned as well as her husband, and therefore to ſatisfie him in that point, King *Henry* ſendeth his ſonne *Henry* and his wife *Margaret* into *England*, and cauſeth them both to be

crowned

crowned by *Walter* Arch-biſhop of *Roan*: and ſhortly after, the young King *Henry* and his wife goe backe to King *Lewis* her Father, and by him with great joy, and variety of ſports were entertained. In the time of their being there, King *Lewis* partly out of his old ſpleene to King *Henry*, and partly to make his ſonne in law more abſolute, fals oftentimes into conference with him, and finding his hot ſpirit to be fit tinder for ſuch fire, tels him, it was a ſhame he ſhould ſuffer himſelfe to be made a ſtale, have the title of a King, and not the authority: and that as long as he ſtood in ſuch termes, that which ſeemed an honour, was indeed a diſgrace. With which words of King *Lewis*, the young King *Henry* was ſet afloate, and from that time forward, ſtucke not openly to oppoſe his Father: whereof his Father having intelligence, ſent meſſengers to King *Lewis*, deſiring him from the King their Maſter, to be a meanes to bring his ſonne to more moderation. But King *Lewis* hearing the Embaſſadours name their Maſter King, with an angry countenance ſaid unto them, What mean you by this to call him King, who hath paſſed his Kingdome over to his ſon? and with this anſwer ſent them away. To this evill, another worſe was added: that Queene *Eleanor* his wife enraged with jealouſie of her husbands Concubines, both incenſeth her ſonne *Henry*, and perſwadeth alſo two other of her ſonnes, *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, to joyne againſt their Father, telling them, it would be better for them that their brother ſhould prevaile, who could not chuſe but allow them better maintenance, then their Father did. With theſe perſwaſions they paſſe over into *Normandy*, and joyne with their brother *Henry*, who emboldned by their aſſiſtance, growes now more inſolent then he was before, that when meſſengers were ſent to him from his Father, requiring him to lay downe his Armes, and to come lovingly to him: he proudly made anſwer, that his Father muſt not looke he would lay downe his Armes, unleſſe himſelfe firſt would lay downe his authority, and reſigne the Kingdome. And now *Lewis* King of *France*, calling together the great Lords of his Kingdome, and with them *William* King of *Scots*, *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Hugh Pigot*, and other of his ſonnes party, they all take their Oaths to aſſiſt the young King *Henry* with all their power; and thereupon all in one day, the *French* invade *Normandy*, *Aquitaine* and *Britaine*; the King of *Scots Northumberland*; and King *Lewis* the City of *Vernoill*, which he brought to that diſtreſſe, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not ſuccoured within three dayes, then to ſurrender it. King *Henry* hearing of this agreement, promiſeth to ſuccour them by that day. But here King *Lewis* uſeth a trick, gets that by fraud, which he could not doe by force; for he ſends to King *Henry*, that if he were willing to have peace with his ſonnes, he ſhould meet him at a place appointed, at ſuch a time, and he doubted not to effect it. King *Henry* glad of ſuch an offer, and with that gladneſſe perhaps blinded, and not ſuſpecting any deceit, promiſeth to meete; and comming to the place at the day, which was the day he ſhould have ſuccoured *Vernoill*, he ſtayed there all day looking for King *Lewis* comming; who inſtead of comming, ſent word to *Vernoill*, that King *Henry* was defeated; and therefore their hope of ſuccour was in vaine: whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be ſo indeed, becauſe he came not according to his promiſe, ſurrendred the Towne: which King *Lewis* finding himſelfe unable to hold, ſet it on fire, and ſo departed. But King *Henry* when he perceived the fraud, followed him with his Army, and tooke a bloody revenge of his fraud, with the ſlaughter of many of his men. At the ſame time alſo King *Henries* forces encountred *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Robert Fulger*, who had taken *Dole* in *Britaine*, tooke them priſoners, and brought them to King *Henry*: and about the ſame time likewiſe in *England*, *Robert* Earle of *Leyceſter* thinking to ſurpriſe *Raynold* Earle of *Cornwall*, and *Richard Lacy*, King *Henries* Generals, at unawares, was himſelfe by them overthrowne, and the Towne of *Leyceſter* taken; which onely the ſite of the place defended from being battered to the ground. *Robert* Earle of *Leyceſter* being thus defeated, paſſeth over into *France*, and being ſupplied by King *Lewis* with greater forces then before, is together with *Hugh Bigot* ſent backe into *England*, to draw the Countrey to *Henry* the ſonnes party; who at firſt aſſault take *Norwich*: and then ſetting downe be-

fore *Bury*, they are in a great battell, by *Richard Lacy*, and other of King *Henries* Captaines, overthrowne with the ſlaughter of tenne thouſand men, and as many taken priſoners; amongſt whom Earle *Robert* himſelfe. Yet were not *Roger Mawbray* and *Hugh Bigot* ſo daunted with this overthrow, but that together with *David* the King of *Scots* brother, they gather new forces, and invade *Northumberland* and *Yorkſhire*, when *Robert Scoccee*, *Ralph Granula*, *William Veſci*, and *Barnard Bayliol* (of whom *Baynards* Caſtle in *London*, firſt tooke the name) Knights of thoſe parts, aſſemble together, and fighting a great battell with them, overthrew them, and tooke the King of *Scots* priſoner, with many others. Yet is not *Hugh Bigot* daunted with this neither, but gathers new forces, and takes *Norwich*, and *Robert Ferris*, *Nottingham*: the newes whereof, when King *Henry* the ſonne heard, he recovered new ſpirits, and obtaining new aſſiſtance from King *Lewis*, prepares himſelfe afreſh for warre: which King *Henry* the Father hearing, returnes ſpeedily into *England*; and to appeaſe Saint *Thomas Beckets* Ghoſt, goes to viſit his Tombe, and there askes him forgiveneſſe. This done, he goes into *Suffolke*, and at *Framingham* Caſtle, which belonged to *Hugh Bigot*, ſtayes with his Army, when ſuddenly moved, by what inſtinct, no man knowes (unleſſe the appeaſing of Saint *Thomas* Ghoſt did worke it) both *Hugh Bigot* delivers up his Caſtle into King *Henries* hands, and likewiſe *Roger Mawbray*, *Robert Ferris*, and many others of that party, come voluntarily in, and ſubmit themſelves to the Kings mercy. Hereupon King *Henry* returnes to *London*, about which time he committed his wife Queene *Eleanor* to priſon, for her practiſes againſt him. In the meane time, King *Lewis* underſtanding that *Normandy* was but weakly guarded, together with his ſonne the young King *Henry*, and *Philip* Earle of *Flaunders*; he beſiegeth *Roan*, which the Kings forces valiantly defended, till he came himſelfe in perſon; and thereupon King *Lewis* deſpairing of any good to be done, ſends meſſengers to King *Henry* for a truce, and appointed a day to meete at *Gyſors*, where he doubted not to make a reconcilement betweene his ſons and him; K. *Henry* agreed willingly, but of the meeting nothing was done: It ſeemes it was but one of King *Lewis* his old tricks to come fairely off.

After this truce made with King *Lewis*, King *Henry* hearing that his ſon *Richard* had in the meane time poſſeſt himſelfe of a great part of the Province of *Poictou*, goes thither with an Army, where *Richard* at laſt, after ſome heſitation, as doubting his forces, ſubmits himſelfe to his Father, and askes his pardon; which his Father as freely grants, as if he had never committed any fault; and thereupon King *Henry* imployes him to King *Lewis* and his brother *Henry*, to perſwade them to peace: who wearied now with the warres, were eaſily drawne, and ſo reconciliation on all parts is made; and to confirme the reconciliation betweene the two Kings, *Henry* and *Lewis*, his daughter *Adela* is affianced to King *Henries* ſonne *Richard*, as Earle of *Aquitaine*, and becauſe the Lady was but young, ſhe was committed to the care of King *Henry*, till ſhe ſhould be fit for marriage. Upon this King *Henry* ſets *Robert* Earle of *Leyceſter*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, giving hoſtages and oath for their Allegeance, at liberty; and *William* alſo King of *Scots*, paying a certaine mulct; for which he delivered in pawne the ſtrong Caſtles of *Berwick*, *Roxborough*, and *Sterling* to King *Henry*, and was fined alſo to loſe the County of *Huntington*, and never to receive any Rebels into his protection. Theſe things done, the King with his ſonnes returnes into *England*, where with all joyfulneſſe they were received. It was now the yeare 1179. when King *Lewis* beganne againe to grow diſcontented with King *Henry*, becauſe his daughter was not yet married to his ſonne *Richard*, as was agreed: but King *Henry* making him promiſe to have them married within a few dayes, gave him ſatisfaction; though indeed he meant nothing leſſe, for it was thought he kept her for himſelfe, as with whom he had before that time, had unlawfull familiarity. The yeare after was memorable for nothing, or for nothing ſo much as the death of the young King *Henry*, who died then; whoſe Widow *Margaret* returning into *France*, was afterward married to *Bela* King of *Hungary*. Now King *Henries* ſonne *Richard*, no longer enduring to have his marriage delayed, which his Father often promiſed, but would never

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ſuffer to be performed, fals into his old fit of diſcontentment: wherein though he cannot perhaps be juſtified, yet he may juſtly be excuſed, for to be kept from a wife at that time of his age, for which a wife was moſt proper; and eſpecially having beene affianced ſo long before, which could not chuſe but make his appetite the ſharper: muſt needs be, if not a juſt cauſe, at leaſt a ſtrong provocation to make him doe as he did: Howſoever, from this fit of diſcontentment, he fals into a relaps of Rebellion, and infecting with it his brother *John*, and a great part of his Fathers Adherents; they all take part with *Philip* (now after the deceaſe of *Lewis*) King of *France*, who willing to make uſe of their aſſiſtance, before the ſtreame of filiall awfulneſſe ſhould returne into the naturall Channell, takes them along with him, and beſiegeth the City of *Ments*, in which King *Henry* at that time was himſelfe in perſon; who apprehending the danger, and then reſenting the miſchiefe of falling into his enemies hands, gets him ſecretly out of the City, leaving it to defend it ſelfe, till he ſhould returne with greater forces: but hearing afterward that the Towne was taken, he fell into ſo great a diſtraction of minde, that it made him break out into theſe blaſphemous words; I ſhall never hereafter love God any more, that hath ſuffered a City ſo deare unto me, to be taken from me: but he quickly recollected himſelfe, and repented him that he had ſpoken the words. Indeed *Ments* was the City in which he was borne, that to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his Birth-right taken from him; and to ſay the truth, after he had loſt this City, he ſcarce ſeemed to be alive; not onely becauſe he ſhortly after died, but becauſe the ſtate of Majeſty which had all his life accompanied him, after this forſooke him: for now he was faine to begge peace of his enemies, who often before had begged it of him: now he was glad to yeeld to conditions, which no force before could have wreſted from him. It is memorable and worth obſerving, that when theſe two Kings had meeting betweene *Turwyn* and *Arras*, for reconcilement of differences; there ſuddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light juſt betweene them, with ſo terrible a cracke, that it forced them for that time to breake off their conference: and afterward at another meeting, the like accident of Thunder happened againe, which ſo amazed King *Henry*, that he had fallen off his horſe, if he had not beene ſupported by thoſe about him; which could be nothing but drops let fall of the Divine anger, and manifeſt preſages of his future dyſaſters. And thus this great Princes troubles, which beganne in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at laſt in ſo great a trouble, that it ended his life, and left him an example of deſolation, notwithſtanding all his greatneſſe; forſaken of his friends, forſaken of his wife, forſaken of his children; and (if he were not himſelfe when he blaſphemed for the loſſe of *Ments*) forſaken of himſelfe; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epilogue of all greatneſſe.

Of his Acqueſt of Ireland.

Robert Fits-ſtephen was the firſt of all Engliſhmen, after the Conqueſt, that entred *Ireland*, the firſt day of *May*, in the yeare 1170. with 390. men: and there took *Werford*, in the behalfe of *Deruntius*, ſonne of *Marcherdach*, called *Mac Murg*, King of *Leymſter*. In *September* following, *Richard* Earle of *Chepſtow*, ſurnamed *Strong-bow*, ſayled into *Ireland* with twelve hundred men, where he tooke *Waterford* and *Dublin*; and married *Eeve*, the daughter of *Deruntius*, as he was promiſed. From theſe beginnings, King *Henry* being then at reſt from all Hoſtile Armes, both at home and abroad, takes into his conſideration the Kingdome of *Ireland*, as a Kingdome which oftentimes afforded aſſiſtance to the *French*, and therefore purpoſing with himſelfe by all meanes to ſubdue it: he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter ſeaſon ſaileth thither, taking Shipping at *Pembroke*, and landing neare to *Waterford*: where entring into conſultation what courſe was fitteſt to be taken in the enterpriſe, ſuddenly of their owne accord, the Princes of the Country came in, and ſubmitted themſelves unto him, onely *Rodrick* King of *Connacht* ſtood

out; who being the greateſt, thought to make himſelfe the onely King of that Nation: but King *Henry* forbearing him for the preſent, who kept himſelfe in his faſtneſſes of Bogges and Woods, and was not to be followed in the Winter ſeaſon: takes his journey to *Dublin*, the chiefe City of the Countrey; and there calling the Princes and Biſhops of the Nation together, requires their conſent to have him and his heires to be their King: which they affirming they could not doe without the Popes authority; to whom, at their firſt converſion to the Chriſtian Religion, they had ſubmitted themſelves; the King ſent preſently to *Adrian* the then Pope an Engliſh man, requiring his aſſent; which upon divers good conſiderations he granted: and hereupon the King built him a ſtately Palace in the City of *Dublin*, and having thus without bloud poſſeſt himſelfe of the Kingdome, the Spring following he returnes joyfully into *England*. About foure yeares after *Rodorick* alſo ſends his Chancellour to King *Henry*, to offer his ſubmiſſion, with a tribute to be paid of every tenne beaſts, one ſufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth yeare of his Raigne, he ſent his ſonne *John* to be the Governour there.

His Taxations, and wayes for raiſing of money.

TAxations in his time, was chiefely once; when he tooke Eſcuage of Engliſhmen, towards his warres in *France*, which amounted to 12400. pounds: but confiſcations were many, becauſe many Rebellions, and every Rebellion was as good as a Mine. Alſo vacancies of Biſhopricks and Abbeys, kept in his hands, ſometimes many at once; no time without ſome. He reſumed alſo all Lands which had either beene ſold or given from the Crowne by his Predeceſſours: but a principall cauſe that made him plentifull in money, was his Parcimony; as when he was injoyned for a Penance, to build three Abbeys, he performed it, by changing Secular Prieſts into Regular Chanons, onely to ſpare coſt. And it was not the leaſt cauſe of alienating his ſonnes from him, that he allowed them not maintenance anſwerable to their calling. And it could be nothing but Parcimony while he lived, which brought it to paſſe, that when he died, there were found in his Coffers, nine hundred thouſand pounds beſides Plate and Jewels.

Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

IN the beginning of his Raign, he refined and reformed the Lawes of the Realm, making them more tolerable & more profitable to his people then they were before. In the one and twentieth year of his Raign, he divided his whole kingdom into ſix ſeveral Circuits, appointing in every Circuit three Judges, who twice every year ſhould ride together, to heare and determine Cauſes between man and man: as it is at this day, though altered in the number of the Judges, and in the Shires of Circuit. In this Kings dayes the number of Jewes all *England* over was great: yet, whereſoever they dwelt, they might not bury any of their dead any where but in *London*, which being a great inconvenience to bring dead bodies oftentimes from farre remote places, the King gave them liberty of buriall in the ſeverall places where they lived. It was in this Kings dayes alſo ordained that Clergy-men offending in hunting the Kings Deere, ſhould be puniſhable by the Civill Magiſtrate, according to the Lawes of the Land; which order was afterward taken with them for any offence whatſoever they committed. Though it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was firſt brought in by this King, that the Lions ſhould be kept in the Tower of *London*.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

THis Kings Raigne is famous for the contention of a Subject with the Prince, and though it may be thought no equall match, yet in this Example we ſhall find it hard to judge which of them had the victory. But before we come to ſpeak

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of the Contention, it is fit to ſay ſomething of the Man, and of the Quarrell. The man was *Thomas Becket*, borne in *London*, his Father, one *Gilbert Becket*, his Mother an outlandiſh Woman, of the Country of *Syria*. His firſt riſing was under *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who taking a liking to him, (as one ſaith, no man knew for what) made him firſt Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, and then uſed meanes to have him be the Princes Tutor, after that to be Chancellour of *England*, and after the deceaſe of the ſaid *Theobald*, was himſelfe made Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* in his place. One memorable thing he did at his comming to be Arch-biſhop, he ſurrendred his place of being Chancellour, as not thinking it fit to ſit at the Helme of the Common-wealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the Contention betweene the King and him: the difference was, the King would have it ordained that Clergy men who were malefactors, ſhould be tryed before the Secular Magiſtrate as Lay men were: This *Becket* oppoſed, ſaying, it was againſt the liberty of the Church, and therefore againſt the honour of God. Many Biſhops ſtood with the King, ſome few with *Becket* the Contention grew long, and with the length ſtill hotter, till at laſt *Becket* was content to aſſent to the Ordinance with this clauſe, *Salvo Ordine ſuo*: the King liked not the Clauſe, as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an abſolute aſſent, without any clauſe of Reſervation. At laſt, after many debatings and demurres, the Arch-biſhop yeelds to this alſo, and ſubſcribes the Ordinance, and ſets his hand unto it. But going homewards, it is ſaid, his Croſſe-bearer and ſome other about him, blamed him for that he had done, but whether moved with their words, or otherwiſe upon ſecond thoughts, the next day when they met againe, he openly repented his former deed, retracts his ſubſcription, and ſends to the Pope for abſolution of his fault: which the Pope not onely granted, but encouraged him to perſiſt in the courſe he had begunne. It may be thought a Fable, yet is related by divers good Authours, that one time during this Contention, certaine fellows cut off the Arch-biſhops horſes taile; after which fact, all their Children were borne with tailes like horſes, and that this continued long in their Poſterity, though now long ſince ceaſed, and perhaps their Families too. But King *Henry* finding there was no prevailing with *Becket* by faire meanes, beginnes to deale more roughly with him, and firſt makes uſe of Authority upon his Temporalties; and withall a cenſure was ſpoken of to be intended againſt his perſon; which *Becket* underſtanding, thought it his beſt courſe to flee the Realme, and thereupon paſſing under the name of *Dereman*, he paſſeth over Sea, and there, two yeares by the Pope, and five by the King of *France*, was maintained as it were of Almes: in which miſery, nothing vexed him ſo much, as that King *Henry* ſent all his kindred, Men and Women, old and young into Baniſhment after him. And now King *Henry* finding that *Becket* ſtood much upon his Legatine Power, ſent meſſengers to the Pope, deſiring him to take that power from him, and to conferre it upon his Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, but the Pope anſwered, he would not doe ſo, but was content the King himſelfe ſhould be his Legate, and ſent him Letters to that purpoſe, which King *Henry* tooke in ſuch ſcorne, that he threw away the Letters, and ſent them preſently backe to him againe.

In this meane time, the King of *France* prevailed with King *Henry* to afford *Becket* a conference, hoping to bring them to ſome Agreement, where being together, King *Henry* alledged before the King of *France*, that he required nothing of *Becket*, but his aſſent to an Ordinance, to which his Grandfather King *Henries* the firſt time, all the Biſhops of the Realme, and the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* that then was did give their Aſſent; yet this moved not *Becket* at all, but he continued his former Tenet, it was againſt the honour of God, and therefore deſired to be excuſed. See now (ſaith King *Henry*) the perverſeneſſe of this man, all that agrees not with his owne humour, is preſently againſt the honour of God. While theſe things were thus a working, *Becket* had gotten him more friends at *Rome*, and by their meanes prevailed with the Pope, to give him power to interdict ſome Biſhops in *England* that had done him wrong, and the Pope ſpared not

to

to threaten Excommunication to King *Henry* himſelfe, if he reſtored not *Becket* to his Dignity. But whether awed with his threatning, or wonne by the King of *Frances* importunity, or elſe perhaps relenting in himſelfe, he was contented at laſt that *Becket* ſhould returne home, and enjoy his Biſhopricke; who being come to *Canterbury*, the Biſhops whom he had indicted, for Crowning the young King *Henry*, (which he ſaid, was his right to have done) made humble ſuite unto him, to be releaſed of the cenſure. Which, when the Arch-biſhop would not grant, but with certaine cautions and exceptions, the Biſhops diſcontented went over to the King, complaining of the hard meaſure that was offered them by the Arch-biſhop: whereat the King being much moved, Shall I never (ſaith he) be at quiet for this Prieſt? If I had any about me that loved me, they would find ſome way or other to ridde me of this trouble. Whereupon foure knights ſtanding by that heard the King make this complaint, namely *Reynold Fits-urſe*, or *Bereſon*, *Hugh Morvyll*, *William Tracy*, and *Richard Britton*, thinking they ſhould doe an acceptable ſervice to the King, went ſhortly after into *England*, and going to *Canterbury*, found the Arch-biſhop then at Church, when upon the ſteps there, they ſtrucke him upon the head with their ſwords and ſlew him the thirtieth day of *December*, in the yeare 1172. Afterward, with much adoe, by King *Henries* meanes they were pardoned by the Pope, onely enjoyned Penance, to goe on Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, as ſome write; but others more probably, that the King abhorred them ever after; and that within three yeares they all dyed miſerably. You have heard his perſecution, and (as ſome would have it called) his Martyrdome: now heare the honours that have beene done him, and the viſitations to his Tombe. And firſt King *Henry* himſelfe comming to *Canterbury*, as ſoone as he came within ſight of *Beckets* Church, lighting off his horſe, and putting off his hoſe and ſhooes he went barefoot to his Tombe, and for a further penance ſuffered himſelfe to be beaten with rods, by every Monke of the Cloyſter. A few yeares after, King *Lewis* of *France* comes into *England* of purpoſe to viſite the Shrine of Saint *Thomas*, where having paid his Vowes, he makes Oblations with many rich Preſents. The like many Princes ſince that time have done; and many Miracles are reported to have beene done at his Tombe, which yet may be unbeleeved without unbeliefe, and with Faith enough. Another difference in this Kings dayes, was betweene the two Arch-biſhops of *England*, about the juriſdiction of *Canterbury* over *Yorke*, which being referred to the Pope, he gave judgement on *Canterburies* ſide. Alſo in this Kings dayes there was a Schiſme in the Church of *Rome*, two Popes up at once, of whom *Alexander* the third was one; which Schiſme continued the ſpace of almoſt twenty yeares. Alſo in this Kings dayes, one *Nicholas Breakeſpeare*, borne at Saint *Albans*, or as others write, at *Langley* in *Hartfordſhire*, being a bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not allowed to be a Monke there, went beyond Sea, where he ſo profited in Learning, that the Pope made him firſt Biſhop of *Alba*, and afterward Cardinall, and ſent Legate to the *Norwayes*, where he reduced that nation from Paganiſme to Chriſtianity, and returning backe to *Rome*, was choſen Pope, by the Name of *Adrian* the fourth, and dyed being choaked with a Fly in his drinke. In his dayes alſo, *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Hieruſalem*, came to King *Henry*, deſiring ayde for the Holy Land, but not ſo much of money as of men; and not ſo much of men neither, as of a good Generall, as himſelfe was; to whom King *Henry* anſwered, that though he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not ſuffer him; with which anſwer the Patriarch moved, ſaid, Thinke not Great King, that Pretences will excuſe you before God, but take this from me, that as you forſake Gods cauſe now, ſo he hereafter will forſake you in your greateſt need. But (ſaith the King) if I ſhould be abſent out of my kingdome, my own Sonnes would be ready to riſe up againſt me in my abſence; to which the Patriarch replyed, No marvaile, for from the Devill they came, and to the Devill they ſhall; and ſo departed. Alſo in this Kings dayes there came into *England*, thirty *Germans*, Men and Women, calling themſelves Publicans, who denyed Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptiſme, and of the Lords Supper, with

other

other Articles, who being obstinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they should be marked with a hot iron in the forehead, and be whipped, which punishment they tooke patiently, their Captaine (called *Gerard*) going before them singing, *Blessed are ye when men hate you.* After they were whipped, they were thrust out of doores in the Winter, where they dyed with cold and hunger, no man daring to relieve them. This King after his conquest of *Ireland*, imposed the tribute of *Peter* pence upon that kingdome, namely, that every house in *Ireland* should yearely pay a penny to Saint *Peter*.

Workes of piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King Founded the Church of *Bristow*, which King *Henry* the eighth afterward erected into a Cathedrall: He also Founded the Priories of *Dover*, of *Stoneley*, and of *Basingwerke*, and the Castle of *Rudlan*: and beganne the Stone Bridge over the *Thames* at *London*. He caused also the Castle of *Warwicke* to be builded. *Maude* the Empresse his Mother, Founded the Abbey of *Bordesly*. In his time also *Hugh Mortimer* Founded *Wigmore* Abbey, *Richard Lucye* the Kings Chiefe Justice laid the Foundation of the Coventuall Church, in the honour of Saint *Thomas*, in a place which is called *Westwood*, otherwise *Lesnes*, in the Territory of *Rochester*, in the new Parish of *Southfleete*. He also builded the Castle of *Anger* in *Essex*. *Robert Harding* a Burgesse of *Bristow*, to whom King *Henry* gave the Barony of *Barkeley*, builded the Monastery of Saint *Augustines* in *Bristow*. In the tenth yeare of his Raigne, *London* Bridge was new made of Timber, by *Peter* of *Cole-church* a Priest. *Robert de Boscue* Earle of *Leycester*, Founded the monastery of *Gerendon*, of Monkes; and of *Leycester*, called Saint *Mary de Prate*, of Chanons Regular, and his Wife *Amicia*, Daughter of *Ralph Montford*, Founded *Eaton*, of Nunnes. In the two and twentyeth yeare of his Raigne, after the Foundation of Saint *Mary Overeyes* Church in *Southwarke*, the Stone bridge over the *Thames* at *London*, beganne to be Founded, towards which a Cardinall, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* gave a thousand Markes. *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* Founded a Monastery at *Gloucester* of Benedictine Monkes.

Casualties that happened in his time.

IN the Eleventh yeare of this Kings Raigne, on the six and twentyeth day of *January*, was so great an Earth-quake in *Ely*, *Norfolke*, and *Suffolke*, that it overthrew them that stood upon their feet, and made the Bells to ring in the Steeples. In the seventeenth yeare of his Raigne, there was seene at Saint *Osythes* in *Essex*, a Dragon of marveilous bigneſse, which by moving, burned houses, and the whole City of *Canterbury* was the same yeare almost burnt. In the eighteenth yeare of his Raigne, the Church of *Norwich* with the houses thereto belonging was burnt, and the Monkes dispersed. At *Andover*, a Priest praying before the Altar, was slaine with Thunder. Likewise one *Clerke* and his Brother was burnt to death with Lightning. In the three and twentyeth yeare, a showre of Blood Rained in the Isle of *Wight* two houres together. In the foure and twentyeth yeare, the City of *Yorke* was burnt, and on *Christmas* day, in the Territory of *Derlington*, in the Bishopricke of *Durham* the Earth lifted up it selfe in the manner of an high Tower, and so remained unmoveable from morning till evening, and then fell with so horrible a noyse that it frighted the Inhabitants thereabouts, and the earth swallowing it up, made there a deepe pit, which is seene at this day: for a Testimony whereof *Leyland* saith, he saw the Pits there, commonly called *Hell-kettles*. Also in the same yeare, on the tenth day of *Aprill*, the Church of Saint *Andrewes* in *Rochester* was consumed with fire. In the eight and twentyeth yeare of his Raigne, *Barnewell*, with the Priory, neare unto *Cambridge* was burnt. In the thirtyeth yeare, the Abbey of *Glastenbury* was burnt with the Church of Saint *Julian*. In the yeare 1180. a great Earthquake threw downe many buildings, amongst which the Cathedrall

thedrall Church of *Lincolne* was rent in peeces the five and twentieth of *Aprill*: And on the twentieth of *October*, the Cathedrall Church of *Chicheſter*, and all the whole City was burnt. This yeare alſo, neare unto *Orford* in *Suffolke*, certaine Fiſhers tooke in their Nets a Fiſh, having the ſhape of a Man in all points, which Fiſh was kept by *Bartholomew de Glanvile* in the Caſtle of *Orford* ſixe moneths and more; he ſpake not a word; all manner of meates he did gladly eate, but moſt greedily raw Fiſh, when he had preſſed out the juyce; oftentimes he was brought to Church, but never ſhewed any ſigne of adoration: at length, being not well looked to, he ſtole to the Sea, and never was ſeene after. In the yeare 1188. on the twentieth of *September*, the Towne of *Beverley* with the Church of Saint *John* there was burnt. And in this Kings time the bones of King *Arthur*, and his Wife *Guynevour*, were found in the Vale of *Avalon*, under an hollow Oake, fifteene foote under ground; the haire of the ſaid *Guynevour* being then whole and of freſh colour; but as ſoone as it was touched, it fell to powder, as *Fabian* relateth.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Eleanor* Daughter and heire of *William* Duke of *Guien*, late Wife of *Lewis* the ſeventh, King of *France*, but then divorced, but for what cauſe divorced is diverſly related; ſome ſay King *Lewis* carryed her with him into the Holy Land, where ſhe carryed her ſelfe not very holily, but led a licentious life, and which is the worſt kind of licentiouſneſſe, in carnall familiarity with a Turke; which King *Lewis* though knowing, yet diſſembled, till comming home, he then waived that cauſe, as which he could not bring without diſgrace to himſelfe, and made uſe of their neareneſſe in blood, as being Couſins in the fourth degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a cauſe ſufficient to divorce them, though he had at that time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke *Henry* marries her, with whom it was never knowne, but ſhe led a modeſt and ſober life, a ſufficient proofe, that the former Report was but a ſlander. By this Queene *Eleanor* he had five Sonnes, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry*, and *John*; and three Daughters, *Maude*, married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Eleanor*, married to *Alphonſo* the Eighth of that name, King of *Caſtile*; and *Jane* or *Joane*, married to *William* King of *Sicilie*. Of his Sonnes, *William* dyed young. *Henry* borne the ſecond yeare of his Raigne, was Crowned King with his Father, in the eighteenth yeare, and dyed the nine and twentyeth yeare, and was buryed at *Roan*; married to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, but left no iſſue. *Richard*, borne at *Oxford*, in the fourth yeare of his Fathers Raigne, and ſucceeded him in the kingdome. *Geoffrey*, borne the fifth yeare of his Fathers Raigne, married *Conſtance*, Daughter and Heire of *Conan*, Earle of Little *Britaine*, in the foureteenth yeare, and in the two and thirtieth yeare dyed, leaving by his Wife *Conſtance*, two Daughters, and a *Poſthumus* Sonne named *Arthur*. *John*, his youngeſt, called *John* without Land, becauſe he had no Land aſſigned him in his Fathers time; borne the twelfth yeare of his Fathers Raigne, and ſucceeded his Brother *Richard* in the kingdome. And this may be reckoned a peculiar honour to this King, that of his five Sonnes, three of them lived to be Kings, and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queenes. Concubines he had many, but two more famous then the reſt; and one of theſe two, more famous then the other: and this was *Roſamond*, Daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodſtocke*, in lodgings ſo cunningly contrived that no ſtranger could find the way in, yet Queene *Eleanor* did, being guided by a thread: ſo much is the eye of jealouſie quicker in finding out, then the eye of care is in hiding. What the Queen did to *Roſamond* when ſhe came in to her, is uncertaine, but this is certaine, that *Roſamond* lived but a ſhort time after, and lyes buryed at the Nunnery of *Godſtow* neare to *Oxford*. By this *Roſamond* King *Henry* had two Sonnes, *William* called Long-Sword, who was Earle of *Salisbury* in right of his Wife *Ela*, Daughter

and

and Heire of *William* Earle of that Country, and had by her much iſſue, whoſe poſterity continued a long time: And a ſecond Sonne named *Geoffrey*, who was firſt Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and afterward Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, and after five yeares baniſhment in his Brother King *Johns* time, dyed in the yeare 1213. The other famous Concubine of this King *Henry*, was the Wife of *Ralph Blewet* a knight; by whom he had a Sonne named *Morgan*, who was Provoſt of *Beverley*, and being to be elected Biſhop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a diſpenſation, becauſe being a Baſtard, he was elſe uncapable: But the Pope refuſing to grant it, unleſſe he would paſſe as the Sonne of *Blewet*, he abſolutely anſwered, he would for no cauſe in the world deny his Father; and choſe rather to loſe the Dignity of the Place, then of his Blood, as being the Sonne, though but the baſe Sonne, of a King.

Of his perſonage and conditions.

HE was ſomewhat red of face, and broad breaſted; ſhort of body, and therewithall fat, which made him uſe much Exerciſe, and little Meate. He was commonly called *Henry* Shortmantell, becauſe he was the firſt that brought the uſe of ſhort Cloakes out of *Anjou* into *England*. Concerning endowments of mind, he was of a Spirit in the higheſt degree Generous; which made him often ſay, that all the World ſufficed not to a Couragious heart. He had the Reputation of a wiſe Prince all the Chriſtian World over; which made *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, and *Garſyas* King of *Navarre*, referre a difference that was betweene them, to his Arbitrament: who ſo judiciouſly determined the Cauſe, that he gave contentment to both Parties; a harder matter then to cut Cloath even by a thread. His Cuſtome was to be alwayes in Action; for which cauſe, if he had no Reall Warres, he would have Faigned: and would tranſport Forces either into *Normandy* or *Britaine*, and goe with them himſelfe, whereby he was alwayes prepared of an Army: and made it a Schooling to his Souldiers, and to himſelfe an Exerciſe. To his Children he was both indulgent and hard: for out of indulgence he cauſed his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King in his owne time; and out of hardneſſe he cauſed his younger Sonnes to Rebell againſt him. He was rather Superſtitious, then not Religious; which he ſhewed more by his carriage toward *Becket* being dead then while he lived. His Incontinency was not ſo much that he uſed other Women beſides his Wife, but that he uſed the affianced Wife of his owne Son: And it was commonly thought, he had a meaning to be divorced from his Wife Queene *Eleanor*, and to take the ſaid *Adela* to be his Wife. Yet generally to ſpeake of him, he was an excellent Prince; and if in ſome particulars he were defective, it muſt be conſidered he was a Man.

Of his death and buriall.

HE was not well at eaſe before, but when the King of *France* ſent him a Liſt of thoſe that had conſpired againſt him, and that he found the firſt man in the Lyſt to be his Son *John*, he then fell ſuddenly into a fit of Fainting, which ſo encreaſed upon him, that within foure dayes after he ended his life: So ſtrong a Corroſive is Griefe of mind, when it meetes with a Body weakned before with ſickneſſe. He dyed in *Normandy*, in the yeare 1189. when he had lived threeſcore and one yeares, Raigned neare five and thirty: and was buryed at *Fountevrard* in *France*. the manner of whoſe buriall was thus: He was Cloathed in his Royall Robes, his Crowne upon his head, white Gloves upon his hands, Bootes of Gold upon his legges, Gilt Spurres at his heeles, a great rich Ring upon his finger, his Scepter in his hand, his Sword by his ſide, and his face uncovered and all bare. As he was carrying to be Buryed, his Sonne *Richard* in great haſte ranne to ſee him, who no ſooner was come neare the Body, but ſuddenly at his Noſtrils he fell a bleeding afreſh; which though it were in Prince *Richard* no good ſigne of Innocency, yet his

his breaking presently into bitter teares upon the seeing it, was a good signe of Repentance. It may not be unseasonable to speake in this place of a thing which all Writers speake of, that in the Family of the Earles of *Anjou*, of whom this King *Henry* came, there was once a Princesse a great Enchantresse, who being on a time enforced to take the blessed Eucharist, she suddenly flew out at the Church window, and was never seene after: From this Woman these latter Earles of *Anjou* were descended, which perhaps made the Patriarch *Heraclius* say, of this King *Henries* Children, that from the Devill they came, and to the Devill they would. But Writers perhaps had beene more compleat, if they had left this Story out of their Writings.

Men of note in his time.

OF Clergy men, there was *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincolne*; *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*; *Geoffrey* of *Ely*; *Robert* of *Bathe*; *Aldred* of *Worcester*; all Learned Men, and of great integrity of life. Of Military Men, there was *Robert* Earle of *Leycester*; *Reynold* Earle of *Cornwall*; *Hugh Bigot*, *Robert Ferrys*, *Richard Lacy*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Ralph Fulger*, *Ranulph Granula*, *William Vesei*, and *Baynard Baylioll*; Men of great atchievements in Warre, and of no lesse abilities in Peace.

THE

THE LIFE and RAIGNE OF KING RICHARD THE FIRST.

Of his comming to the Crowne, and of his Coronation.

KING *Richard*, the first of that name, after his Fathers Funerall, went to *Roan*, where he setled the state of that Province; and from thence came into *England*, where he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Baldwin* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the third day of *September*, in the yeare 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholding to Writers then any of his Predecessors: for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where, and by whom they were Crowned: but of this Prince, they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full amplitude of all circumstances; which perhaps is not unfit to doe, for satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner. First, the Arch-bishops of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Tryer*, and *Dublin*, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, and Cleargy, apparelled in rich Copes, and having the Crosse, holy Water, and Censers carried before them; came to fetch him at the doore of his Privie-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of *Westminster*, till they came before the high Altar, with a solemne Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy, went foure Barons, bearing Candlesticks with Tapers; after whom came *Geoffrey de Lucie*, bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and *John Marshall* next to him, bearing a massive paire of Spurres of Gold; then followed *William Marshall* Earle of *Striguill*, *alias Pembroke*, who bare the Royall Scepter, in the toppe whereof was set a Crosse of Gold; and *William de Patricke* Earle of *Salisbury* going next him, bare the Warder or Rodde, having on the toppe thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earles, *David*, brother to the King of *Scots*, the Earle of *Huntington*, *John* the Kings brother, Earle of *Mortaigne*, and *Robert* Earle of *Leycester*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his hand, with the scabberds richly adorned with Gold. The Earle of *Mortaigne* went in the midst betwixt the other two; after them followed sixe Earles and Barons, bearing a Checker Table, upon the which were set the Kings Scotchens of Armes; and then followed *William Mandevill* Earle of *Albemarle*, bearing a Crowne of Gold a great heighth before the King, who followed having the Bishop of *Durham* on the right hand, and *Reynold* Bishop of *Bathe* on the left, over whom a Canopy was borne: and in this order he came into the Church at *Westminster*, where before the high Altar, in the presence

of the Clergy and the people, laying his hand upon the holy Evangeliſts, and the reliques of certaine Saints, he took a ſolemne Oath that he ſhould obſerve peace, honour and reverence to Almighty God, to his Church, and to his Miniſters, all the dayes of his life: alſo that he ſhould exerciſe upright juſtice to the people committed to his charge, and that he ſhould abrogate and diſanull all evill Lawes and wrongfull cuſtomes, if any were to be found in the precinct of his Realme; and maintaine thoſe that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his garments from his middle upwards, but onely his ſhirt, which was open on the ſhoulders, that he might be annoynted. Then the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* annoynted him in three places, on the head, on the ſhoulders, and on the right arme, with Prayers in ſuch caſe accuſtomed. After this, he covered his head with a linnen cloath hallowed, and ſet his Cap thereon; and then after he had put on his Royall Garments, and his uppermoſt Robe, the Arch-biſhop delivered him the Sword, with which he ſhould beate downe the enemies of the Church: which done, two Earles put his Shooes upon his feete, and having his Mantle put on him, the Arch-biſhop forbad him on the behalfe of Almighty God, not to preſume to take upon him this Dignity, except he faithfully meant to performe thoſe things which he had there ſworne to performe; whereunto the King made anſwer, that by Gods grace he would performe them. Then the King tooke the Crowne beſide the Altar, and delivered it to the Arch-biſhop, which he ſet upon the Kings head, delivering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hand, and the Rod Royall in his left hand: and thus being Crowned, he was brought backe by the Biſhops and Barons, with the Croſſe and Candleſticks, and three Swords, paſſing forth before him unto his Seate. When the Biſhop that ſang the Maſſe, came to the Offertory, the two Biſhops that brought him to the Church, led him to the Altar, and brought him backe againe. The Maſſe ended, he was brought with ſolemne Proceſſion into his Chamber: and this was the manner of this Kings Coronation. But at this ſolemnity there fell out a very dyſaſtrous accident: For this Prince not favouring the *Jewes*, as his Father had done; had given a ſtrict charge, that no *Jew* ſhould be admitted to be a ſpectator of the ſolemnity: yet certaine *Jewes*, as though it had beene the Crowning of their King *Herod*, would needs be preſſing in; and being put backe by Officers ſet of purpoſe, it grew to a brabble, and from words to blowes, ſo as many *Jewes* were hurt, and ſome ſlaine: and thereupon a rumour was ſuddenly ſpread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the *Jewes* deſtroyed. Whereupon it is incredible what rifling there was of *Jewes* houſes, and what cutting of their throats: and though the King ſignified by publike Declaration, that he was highly diſpleaſed with that which was done, yet there was no ſtaying the fury of the multitude till the next day; ſo often it fals out, that great ſolemnities are waited on with great dyſaſters; or rather indeed, as being connaturall, they can hardly be aſunder.

Of his firſt Acts after he was Crowned.

HE beganne with his Mother Queene *Eleanor*, whom upon her Husbands diſpleaſure, having been kept in Priſon ſixteen yeares, he not onely ſet at liberty, but ſet in as great authority, as if ſhe had beene left the Regent of the kingdom. The next he gratifies, was his brother *John*; to whom he made appeare, how much the bounty of a Brother was better then the hardneſſe of a Father. For he conferred upon him, in *England*, the Earledomes of *Cornwall*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, and *Leyceſter*; and by the marriage of *Iſabel*, daughter and heire to the Earle of *Gloceſter*, he had that Earledome alſo, as likewiſe the Caſtles of *Marleborough*, and *Lungarſall*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Tickhill*, and *Eye*, to the value of 4000. Markes a yeare: an eſtate ſo great, as were able to put a very moderate mind into the humour of aſpiring, of which Princes ſhould have care. Concerning his affianced Lady *Adela*, it may be thought ſtrange, that having deſired her ſo infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her:

her: but the cauſe was knowne, and in every mans mouth; that ſhe was now but his Fathers leavings: yet he would not ſend her home but very rich in Jewels, to make amends, if it might be, for the loſſe of her Virginity: though this was ſomething hard on his part, when the Father had taken all the pleaſure; that the ſonne ſhould afterward pay all the charges. But by this at leaſt he made a quiet way for his marriage now concluded; and ſhortly after to be conſummated in *Sicilie* with *Berengaria* the daughter of *Garſyas* King of *Navarre*. And now his minde is wholly ſet upon his long intended voyage to the Holy Land, for which he thinkes not the treaſure left by his Father, to be ſufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thouſand pounds: but foreeaſting with himſelfe the great charge it muſt needs be, to carry an Army ſo long a journey, he ſeekes to enlarge his proviſion of money by all the means he can deviſe. Not long before, *Hugh Pudſey* had been advanced to the Biſhopricke of *Durham*; and now for a great ſumme of money he ſold him the Earledome: and then ſaid merrily amongſt his Lords, Doe yee not thinke me a cunning man, that of an old Biſhop can make a young Earle? From the *Londoners* alſo he drained great ſummes of money, and made them recompence in Franchiſes and Liberties, which they had not before. He made alſo great ſales: to the the King of *Scots*, he ſold the Caſtles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, for ten thouſand pounds: to *Godfryde Lucie*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Manors of *Weregrave* and *Ments*: to the Abbot of Saint *Edmundsbery*, the Manor of *Mildhall*, for one thouſand Markes of ſilver: to the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Manor of *Sadborough*; and when it was marvelled that he would part with ſuch things, he anſwered, that in this caſe he would ſell his City of *London*, if he could finde a Chapman. But the worſt way of all was, that pretending to have loſt his Signet, he made a new; and made Proclamation, that whoſoever would ſafely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, ſhould come to have it confirmed by the new; whereby he raiſed great ſummes of money to himſelfe, but greater of diſcontentment in his ſubjects. By theſe, and ſuch like meanes he quickly furniſhed himſelfe with money: and now it remained onely to conſider, to whoſe care he ſhould commit the government of the Kingdome in his abſence; and after deliberation, he made choyce for the North parts, of *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, joyning in Commiſſion with him, *Hugh Baldulph*, and *William Brunell*: and for the South parts, he appoints *William Longſhampe* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Chancellour of *England*, and for his greater ſtrength, cauſeth the Pope to make a Legat of all *England* and *Scotland*: and for *Normandy*, and *Aquitaine*, *Robert* Earle of *Leyceſter*, all men eminent for prudence and uprightneſſe, and which is moſt of all, for loyalty: and indeed to make a man fit for ſuch imployment, all theſe vertues muſt concurre. As for his brother *John*, he knew very well his aſpiring minde, and therefore would have tied him to live in *Normandy*, and not to come into *England* till his returne; but that their Mother Queene *Eleanor* interceded, and paſſed her word for him: and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew *Arthur*, the ſonne of his brother *Geoffrey* Duke of *Britaine* to be his Succeſſor, if himſelfe ſhould faile. And now, *Undique convenere, vocat jam carbaſus auras*: every man is ready to take Shipping, and no ſtay now but for a Wind; onely ſome ſay that King *Richard* before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and ſwearing them to be true, gave to every of them a blew riband to be knowne by, from whence the firſt occaſion of the Order of the Garter is thought to beginne.

Of his journey into the Holy Land.

KING *Richard* having prepared an Army of thirty thouſand foote, and five thouſand horſe, and having appointed to meete *Philip* King of *France* in *Sicilie*, at the latter end of *June*, in the yeare 1190. ſets forward himſelfe by Land to *Marſeilles*, and there ſtayes till his Ships ſhould come about; but his Navy being driven by tempeſt to other parts, and the King weary of long ſtaying, after ſixe weekes, he hireth ſhipping for himſelfe and his company, and paſſeth forward

ward to *Meſſana* in *Sicilie*, where arrived alſo the King of *France*; and not long after, his owne Navy. In this Iland the King *William* now lately dead, had married *Jane*, King *Richards* ſiſter; from whom *Tancred* the preſent King with-held her Dower: and therefore though he ſhewed King *Richard* faire countenance, yet he dealt ſecretly with the *Meſſanians* to uſe all meanes to get him gone; whereupon the *Meſſanians* taking a ſmall occaſion, ſet ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, and thruſt them out of their Towne: with which King *Richard* juſtly offended, who had his Campe without the Towne, prepares himſelfe to revenge the affront; when *Tancred* ſending to him, to ſignifie that the affront was offered without his knowledge, and much againſt his liking, ſo pacified him, that for the preſent he remained ſatisfied; but underſtanding afterward, that the *Meſſanians* did but waite their opportunity till the Spring, when King *Richard* ſhould be going: he reſenting their intention, ſtaies not their leiſure, but aſſaulting the Towne with fire and ſword, in one dayes labour takes it, and had made great ſlaughter in it, if King *Richard* had not beene moved to compaſſion with the *Meſſanians* teares, but chiefely with King *Tancreds* offers; both to pay his ſiſter *Jane* her Dower, and to marry his daughter to King *Richards* Nephew *Arthur*, Duke of *Britaine*, and to give a good part of the Portion in hand. But King *Philip* was not well pleaſed with theſe conditions, yet he breakes not out into open diſſention, till more fuell was afterward caſt upon the fire of his anger. In the Spring King *Philip* ſayles with his Army to *Ptolemais* (otherwiſe called *Acon*) which the Chriſtians had long beſieged, and with them he joynes: while King *Richard* taking his ſiſter *Jane*, and *Berengaria* the young daughter of the King of *Navarre* with him in 190. Ships, and 50. Galleys, puts to Sea for the Holy Land, but is by tempeſt caſt upon the Coaſt of *Cyprus*; where the Ilanders ſeeking to hinder his landing, he ſets upon them with his forces; and invading the Iland, eaſily ſubdues, and brings it under his ſubjection; and the King of the Countrey being taken priſoner, and intreating King *Richard* not to put him in bonds of Iron, King *Richard* gives him his word, and keeps it, but puts him in bonds of Silver. In this Iland he ſolemnizeth his marriage with *Berengaria*, and then leaving *Richard de Canvile*, and *Robert de Turnham*, his Lieutenants in *Cyprus*; he paſſeth on to *Ptolemais*, which City was defended by *Saladine*, and had beene beſieged now two yeares: when the enemy ſeeing and fearing the encreaſe of the Chriſtian forces, propounds conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in *Auguſt*, the yeare 1192.

At the taking of this Towne there fell out an accident, ſeeming an honour to King *Richard* for the preſent, but proving a diſgrace, at leaſt a great trouble and charge to him afterward. For *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria* had firſt ſet up his Colours upon the wall, which King *Richard* cauſed to be throwne downe, and his owne to be ſet up; but this was no place to ſtand a quarrelling, it came not to the reckoning till ſome time after. When *Ptolemais* was taken, *Saladine* fearing the Chriſtians further proceeding, diſmantles all the beſt Townes that were neare it: as *Porphyria*, *Cæſarea*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*; but of *Joppa* King *Richard* takes a care, and placeth in it a Colony of Chriſtians. For *Joppa* is a City of *Paleſtine*, that was built before the Floud; and hath belonging to it a Haven of great convenience. And now the King of *France*, though valiant enough himſelfe, yet thinking his owne great acts to be obſcured by greater of King *Richards*; he beganne, beſides his old hating him, now to envie him. For indeed emulation when it is in Vertue, makes the ſtronger knot of love and affection: but when it is in Glory, it makes a ſeparation, and turnes into the paſſion of envie and malice; and ſo did it with King *Philip*, who pretending the aire of the Countrey did not agree with his body; but was indeed becauſe the aire of King *Richards* Glory did not agree with his minde; obtained King *Richards* conſent to returne home, ſwearing firſt ſolemnly, not to moleſt his Territories in his abſence. But this fell out for the preſent enterpriſe moſt unſeaſonably: For the departure of the King of *France*, though it diminiſhed not much the ſtrength; (for he left *Odo*, Duke of *Burgundy* in his place) yet it diminiſhed much the ſhew of aſſiſtance: and indeed *Saladine*, who was at this time in

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ternes of surrendring *Ierusalem*; when he saw the King of *France* departed, as knowing there must needs be a conclusion, where there was a beginning, doubted not but the rest would follow soone after, and thereupon staied his hands, and grew more confident then he was before. At this time *Guy* of *Lusignan* was possest of the City of *Tyre*, and with it, of the right of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*: with him King *Richard* makes an exchange, that *Guy* should have the Iland of *Cyprus* which King *Richard* had wonne, and King *Richard* should have the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, to which *Guy* had a right: and upon this Title the Kings of *England* were stiled Kings of *Ierusalem* a long time after: as likewise the posterity of the said *Guy* hath by this exchange held the kingdome of *Cyprus* to this day. Now was King *Richard* more hot upon taking *Ierusalem* then ever before, and had certainely taken it, but that by ill counsell diverted, because the Winter drew on: and indeed by the drawing backe of *Odo* Duke of *Burgundie*, who envied that King *Richard* should have the honour of taking it, he removed for that season to *Askalon*; after which time, the Enemy growing stronger, and the Christians weaker, all opportunity of taking it was utterly lost, and they could never come to the like againe. And shortly after King *Richard* was advertised of the King of *France* his invading *Normandy*, contrary to his oath at his departure; which forced King *Richard*, much to his griefe, to conclude a peace with *Saladine*, and that upon conditions not very honourable for the Christians; and himselfe presently to returne home: and so sending his wife *Berengaria*, and his sister *Jane*, with a great part of his Army into *Sicilie*, and from thence into *England*: he passeth himselfe with some few in his company, by the way of *Thrace*, and was by tempest brought into *Dalmatia*, from whence being to passe through *Germany*, and particularly through Duke *Leopolds* Countrey of *Austria*: he remembring the old grudge, changed his apparell, and travelling sometimes afoote, and sometimes on horseback, he used all meanes possible to keepe himselfe from being knowne: but destiny is not to be avoyded, for as soone as he came to *Vienna*, partly by his tongue, and partly by his expenses, it was presently found he was an *Englishman*, and withall some great man; and by and by a rumour was spread, that it was *Richard* King of *England*: who finding himselfe to be discovered, and no meanes possible to escape, he puts off his disguise, putting on his Princely apparell, and avowes himselfe: which Duke *Leopold* understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended; but King *Richard* refusing to yeeld himselfe to any, but to the Duke himselfe; the Duke himselfe came and led him to his owne Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded: whereof as soone as *Henry* the Emperour heard, he sent with great instance to Duke *Leopold* to send King *Richard* over to him, under pretence of safer custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a sharer in his Ransome. And the Duke though well knowing his meaning, yet knowing withall that it was not safe for him to deny the Emperour, he sent him over to him; who soone after put him into a prison he had, called *Trivallis*, into which no man was ever knowne to be put that escaped with life, though done perhaps to him, but *in terrorem*, to draw the better Ransome from him. That with which King *Richard* was charged, beside the wrong done to *Leopold*, in throwing downe his Colours at *Ptolemais*, was the death of *Conrade* Duke of *Tyre*, whom they pretended King *Richard* had murthered, wherein though King *Richard* made his innocency appeare by the testimony of *Limboldus*, who confessed himselfe to have beene the author of the Marquesses death, yet the pretence served to detaine him in prison; and in prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransome was agreed upon and paid: which being a hundred thousand pounds, fourescore thousand was paid in hand: whereof two parts to the Emperour, a third part to Duke *Leopold*: and for the rest, hostages given to the number of fifty, of whom the Bishop of *Rain* was one: though the hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest: for *Henry* the Emperour dying shortly after, his Successour had the conscience not to take it, as knowing it had beene unjustly exacted: and indeed the accidents that befell both the Emperour and the Duke *Leopold*, were evident demonstrations of the injustice they had done; for the Emperour shortly after

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died, and the Duke *Leopold*, in a Tilting for ſolemnity of his Birth-day, fell off his horſe, and ſo broke his leg, that to ſave his life, he was faine to have his leg cut off. And now after fifteen months impriſonment, King *Richard* is releaſed, and returnes into *England* foure yeares elder then he went out; and thus ended his journey to the Holy Land. Yet one memorable accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted; that going one day a Hawking about *Joppa*, finding himſelfe weary, he laid him downe upon the ground to ſleepe; when ſuddenly certaine *Turkes* came upon him to take him; but he awakened with their noyſe, riſeth up, gets a horſebacke, and drawing out his ſword, aſſaults the *Turkes*, who faigning to flie, drew the King into an Ambuſh where many *Turkes* lay; who had certainely taken him if they had knowne his perſon: but one of the Kings ſervant, called *William de Patrellis*, crying out in the *Saracene* tongue, that he was the King; they preſently lay hold upon him, and let the King eſcape.

Troubles in his Dominions in his abſence.

KING *Richard* at his going out of *England*, had ſo well ſetled the Government of the Kingdome, that might well have kept it in good order during all the time of his abſence; but diſorders are weeds which no foreſight can hinder from growing, having ſo many hands to water them: where occaſions of diſtaſt are no ſooner offered, then taken; and oftentimes taken before they be offered, as was here to be ſeene. For King *Richard* had left in chiefe place of authority, *William Longſhampe*, Biſhop of *Ely*; a man who ſo carried himſelfe, that although the things he did, were juſtifiable; yet the pride with which he did them was unſufferable: ſeldome riding abroad without five hundred, ſome ſay a thouſand in his traine; not for ſafety, but for ſtate: and though there were other left in authority beſides himſelfe, yet his power was ſo predominant, that he made of them but Ciphers, and ruled all as he liſt himſelfe. This inſolency of governing was ſoone diſtaſted by many, and ſpecially by *John* the Kings brother, who counting the greatneſſe of his Birth an equall march at leaſt with any ſubſtitute greatnes, affronted the Biſhop in the managing of affaires, in ſuch ſort, that while ſome adhered to the one, and ſome to the other; the Kingdome in the meane time was in danger to be rent aſunder, till at laſt the Biſhop finding himſelfe too weake, or at leaſt fearing that he was ſo; but rather indeed depoſed from his authority by the Kings Letters, and the Arch-biſhop of *Roan* put in his place, thought it beſt for him to flie the Realme: whereupon for his greater ſafety, diſguiſing himſelfe in womans apparell, and carrying a Webbe of Cloath under his arme, hee ſought in this manner to take Shipping and paſſe the Sea. But being diſcovered and knowne, the women in revenge of the abuſe done to their cloathes, in making them his inſtruments of fraude; fell upon him, and ſo beat him, that it might have beaten humility into him for ever after. This diſgrace made him glad to get him into *Normandy*, his native Countrey, where to little purpoſe he wooed King *Richard* and Queene *Eleanor* for reparation. But this was but a ſport in compariſon of the miſchiefes done in *Normandy* by *Philip* King of *France*: for firſt he invades *Normandy*, where he takes many Towns, and amongſt others *Gyſorts*, and drawes the Kings brother *John* to combine with him, promiſing to aſſiſt him in winning the Kingdome of *England*, and to have his ſiſter *Adela*, whom King *Richard* had repudiated to be his wife; with which promiſe Duke *John* had beene enſnared, if his Mother Queene *Eleanor* had not diſſwaded him. But in *England* Duke *John* tooke upon him as King, perſwading the people that his brother King *Richard* was not living; and indeed it was eaſie to remove, the knowing him to be a priſoner, to the affirming him to be dead; but ſuch was the faithfulneſſe of the Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, and other the Princes of the Realme to King *Richard*, that they oppoſed Duke *John*, and fruſtrated all his practiſes: and the Biſhop of *Ely* had told him plainely, that though King *Richard* were dead, yet the ſucceſſion in the kingdome belonged not to him, but to *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, ſonne of *Geoffrey* his elder brother. And in theſe termes King *Richard* found his State when he returned from the Holy Land.

His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the Holy Land.

AT his comming home from the Holy Land, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and people thankes for their faithfulneſſe to him in his abſence, and then for their readineſſe in ſupplying him for his Ranſome. But as for his brother *John* in whom ungratefulneſſe ſeemed to ſtrive with ambition, which ſhould be the greater in him; he depriveth him of all thoſe great poſſeſſions he had given him: ſome adoe he had to make ſound certaine peeces which he had corrupted, as the Caſtles of *Marleborough*, *Lancaſter*, and a Fortreſſe at Saint *Michaels* Mount in *Cornwall*; but chiefely the Caſtles of *Nottingham* and *Tichill*, which ſtood ſo firmly for Duke *John*, that they were not reduced to obedience without ſome bloud, and much expenſe. But his greateſt trouble was with *Philip* King of *France*, in whom was ſo ingraffed a ſpleene againſt King *Richard*, that he ſeemed to be never well but when he was working him ſome ill. Now therefore King *Richard* to make it appeare he had not left the Holy War for nothing (having firſt obtained in Parliament a Subſidy towards his charges, & cauſed himſelfe to be new Crowned at *Winchester*, leſt the people through his long abſence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with a hundred Ships into *Normandy*; but it was withall, upon this occaſion: ſitting one day at dinner, in his little Hal (as it was called) news was brought him, that King *Philip* had beſieged *Vernoull*, with which he was ſomoved, that he ſwore a great oath, he would not turne his face till he were revenged: whereupon he cauſed the wall right before him to be preſently beaten downe, that ſo he might paſſe forward without turning his face, and thus in haſte he goes to *Vernoull*, whither he was no ſooner come, but the King of *France* made as great haſte to be gone, not without ſome loſſe, and more diſgrace. Here his brother *John* ſubmits himſelfe to him, and with great ſhew of penitence intreats his pardon, which he readily granted; ſaying onely, I wiſh you may as well remember your fault, as I ſhall forget it. The King of *France* having left *Vernoull*, enters *Turonia*, and neare to *Vindocinum* pitcheth his Tents; thither King *Richard* followes him, and with his comming ſo affrighted him, that leaving bagge and baggage, Munition, Tents, and Treaſure to a marvellous valew, he gets him gone, and glad hee was ſo rid of King *Richard*. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a yeare, which each of them longed till it were expired, as having no pleaſure but in troubling one another. In this time there was a trouble at home, though not to the King, yet to the kingdome: for *Robin Hood* accompanied with one little *John*, and a hundred ſtout fellowes more, moleſted all paſſengers upon the High-way; of whom it is ſaid, that he was of Noble bloud, at leaſt made Noble, no leſſe then an Earle, for ſome deſerving ſervices: but having waſted his eſtate in riotous courſes, very penury forced him to take this courſe; in which yet it may be ſaid he was honeſtly diſhoneſt, for he ſeldome hurt any man, never any woman, ſpared the poore, and onely made prey of the rich: till the King ſetting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it hapned he fell ſicke at a certaine Nunnery in *Yorkſhire*, called *Birckleys*; and deſiring there to be let bloud, was betraid, and made bleed to death. Such another trouble, though not to the King, yet to the kingdome, fell out by reaſon of the Jewes: and firſt at the Towne of *Linne* in *Norfolke*, upon this occaſion: A Jew being turned Chriſtian, was perſecuted by thoſe of his Nation, and aſſaulted in the ſtreete; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by, was thither alſo followed, and the Church aſſaulted; which the people of the Towne ſeeing, in ſuccour of the new Chriſtian they fell upon the Jewes, of whom they ſlew a great number, and after pillaged their houſes. By this example the like aſſaults were made upon the Jews at *Stamford*; and after that at *Lincolne*; and laſtly at *Yorke*, where infinite numbers of Jewes were maſſacred, and ſome of them blocked up in the Caſtle, cut the throats of their wives and children, and caſt them over the wals upon the Chriſtians heads, and then burnt both the Caſtle and themſelves: neither could this ſedition be ſtaied, till the King ſent his Chancellour, the Biſhop of *Ely*, with

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force of Armes, to punish the offenders. His last trouble was a punishment of covetousnesse, for one *Guydomer* having found a great treasure in the Kings Dominions, and for feare of King *Richard*, flying to a Towne of the King of *France* for his safegard; was pursued by the King, but the Towne denying him entrance, and he thereupon going about the wals to finde the fittest place for assaulting it, one *Bertram de Gurdon*, or as others call him, *Peter Basile*, shot at him with a Crossebow, and hit him on the arme, of which wound he died within foure dayes after, and so ended all his troubles.

Of his Taxations, and wayes for raising of money.

OF Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any Kings Raigne: but of wayes to draw money from the subject, never more. It is true, the first money raised for his journey, was all out of his owne estate, by selling or pawning of Lands; but when at his comming backe, he resumed the Lands into his hands againe, without paying backe the money he had received; this if it may not have the name, yet certainely it had the venome of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the feigning to have lost his Seale, & then enjoyning them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; though it went not in the number, yet it had the weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the money raised for his Ransome, was not so properly a Taxation, as a Contribution: or if a Taxation for him, yet not by him; which was done in his absence, by the subjects themselves: and indeed no Taxations are commonly so pinching, as those which are imposed upon the subject by the subject, and such was this; for to raise money for his Ransome, there was imposed upon every Knights Fee, 20.s. of all Lay-mens Revenues, the fourth part, and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their goods. Also the Chalices and Treasure of all Churches were taken to make up the sum. Afterward, this onely was a plaine Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Plough-land through *England*, he should have two shillings, and of the Monkes Cisteaux, all their Wooll of that yeare: And one more greater then this; and was this yeare imposed towards his warres in *Normandy*; that every Hide of Land, as much as to say, every hundred Acres of Land, should pay five shillings; which computed without deductions, will rise to a summe that will seeme incredible.

Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

HIs Ordinances were chiefely for the Meridian of *London*: for where before his time the City was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffes and a Major, as now it is; and to give the first of these Magistrates the honour to be remembred, the names of the Sheriffes were *Henry Cornhill*, and *Richard Reyner*; and the name of the first Lord Major, was *Henry Fitz-Alwyn*, who continued Major during his life, which was foure and twenty yeares. And now beganne the City first to receive the forme and state of a Commonwealth, and to be divided into Fellowships and Corporations, as at this day they are: and this Franchise was granted in the yeare 1189. the first year of King *Richard* the first.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

THe Church within his owne Dominions was quiet all his time, no contestation with the Pope, no alterations amongst the Bishops, no difference betweene the Clergy and the Laity, or the Clergy amongst themselves; they all seemed to lie asleepe, till they were afterwards awakened, in the time of the succeeding King. But abroad, in his time, there was an addition of three Orders of Devotion; the Order of the *Augustine* Friers, called Friers Mendicants, begunne by *William* of

Paris;

Paris; then the Order of Friers Minors begunne by Saint *Francis*; and lastly the Orders of Friers Preachers begunne by Saint *Dominick*, though not confirmed till the first yeare of Pope *Honorius*.

Workes of Piety in his time.

VVOrkes of Piety are for the moſt part workes of plenty; penury may inwardly have good wiſhes, but outwardly it can expreſſe but little: and indeed all parts of the kingdome, all ſorts of people were drawne ſo dry; by the two great occaſions of his Journey and his Ranſome, and afterward by other Taxations, that the richeſt men had enough to doe to maintaine themſelves, without being at the charge to make proviſion for others. All workes of Piety were now for the ſervice of the Holy Land, and therefore it may well paſſe, if not for a worke of Devotion, at leaſt worthy to be remembred; that *William* Biſhop of *Ely* builded the outer wall of the Tower of *London*, and cauſed a deepe ditch to be made about it, with an intention the River of *Thames* ſhould have ſurrounded it, though it could not be effected. Onely *Hubert Walter*, who at one time was Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Popes Legat, Lord Chancellour, Lord Chiefe Juſtice, and the immediate Governour under the King, both in *Wales* and *England*, Founded a Monaſtery at Weſt *Derham* in *Norfolke*, where he was borne: begunne another at *Wolverhampton*, and finiſhed a Collegiate Church at *Lambeth*.

of his Wife and Children.

IN his Infancy he was contracted to a daughter of *Raymond* Earle of *Barcelone*, after that affianced to *Adela*, or *Alice*, daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, yet married to neither of them; but he married *Berengaria* daughter of *Garſias* King of *Navarre*, whom his Mother Queene *Eleanor* brought unto him into *Sicilie*, from whence paſſing into *Cyprus*, their marriage was there ſolemniſed: afterward, going forward to the Holy Land, he carried her and his ſiſter *Jane* Queene of *Sicilie* along with him, where they remained till his returne home; and then ſent them to paſſe to *Sicilie*, and from thence into *England*: but that ever ſhe came into *England*, no mention is made, neither what became of her after ſhe parted from King *Richard* at the Holy Land. But children certainely he had none, either by his wife, or by any Concubine, unleſſe we reckon as a Prieſt in *Normandy* did; who told King *Richard*, he had three daughters: and the King marvelling who they ſhould be, ſeeing he knew of none he had; yes (ſaith the Prieſt) you have three daughters, Pride, Covetouſneſſe, and Lechery; which the King taking merrily, called to the company about him, and ſaid; I am told by a Prieſt here, that I have three daughters, and I deſire you to be witneſſes how I would have them beſtowed: my daughter Pride, upon the Templars and Hoſpitallers: my daughter Covetouſneſſe, upon the Monks of the *Ciſtercian* Order: and my daughter Lechery, upon the Clergy.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his time the Towne of *Mawling* in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, was conſumed with fire, and in his time the bones of *Arthur* the famous King of *Britaine* were found at *Glaſtenbury* in an old Sepulchre, about which ſtood two Pillars, in which letters were written but could not be read; Upon the Sepulchre was a croſſe of Lead, whereon was written, Here lyeth the Noble King of *Britaine Arthur*. Alſo in this Kings dayes for three or foure yeares together, there raigned ſo great a dearth, that a Quarter of Wheate was ſold for 18. ſhillings 8. pence, and then followed ſo great a mortality of men, that ſcarce the living ſufficed to bury the dead.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was tall of ſtature, and well proportioned, faire and comely of face, of haire bright abourne, of long armes, and nimble in all his joynts, his thighes and legs of due proportion, and anſwerable to the other parts of his body. To ſpeake of his morall parts, his Vices for the moſt part, were but onely upon ſuſpition: Incontinency in him much ſpoken of, nothing proved: but his Vertues were apparent, for in all his actions he ſhewed himſelfe Valiant, (from whence he had the appellation or ſurname of *Cœur de Lyon*) wiſe, liberall, mercifull, juſt, and which is moſt of all, Religious; a Prince borne for the good of Chriſtendome; if a Barre in his Nativity had not hindred it. The remorſe for his undutifulneeſſe towards his Father, was living in him till he dyed: for at his death he remembred it with bewailing, and deſired to be Buryed as neare him as might be, perhaps as thinking they ſhould meete the ſooner, that he might aske him forgiveneſſe in another world.

Of his Death and Buriall.

HE dyed of a wound with an Arrow in his Arme, which neglected at firſt, and ſuffered to wrankle, or as others ſay, ill handled by an unskilfull Chirurgeon, in foure dayes brought him to his End. But his Charity deſerves to have it remembred, that finding himſelfe paſt hope of Recovery, he cauſed the Party that had wounded him to be brought before him, who being asked what moved him to doe this Fact? anſwered, that King *Richard* had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his owne hand, and therefore would doe it, if it were to doe againe. Upon this Inſolent anſwer, every one looked the King ſhould have cenſured him to ſome terrible puniſhment, when contrary to all their expectations in a high degree of Charity, he not onely freely forgave him, but gave a ſpeciall charge he ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that no man ſhould dare to doe him the leaſt hurt: commanding beſides to give him a hundred ſhillings for his paines. An Act that well ſhewed he had beene at the Holy Land, or rather indeed that he was going to it. He dyed the ſixth day of *April* in the yeare 1199. when he had lived 44. yeares, Raigned nine, and about nine moneths, and had his Body Buryed at *Fonteverard*, by his Father, his heart at *Roan*, in remembrance of the hearty love that City had alwayes borne him, and his bowels at *Chalons*, for a diſgrace of their unfaithfulneſſe; others ſay, at *Carlile* in *England*.

Of Men of Note in his time.

IN his time were famous *Baldwyn* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who followed King *Richard* into the Holy Land, and dyed there; *Hubert* that ſucceeded him; *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincolne*; *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, a man equally famous and infamous; alſo *Baldwyn* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a learned Writer in Divinity; *Daniel Morley* a great Mathematician, *John de Herham*, and *Richard de Herham*, two notable Hiſtorians; *Guilielmus Stephonides* a Monke of *Canterbury*, who wrote much in the praiſe of Arch-biſhop *Becket*; alſo one *Richard Diviſienſis*, *Nicholas Walkington*, and *Robert de Bello Foco*, an excellent Philoſopher. Of Martiall men, *Robert* Earle of *Leyceſter*, *Ranulph de Fulgers*, two of the *Bardelphs*, *Hugh* and *Henry*; three *Williams*, *Marſhall*, *Brunell* and *Mandevill*, with two *Roberts*, *Roſſe*, and *Savevile*.

THE

THE RAIGNE OF KING IOHN.

KING *Richard* being dead, the right of Succeſſion remained in *Arthur*, Sonne of *Geoffrey Plantagenet* elder Brother to Earle *Iohn*, but *Iohn* as thinking the title of *Arthur* but a Criticiſme in State, and not for every ones capacity, at leaſt in common ſenſe not ſo plaine as his owne, who was the ſonne of a King, and the Brother to a King, aſcends into the Throne as confidently as if he had no competitor: Onely *Hubert* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* went before, and made an Oration in his behalfe, wherein ſeeking to doe him a courteſie, he did him indeed a wrong; for waiving his Right of Succeſſion, he inſiſted wholly upon their Right of Election; whereof would follow, that as they brought him in, ſo they might caſt him out; of which errour when he was told, he ſaid, he did it of purpoſe to make King *Iohn* the more carefull of his Government, by making him ſenſible upon what an unſure ground his Regality ſtood: King *Iohn* reſented it, but ſeeing it to ſerve his turne for the preſent, he tooke it not ill, as knowing that his turne once ſerved, he could afterward be his owne carver of what title he pleaſed; and ſo upon Aſcenſion day in the yeare 1199. he was Crowned King at *Weſtminſter*, with more ſolemnity then joy; many preſaging by their countenances, and more in their mindes, that all would not long be well. It cannot be denyed, but that in morall circumſtances Earle *Iohn* had the advantage of his Nephew *Arthur*; for he was a Man of yeares fit to Governe, *Arthur* but a Childe, not above thirteene yeares old; he a Native, at leaſt alwayes bred up in the Kingdome, *Arthur* a Forrainer, and had never beene here; He well knowne both to the Nobility and the People, *Arthur* a ſtranger to both, as one they had never ſeene; and beſides to theſe morall advantages, he had now added one from the Politickes, that he had gotten Poſſeſſion, (of more force in the practicall part then all the former) and withall a greater then all theſe, if it be true which ſome write, that his Brother King *Richard* had aſſigned him his Succeſſour after his deceaſe. But yet knowing the Title at laſt would come to be tryed in a Court, where the Sword muſt be Judge; he imployeth all his endevours to get this Judge to be his friend, and by all meanes poſſible to ſtrengthen himſelfe with Armes; and thereupon going to *Chinon* and *Roan*, he ſeiſeth upon the Treaſure which his Brother had left in thoſe parts, and with it, gets Friends and Souldiers, the Armour of Armes. And indeed all he could have done himſelfe would have done him no good, if he had not had the helpe of able Aſſiſtants, who yet aſſiſted him no leſſe for their owne ends then for his; and theſe were chiefly his Mother Queene *Eleanor*, who knew if her Grand-ſonne *Arthur* ſhould be King, that then his Mother *Conſtantia* would rule all, at leaſt during his Minority, and thereby her ſelfe put from the Stage of all Authority, and the Arch-

biſhop

biſhop *Hubert*, who alſo knew that if *Arthur* ſhould come to Raigne, that then the *Anjowyn* and *French* ſhould have all the beſt Offices, and the *Engliſh* wholly be neglected, as it was in the time of King *William* the Conquerour. And yet a greater Friend then both theſe, for comming to *Roan*, he uſed meanes that *Walter* the Arch-biſhop in the Cathedrall Church with great pompe girt him with the Ducall ſword of *Normandy*, and Crowned him with a Coronet of Golden Roſes, he taking his Oath for Faithfull Adminiſtration in that Dukedome, and they their Oath for being his Loyall Subjects.

Of his troubles in conteſtation with his Nephew Arthur.

THough King *John* had entred upon *Normandy*, and made that Province ſure unto him, yet the Province of *Anjou* ſtood firme for *Arthur*, in obſervance of their love to his Father their former Prince: which alſo King *John* ſoone after invading, reduceth by Force of Armes to his Obedience. And now *Conſtantia* the Mother of Prince *Arthur*, finding King *John* too powerfull an adverſary, and no likelihood for her party, to be able long to ſtand out againſt him without further aſſiſtance, conceives it her beſt way to have recourſe to the King of *France*, and thereupon commits her Sonne *Arthur* to his Tuition: who ſeemed to receive him with the tenderneſſe of a Father, and promiſeth to aſſiſt him with his uttermoſt Forces, in the recovery of his Right both in *France* and *England*. Here we may obſerve upon what hinge the affection of the Kings of *France* was uſed to turne. For in King *Henry* the ſeconds time, King *Lewis* of *France* was ſo great a Friend to his Sonne *Richard*, that by all meanes he would helpe him to get the kingdome from his Father; Afterward when *Richard* was King, then *Philip* King of *France*, was ſo great a Friend to *John*, that by all meanes he would helpe him to get the kingdome from his Brother; and now that *John* is come to be King, he is preſently growne ſo great a Friend of *Arthur*, that by all meanes he will helpe him to get the kingdome from his Unkle; and no doubt, if *Arthur* ſhould ever have come to be King, he would have beene as ready to helpe any other to get the kingdome from him: by which it appeares, that it was not the Perſons of the Men they either hated or loved, but that they were alwaies jealous of their growing too great; and indeed this ballancing of States keepes Princes affections alwayes in ſuſpenſe, and never ſuffers the Glaſſe of their Love or Hate, to make a true Reflection. About this time *William* King of *Scots* came to *London* to viſit King *John*, and there did homage to him for his kingdome of *Scotland*, though ſome ſay, but onely for the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, but being required ayde againſt the *French*, he excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, he could not doe it without conſent of his kingdome, and ſo returned home.

And now *Philip* King of *France* having undertaken the protection of the young Prince *Arthur*, with a mighty Army enters *Normandy*, takes many of the beſt Townes, and purſuing his Victories, enters the Province of *Anjou* alſo, and recovers it from King *John*, which he the yeare before had gotten from Prince *Arthur*. Upon this King *John* makes a Journey into *Normandy*, accuſing King *Philip* for breaking the Truce, which formerly he had made with King *Richard* for five yeares; but when he ſhould come to make his Accuſation good by Armes, he falleth to Treaties, and obtaineth a new Truce for fifty dayes: with which new Truce, *Baldwyn* Earle of *Flanders*, who had profeſſed himſelfe of that ſide, was not well pleaſed; and thereupon commeth to King *John* to *Roan*, and entring a new League with him, they there conſult how to proceed, when the fifty dayes ſhould be expired. This conſultation the King of *France* underſtood; and thereupon both ſides prepare for warre, but at the end of the Truce, both ſides ſeemed to relent, and divers meetings were had for Treaties of Peace, and in concluſion, King *John* more deſirous of Peace then was for his Honour, agreed to theſe Conditions; that his Niece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile* by his Siſter *Eleanor*, ſhould marry with *Lewis* King *Philips* Sonne, who ſhould have with

her

her in Dower, beſides thirty thouſand Markes in money, all thoſe Cities, except onely *Angiers*, which the *French* before that time had taken, which were many and very great: and his Peace thus made, he returnes into *England* with great joy, but was not with like joy received of the *Engliſh* Lords, who counted themſelves diſhonoured, in the diſhonourable Conditions he had made; and *Baldwyn* Earle of *Flanders* alſo, when he ſaw the poore ſpirits of King *Iohn*, to deſcend to ſuch baſe Conditions; left his Party, and entring League with the King of *France*, diſpoſed himſelfe for the Holy Warre.

But King *Iohn* having now gotten a Vacation, and a time of eaſe, which agreed much better with his nature then Warre, ſets his minde wholly upon pleaſures, and for maintaining his pleaſures, upon ſeeking after profit, which he purſues by all manner of injuſtice, under the name of Prerogative; and with ſuch violence, that when his Brother *Geoffrey* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, in the dutifulneſſe of a Counſellour, adviſed him not to take ſuch unlawfull courſes, he moſt unworthily tooke from him all he had, and it was a yeares worke for all the Arch-biſhops friends to pacify his anger. In the necke of this injuſtice, he commits another, he procures a divorce from his Wife *Avis*, the Daughter of *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, onely for being of kinne to him in the third degree, and by advice of the King of *France*, marries *Iſabell* Daughter and Heire of the Earle of *Angouleſme*, Affianced before to *Hugh le Brun* Earle of *March*, and ſhortly after brings her with him into *England*, where he and ſhe together, are both Crowned at *Canterbury*. And here the Earles and Barons of the Realme, being all ſummoned to attend the King into *France* at *Whitſonside* following; they all by a generall conſent ſend him word, that unleſſe he would reſtore them their Rights and Liberties, they would doe him no ſervice out of the kingdome. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in preſſing their Demands at this time then before, no Writers of theſe times doe ſufficiently deliver: Onely ſome of them ſpeake ſcatteringly of certaine oppreſſions (beſides the generall Grievance for Exactions) lately offered to ſome of the Lords, one to the Earle of *Cheſter*, whom he would have baniſhed, onely for adviſing him to leave his cruelty and incominency: Another, a purſuite in Love to a Daughter of *Robert Fits-Water*, called *Maude* the Faire, who not conſenting to the Kings luſt, a meſſenger was ſent to give her poyſon in a potched Egge, whereof ſhe dyed: And a third, offered to *William de Brawſe* and his Lady, for a raſh word ſpoken; for when the King ſent to have *de Brawſes* Sonne delivered him for a pledge, the Lady anſwered, We ſhall doe well indeed to commit our Sonne to his keeping, who kept ſo well his owne Nephew Prince *Arthur*. This raſh word coſt *de Brawſe* his Country, and his Lady and their Son their lives, both of them being famiſhed to death in Priſon. For, though theſe directly were but particular Grievances, yet reflectingly they were generall, what one ſuffered all might; but whether any of theſe, or all of theſe together, were Ingredients to make a Compound of violence in the Lords at this time, or whatſoever was the true cauſe, this was plainely the effect, that unleſſe the King would reſtore their liberties, they would not follow him out of the kingdome. But notwithſtanding this refuſall of his Lords, he paſſeth over with his Queene into *Normandy*, and from thence to *Paris*, where the King of *France* receives them with all complements of Love and amity. But now *Hugh* Earle of *March*, reſenting the injury done him by King *Iohn*, in taking away his affianced Wife, joynes with Prince *Arthur*, and the King of *France* alſo, for all his faire ſhew of amity lately made, joynes with them, as having ſometime before married his youngeſt Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, and theſe with their Forces joyned, invade firſt the *Turones*, and then the *Anjovins*: of which Province Queene *Eleanor* the Kings Mother was left Regent, who thereupon betakes her ſelfe to *Mirabell* the ſtrongeſt Towne of thoſe parts, and ſends to her Sonne King *Iohn*, acquainting him with the danger ſhe was in, and requiring his ſpeedy ſuccour. When in the meane time Prince *Arthur* takes the City, and in it his Grand-mother Queene *Eleanor*, whom he uſed with greater reverence and reſpect then ſhe expected. But King *Iohn* at the hearing hereof, was ſo moved,

calling

calling the *French* King ungratefull and perfidious for succouring Prince *Arthur*, contrary to his League, that studying presently the Art of Revenge, he fell upon a stratagem, of all other the most prudent against an Enemy: For a Surprise in Warre is like to an Apoplexy in the Body, which strikes without giving warning for defence: And this Stratagemme at this time King *John* put in practise, for travelling night & day with indefatigable labor, he came upon his enemies before they were aware, and setting upon them unprovided, it was rather an execution then a battell; and they who remained unslaine were taken prisoners, amongst whom Prince *Arthur* himselfe, who committed presently to the custody of *Robert de Veypont* in *Roan*, lived not long after: whether it were that attempting to make escape, he fell down from the wals of his Prison, and was drowned in the River *Seyne*, as some say; or whether it were, that through anguish of minde he fell sicke and dyed, as others say; or whether indeed he were made away by King *John*, as the common fame went; Certaine it is, that he survived his imprisonment but a very few dayes. But though he were gone, yet his sister *Eleanor*, a preceding Competitor to King *John*, was still remaining: Her therefore, at this time also King *John* seiseth upon, and commits her in safe custody to *Bristow* Castle, where, after she had lived long, she dyed.

Of his Troubles after the death of his Nephew Arthur.

KIng *John* being now freed from his Competitor, one would thinke he should have ended all his troubles, but like a *Hydraes* head, they rather mulitplyed upon him: For they who had beene so ready to assist Prince *Arthur* in his life, were now as ready to revenge his death. And first, *Constance* his Mother comes to King *Philip*, with open exclamations against King *John*, accusing him with the murther of her Sonne, and with all the instance of Teares and Intreaties, solicites him to revenge it. Hereupon King *Philip* summons King *John* to appeare at a day, and because he appeared not according to the tenure of his Homage, it was decreed against him, that he had forfeited all the property of his Estate in *France*, and thereupon King *Philip* with mighty Forces invades his Territories, takes many Townes of principall consequence, while King *John* lived idle at *Roan*, no more regarding it then if it had not at all concerned him; and when some of his Lords seemed to marvell what he meant to suffer the French to rob him of such goodly Cities: You say true indeed, (saith he) for it is but Robbery, and within a few dayes you shall see, I will make him to restore them backe with usury. In this slighting humour he returnes into *England*, where he lookes not after the levying of Souldiers, or the raising of an Army, as this case required, but continues his old course for raising of money, accusing sometimes one of his Lords, sometimes another, as if it were their fault that he had lost these Townes in *France*; and upon these accusations made many of them pay great summes of money, which brought him not onely into hatred at home, but into contempt abroad; for the King of *France* understanding his unworthy courses, proceeds more violently in his Invasions then before, getting *Falais*, *Damfront*, and all the good Townes of *Normandy*, but onely *Roan*, and at last, though *Roan* was a Towne strongly fortifyed with Walls, and more strongly with the faithfull hearts of the Inhabitants, yet finding no hope of succour from King *John*, it was forced for want of Victuals to submit it selfe to the King of *France*, whose example all the other Cities followed; and so all *Normandy* returned to the subjection of the *French*, after three hundred and sixteene yeares that *Rollo* the *Dane* had first possest it. It was now the yeare 1205. and the fourth of King *Johns* Raigne, about which time, the two props of his Estate, or rather indeed, the two Bridles of his intemperancy, dyed, his Mother Queene *Eleanor*, whose vertues had oftentimes qualifyed the vices of her Sonne; and *Hubert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who repented him at his death of nothing more, then that he had beene an Instrument of bringing him to the Crowne.

And now King *John* being a Substantive of himselfe, hath a deuise in his head to make his subjects as willing to give him money as he was to have it: for knowing the great discontentment they all had for his losses in *France*; he gives it out, that he would presently raise an Army, for recovery of those losses, if he might have money to goe about it: whereupon, never was money given with more alacrity; and as soone as he had it, he instantly went to *Portesmouth*, and there took Shipping before it was possible for his Lords and others to be in readinesse to accompany him; and sayling forward some certaine Leagues into the Sea, upon a sudden he returnes backe againe, and then laies the fault upon his Lords, that had not followed him; and for this backwardnesse of theirs, imposed afterwards great Fines upon them; by which meanes he got money no lesse by pretence of his not going, then he had done before by pretence of his going. About this time died *Geoffrey Fits-Peter* Justitiar of *England*, who while he lived kept the King in some awe, in so much, as hearing he was dead, he swore by the feete of God, that now at length he was King of *England*; and with great rejoycing said to some Lords about him: Now when this man comes into Hell, let him salute the Arch-Bishop *Hubert*, whom certainely he shall finde there. But *Philip*, King of *France*, intending to leave the *English* nothing on that side the Sea, invadeth *Chinon*, and takes it; and in it the valiant Captaine *Roger Lacie*, which had given a period to King *Philips* victories, had not *Guido* the husband of *Constantia* Prince *Arthurs* Mother revolted to King *John*; who with his assistance once againe leavies an Army, besiegeth Mount *Auban*, a Castle thought impregnable, and within fifteene dayes takes it, which *Charles* the Great could not get with his seven yeares siege: where so great a number of *French* Lords were taken prisoners, that King *John* sent a Catalogue of their names into *England*, for a memoriall of so great a victory. After this, he taketh the strong Towne of *Angiers*, and utterly defaceth it; for which afterward he was sorry, as being the Towne where he was borne. But now when the two Kings were ready to meete, and to give battell, intercession was made by friends of both sides, and thereupon a Peace concluded for two yeares: and King *John* returned into *England*.

King *John* being returned, performes no lesse worthy acts at home, then he had done in *France*: for first he invades the Borders of *Scotland*, and brings *Alexander* King of *Scots* to doe him homage; and then understanding many of the *Irish* to be revolted, he passeth over to *Dublin*, and reduceth them to his obedience; and then placing *John* Bishop of *Norwich* Governour there, he returnes into *England*; where passing through *Wales*, he subdueth certaine Rebels there, and takes eight and twenty children of the best Families, for pledges of their future loyalty; but not long after, hearing they grew mutinous and rebelled againe, he was so incensed, that he would not goe to dinner till he had seene those twenty eight children to be all hanged before his face: so inconsiderate a thing is the desire of revenge, that it makes no difference betweene innocency and guiltinesse; though indeed a thing oftentimes must be done for example, which considered in it selfe, would be forborne.

And it was the yeare 1214. and the fourteenth of K. *Johns* Raign, when he going to *Angiers*, strongly repaires it; and the Province of *Poicton* revolted to him; which *Lewis* King *Philips* sonne understanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and using much severity upon the Authors of the revolt, takes prisoners, *Reynold* Earle of *Boleigne*, and *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, with many others of King *Johns* Captaines, and defeateth his whole Army: whereof when King *John* was certified, he grew in a manner desperate, and as a man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any conditions with the King of *France*, and returnes into *England*; where he findes a worse businesse ready to entertaine him: for the Lords of the Realme having often required their ancient Rights and Liberties; and finding nothing but delusions, endure no longer to be abused; but meeting at Saint *Edmundsbery*, they there conferre how they may finde a remedy to redresse this evill; and at last concluded to goe to the King themselves in person, and make their Demands;

whereof a Charter was produced, that had beene formerly granted in King *Henry* the firſts time: whereupon comming to the King after *Chriſtmas*, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their Demands; he gives them this faire Anſwer, that within a few dayes he would give them ſatisfaction; and cauſeth the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Ely*, with *William Marſhall*, Earle of *Gloceſter*, to paſſe their words for him, that it ſhould be performed. But the King meaning nothing leſſe then to doe as he ſaid, fals preſently a leavying of Souldiers; which the Lords underſtanding, they alſo doe the like; and going to the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and require the Kings Anſwer. But the Biſhop ſhewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a ſatisfactory Anſwer: he ſwore a great Oath, they might as well demand the Kingdome, and that he would die before he would yeeld to any ſuch demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to truſt to) fall to beſiege *Northampton*, and after that, *Bedford*, which is yeelded to them; and withall they are ſent to by the *Londoners*, to ſignifie their readineſſe to joyne with them. At this time the King was at *Windſor* providing an Army, but hearing the *Londoners* were joyned with the Lords, he thought it no good way to proceed by force, but rather by fraud; and thereupon ſends to the Lords, that if they would come to him to *Windſor*, he would grant their demands. The Lords comming thither, but in a Military manner, (for they durſt not truſt his word) the King ſalured them all kindly, and promiſed to give them ſatisfaction in all they demanded; and ſo in a Meadow betweene *Windſor* and *Stanes*, called *Running-meade*, he freely conſented to confirme their former Liberties; and was content ſome grave Perſonages ſhould be choſen to ſee it performed. But the next day, when it ſhould be done, he gets him gone to *South-hampton*, and from thence to the Ile of *Wight*; where adviſing with his Councell, what in this caſe was fitteſt to be done: It was concluded he ſhould ſend to the Pope, to acquaint him with this mutiny of the Lords, and to require his help: while the King in the meane time lived skulking up and downe in corners, that no man might know where to find him; or which is worſe (as ſome write) roving about and practiſing Piracy. And now the Lords beginne to ſuſpect fraud, when ſhortly after the Kings Meſſengers, who were *Walter* and *John*, Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Norwich*, returne with the Popes Decree; which was, that the Kings Grant to the Lords ſhould be void: with this Decree, the King after three moneths that he had ſtaied in the Ile of *Wight*, comming backe to *Windſor*, acquaints the Lords; but they accuſing the Meſſengers for falſe informing the Pope, and the Pope alſo for making a Decree without hearing both ſides, betake them to Armes, and ſweare by the holy Altar to be revenged for this ludification and injurious dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing moved with the Popes Decree, ſends againe unto him, to acquaint him with it: who mightily incenſed to have his Decree ſo ſleighted, adjudgeth them all to be held as enemies of Religion; and gives power to *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to the Abbot of *Reading* to Excommunicate them. In the meane time the King had ſent the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellour of *England*, and others with his Seale, to hire Souldiers from the parts beyond the Seas; who returned ſhortly after, bringing along with him out of *Poictou* and *Glaſconie*, *Savery de Malcon*, *Geoffrey* and *Oliver Botevile*, brothers; & under their conduct ſo great a rabble, that with theſe Forces, within halfe a yeare the King had gotten all the Caſtles of the Barons, to the borders of *Scotland*. And now he divides his Army, committing part of it to his brother *William*, Earle of *Salisbury*, and others, to ſet upon *London*; and with the other part he goes himſelfe into *Yorkſhire*, where moſt of the Lords had Poſſeſſions, which in moſt cruell manner he deſtroyeth with fire and ſword. The Lords being thus on all ſides diſtreſſed, reſolve upon a courſe, neither honourable nor ſafe, yet ſuch as neceſſity made ſeeme both: they ſend to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him to ſend over his ſonne *Lewis* to their aide, and promiſing they would ſubmit themſelves to be governed by him, and take him for their Soveraigne. To this motion of the Lords, King *Philip* was as forward as themſelves; which King *John* underſtanding, ſends againe to the Pope, requiring him to uſe his authority to ſtay

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the King of *France* from comming. But King *Philip*, though much regarding the requeſt of the Pope; yet nothing ſo much as the acqueſt of *England*; with all ſpeed provides an Army, and with a fleete of ſixe hundred ſayle, ſends over his ſonne *Lewis*, who paſſing into *England*, landeth at *Sandwich*, whither many of the Lords, and others reſort unto him; and giving Oaths of Allegeance, joyne themſelves with him. King *John* at this time was at *Dover*, but not daring to ſtay there for feare of the enemy, he commits the Caſtle to *Hubert Burgh*, and goeth himſelfe to *Canterbury*, and from thence to *Wincheſter* in manner of a flight; which Prince *Lewis* underſtanding, goeth ſtraight to *London*, and by a plauſible Oration makes that City ſure unto him: and thither come to him the King of *Scots* with an Army of choyce Souldiers, as alſo the Earles, *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, with many others. And now Prince *Lewis* paſſeth all the Countrey over without reſiſtance, but not without infinite outrages committed by his Souldiers, which it was not in him to hinder: and then comming to *Norwich*, he takes that City eaſily, but *Dover* coſt him a longer ſiege, as being defended by the valiant and loyall Captaine *Hubert Burgh*. In this meane while King *John* finding his enemies imployed in theſe difficult ſieges; ſends about and gathers a rabble of all raskall people to him, and with them runneth over all the Countrey, ſpoyling and killing in moſt barbarous manner; and now was the kingdome made the Stage of all miſeries of rapine and cruelty: two Armies in it on foote at once, each of them ſeeking to prey upon the other, and both of them upon the Countrey. But the King comming to *Wallpoole* in *Norfolke*, where the Waſhes were to be paſſed over, he ſendeth one to ſearch where the Foord was paſſable, and there himſelfe with ſome few paſſed over, but the multitude, with all the cariages, paſſing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned; with which dyſaſter, the King through anguiſh of minde fell into a Feaver, whereof within a few dayes he died. And here was an end of all the troubles of this King: In whom it is obſervable, that loving his eaſe ſo well as he did, he ſhould runne voluntarily into ſuch troubles, eſpecially at home, upon ſo ſmall occaſions as he did; but it ſhould ſeeme there is no greater hinderance to men for accompliſhing their will, then their owne wilfulneſſe.

Of his Taxations.

TO ſpeake of his Taxations, it may not unproperly be ſaid that it was but one continued Taxation all his Raigne through; yet to divide it into parts: his firſt was the Taxation of three ſhillings upon every Plough-land through the kingdome, to pay the thirty thouſand Markes, for his Neece *Blanches* Portion; and to mend this Taxation, he ſeiſeth upon all the Temporalties of his brother *Geoffrey* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, for oppoſing it; and for a continuation, he makes a progreſſe ſhortly after into all the North parts, where he exacts great Fines of offenders in his Foreſts. Very ſhortly after ſolicited by the Popes Legate, he grants a Subſidy of the fortieth part of al his ſubjects Revenues for one year, to ſuccor the Holy Land. Shortly after this, he chargeth his Earls and Barons with the loſſes he ſuſtained in *France*, & thereupon Fines them to pay the ſeventh part of all their goods: neither ſpared he the Church, or the Commons in this Impoſition. Before this year is ended another Levy is made at a Parliament in *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Markes and a halfe of every knights Fee, for Military aide; neither are the Clergy exempted from paying their part: and before another yeare is out, another Impoſition is laid of the thirteenth part of all movables and other goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. It may be reckoned amongſt his Taxations, that when the Monkes of *Canterbury* had diſpleaſed him about the election of their Arch-biſhop, he ſeiſed upon all their goods, and converted them to his owne uſe: and preſently after this, upon the like diſpleaſure, he depoſes many Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, and confiſcates all their Revenues. To theſe may be added that he tooke eleven thouſand Markes of Silver of the King of *Scots* for granting him Peace. Adde to theſe alſo great ſummes of money exacted and gathered from

the *Iewes*, among whom there was one that would not be ranſomed, till the King cauſed every day one of his great teeth to be pulled out by the ſpace of ſeven dayes, and then he was content to give the King tenne thouſand Markes of Silver, that no more might be pulled out. Adde to theſe, that at his returne out of *Ireland*, he ſummoned all the Prelates of the kingdome to appeare before him; of whom he extorted for their redemption, the ſumme of an hundred thouſand pounds Sterling. Adde laſtly to theſe, that at his returne out of *Wales*, he exacts of every knight that attended him not in that expedition, two Markes.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

HE was the firſt that appointed the Formes of Civill Government in *London* and other Cities, endowing them alſo with their greateſt Franchiſes. The firſt that cauſed Sterling money to be here Coyned; The firſt that ordained the Honourable Ceremonies in Creation of Earles; The firſt that ſetled the Rates and Meaſures for Wine, Bread, Cloath, and ſuch other neceſſaries of Commerce; The firſt that planted *Engliſh* Lawes and Officers in *Ireland*, The firſt that enlarged the Royall ſtile with Lord of *Ireland*, and both annexed that kingdome, and faſtned *Wales* to the Crowne of *England*.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

AFter the death of *Hubert* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Monkes of that Covent ſecretly in the night Elected one *Reginold* their ſub-prior to ſucceed him; and cauſed him to goe to *Rome* for confirmation: but afterward doubting how the King would take it, being done without his knowledge, they crave leave of the King to chuſe a fit man, the King is content to allow them the Election, but requires himſelfe to have the Nomination, and thereupon commends unto them *John Grey* Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom he ſpecially favoured, and accordingly the Monkes Elect him. But the matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of theſe two Elections ſhould ſtand good, after many Allegations of both ſides, the Pope to ſhew himſelfe indifferent to both, diſallowes them both, and nominates a third man, one *Stephen Lanthon*, Cardinall of Saint *Chryſogone*, an *Engliſhman* borne, and a man of great learning. The Monkes admit him, but the King oppoſeth it: and now, as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spirituall and the Temporall: but he that uſed the Spirituall Sword, proved ſo much the better Fencer, that he diſarmed the other, and tooke away his temporall Sword from him. It is true, in the firſt Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threatned the King to excommunicate him, and to interdict the kingdome; So the King threatned the Pope to pulliſhe his Authority, and to baniſh Clergy men out of the Realme. In the ſecond Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threatned; (for he interdicted the kingdome) So the King performed as much as he had ſpoken, (for he drove the Monkes out of their Cloyſter) yet at laſt when *Pandolphus* the Popes Legat came into *England*, and made appeare to the King in what great dangers he ſtood; Firſt, of the King of *France*, by Invaſion; and then of his owne Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other helpe but Reconcilement with the Pope; he ſo touched him to the quicke, that he made him leave his great words, and fall to aſking forgiveneſſe. So as taking off the Crowne from his head, he laid it downe at *Pandolphus* feete, to be diſpoſed of, as the Pope ſhould pleaſe. And *Pandolphus* ſtucke not to take up his Crowne, and to keepe it three or foure dayes in his hands before he reſtored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his Succeſſours ſhould hold the kingdome of the See of *Rome*, at the annuall tribute of a thouſand Markes. And all thoſe three or foure dayes, in which *Pandolphus* kept the Crowne, it might be truely ſaid, the kingdome was without a King. And upon this, no doubt it was that *Peter* an Hermite in a Prophetical Rapture had given out ſome time before,

fore, that by *Aſcenſion* day, there ſhould be no King of *England*. Which though in ſome ſort it was true, yet in ſome ſort it was not true, and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his owne interpretation: And ſo it coſt the poore Hermite and his Sonne their lives, and they remaine as a pillar of Salt, to make men take heed of *Ludere cum Sanctis*; and of playing the Critickes in matters of State.

But by this meanes the kingdome was releaſed of the Interdiction, which had continued ſixe yeares, three moneths, and foureteene dayes: During all which time, there was no publique Exerciſe of Religion; no Churches open; no Eccleſiaſticall Sacraments adminiſtred, but onely to them that were in danger of death, and baptiſme to children, all that dyed were buryed like dogges, in ditches and corners, but onely ſuch as had purchaſed or procured licence from the Pope.

In this Kings Raigne, Saint *Dominicke* continued his Preaching ten yeares together, againſt the *Albigenſes*. Alſo in his time Saint *Francis* renounced the world, and when a Prieſt to whom he offered it, would not take his money, he caſt it away, and entred into a Vow of perpetuall Poverty. Alſo in this Kings time, was held the *Lateran* Councell, under Pope *Innocent* the Third, in which was eſtabliſhed the Popes power over Princes, and in matters of Faith, Auricular confeſſion, and Tranſubſtantiation.

Of his Irreligion.

I Need not relate a Speech of his, though very unchriſtian, that having beene a little before reconciled to the Pope, and then taking an overthrow in *France*, in great anger he cryed out, that nothing had proſpered with him ſince the time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another ſpeech of his, which though ſpoken merrily, was in good earneſt very irreligious, that being on a time a hunting at the opening of a fat Bucke, he ſaid: See how this Deere hath proſpered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare ſweare he never heard Maſſe. It is ſufficient to relate one act of his, (if it be true which ſome write) that being in ſome diſtreſſe, he ſent *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz Nichols*, knights, in Embaſſage to *Miramamolin* King of *Africke* and *Morocco*, with offer of his kingdome to him, upon condition he would come and aide him, and that if he prevailed, he would himſelfe become a Mahometan, and renounce the Chriſtian Faith. Though ſome there be that ſay, All theſe were but falſe Criminations charged upon him by Monkes that did not love him. But though we believe not theſe things of him; yet to ſuffer his kingdome to ſtand Interdicted ſo many yeares together, upon ſo ſmall occaſion as he did, was certainely no good ſigne of Religion in him. Yet one Act he did, wherein he ſhewed a reſpect to Religion, by the honour he did to a Religious man: For *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincolne* lying very ſicke, he not onely went to viſit him, but being dead, was one of the three Kings, (the other two were, *William* King of *Scotland*, and the King of *Southwales*) that carryed his Herſe upon their ſhoulders, till they delivered it to the Peeres, and the Peeres afterward to the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops to carry it into the Quire.

Workes of piety done by him, or by others in his time.

YEt did this King leave more Workes of Piety behinde him, then all his Subjects that were in his time. For he Founded the Abbey of *Bowley* in the New Foreſt in *Hampſhire*: alſo an Abbey of blacke Monkes in the City of *Wincheſter*, and the Monaſtery of *Farendon*, and the Monaſtery of *Hales Owen* in *Shropſhire*: he reedified *Godſtow* and *Wrauell*, and enlarged the Chappell of *Knaresborough*. Now for his Subjects, onely *Richard Prior* of *Bermondſey* builded an Houſe againſt the wall of the ſaid houſe of *Bermondſey*, called the Almary or Hoſpitall of Converts and Children, in honour of Saint *Thomas*. In this Kings time Saint *Mary Overeyes* in *Southwarke* was begun to be builded, and the Stone Bridge over the *Thames*, was

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by the Merchants of *London* finiſhed. Alſo *Hubert* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, Founded a Monaſtery at Weſt *Derham* in *Norfolke*, which upon the diſſolution came to the family of the *Derhams*, who hold it to this day.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

IN this Kings time, five and thirty of the moſt ſubſtantiall Citizens of *London*, were choſen out, and called the Counſell of the City, and the King gave the City liberty to alter their Major and Sheriffes every yeare, which before continued during life. He cauſed the Lawes of *England* to be executed in *Ireland*, and money to be Coyned there, according to the weight of *Engliſh* money.

Of his Wives and Children.

KING *Iohn* lived to have three Wives: His firſt was *Alice* Daughter of *Hubert* Earle of *Morton*, who left him a Widower without iſſue. His ſecond was *Iſabell* Daughter and Heire of *Robert* Earle of *Glocaſter*, by whom no iſſue neither, divorced from her by reaſon of Conſanguinity in the third degree. His third Wife was *Iſabel* Daughter and Heire of *Aymer* Earle of *Angouleſme*, Affianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earle of *March*: By this Wife he had two Sonnes, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Ioane*, *Eleanor*, and *Iſabell*: *Henry* ſucceeded him in the kingdome; *Richard* was Earle of *Cornwall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had iſſue *Henry* and *Iohn*, that dyed without iſſue: alſo *Edmund* Earle of *Cornwall*, and others. *Ioane* his eldeſt Daughter married to *Alexander* the ſecond King of *Scots*, dyed without iſſue: *Eleanor* the ſecond Daughter (married to *Simon* Earle of *Leyceſter*) had iſſue *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almaricke*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* ſlaine without iſſue. *Simon* Earle of *Bigorre*, and anceſtour to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almaricke*, firſt a Prieſt, after a knight. *Guy* Earle of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitour of the *Mountfords* in *Thuſcany*, and of the Earles of the *Campo Bacchi* in the kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard*, remaining privily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford* to *Wellesborne*, was anceſtour of the *Wellesburnes* in *England*. *Eleanor* borne in *England*, brought up in *France*, married into *Wales*, to Prince *Lewin ap Griffith*. *Iſabel* his youngeſt Daughter, married to the Emperour *Fredericke* the ſecond, had iſſue, *Henry* appointed to be King of *Sicilie*, and *Margaret* Wife of *Albret Lantgrave* of *Thurine*. She dyed in Childbed, after ſhe had beene Empreſſe ſixe yeares. He had alſo two naturall Sonnes, *Geoffrey Fitz Roy*, and *Richard*, that married the Daughter and Heire of *Fulbert de Dover*, (who built *Childham* Caſtle) had iſſue by her, of whom ſome Families of good account are deſcended. Alſo one baſe Daughter named *Ioane*, married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of Stature indifferent tall, and ſomething fat, of a ſowre and angry countenance, and concerning his conditions, it may be ſaid, that his Nature and his Fortune did not well agree: For naturally he loved his eaſe, yet his Fortune was to be ever in Action. He won more of his Enemies by ſurpriſes then by Battels, which ſhewes he had more of Lightning in him then of Thunder. He was never ſo true of his word as when he threatned, becauſe he meant alwayes as cruelly as he ſpake, not alwayes as graciouſly, and he that would have knowne what it was he never meant to performe, muſt have looked upon his promiſes. He was neither fit for Proſperity nor Adverſity: For Proſperity made him inſolent, and Adverſity dejected, a meane Fortune would have ſuted beſt with him. He was all that he was by Fits: Sometimes doing nothing without deliberation, and ſometimes doing all upon a ſudden: Sometimes very Religious, and ſometimes ſcarce a Chriſtian. His inſatiableneſſe of money was not ſo much as that no man

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knew what he did with it, gotten with much noyle, but ſpent in ſilence. He was but intemperate in his beſt temper, but when diſtempered with ſickneſſe, moſt of all, as appeared at his laſt, when being in a Feaver he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and drinking of ſweete Ale. If we looke upon his workes we muſt needes thinke him a worthy Prince, but if upon his Actions, nothing leſſe: For his Workes of Piety were very many, as hath beene ſhewed before, but as for his Actions, he neither came to the Crowne by Juſtice, nor held it with Honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet having had many good parts in him, and eſpecially having his Royall poſterity continued to this day, we can doe no leſſe then honour his memory.

Caſualties that happened in his time.

ONe Caſualty we might count dyſaſtrous, if it had not had relation to our ſelves: for *Hugh de Bones* comming to aide King *John* with threeſcore thouſand out of *Britany* and *Flanders*, by misfortune at Sea were all Drowned, to whom the King had granted *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the people he brought with him to Inhabit. In this Kings time were great thunders and lightnings, and ſhowers with hailſtones as big as Gooſe-Egges. Fiſhes of ſtrange ſhape were taken in *England*, armed with helmets and ſhields, and were like unto armed knights, ſaving that they were farre greater in proportion. About *Maideſtone* in *Kent* a certaine Monſter was found ſtrucken with the Lightning, which Monſter had a head like an Aſſe, a belly like a man, and all other parts farre differing from any other Creature.

Of his death and buriall.

WHen Prince *Lewis* of *France* was come into *England*, and was received by the Lords and by the *Londoners*, King *John* with an Army went into the North parts, and comming to *Wallpoole*, where he was to paſſe over the Waſhes, he ſent one to ſearch where the water was paſſable, and there himſelfe with ſome few paſſeth over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treaſure paſſing without Order, they cared not where, were all Drowned. With the griefe of which dyſaſter, and perhaps diſtempered in his body before, he fell into a Feaver and was let blood; but keeping an ill dyet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating greene Peaches, and drinking ſweete Ale, he fell into a looſeneſſe, and grew preſently ſo weake, that there was much adoe to get him to *Newarke*, where ſoone after he dyed. Though indeed it be diverſly related; *Caxton* ſaith, he was poyſoned at *Swineſheads* Abbey by a Monke of that Covent, the manner and cauſe this: The King being there, and hearing it ſpoken how cheape Corne was, ſhould ſay, he would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loafe be ſold for a ſhilling. At this ſpeech the Monke tooke ſuch indignation, that he went and put the poyſon of a Toade into a cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him there was ſuch a cup of Wine as he had never drunke in all his life, and therewithall tooke the aſſay of it himſelfe, which made the King to drinke the more boldly of it, but finding himſelfe preſently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monke, and when it was told him that he was falne downe dead, then (ſaith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others ſay, the poyſon was given in a diſh of Peares. But the Phyſitian that diſ-bowelled his body, found no ſigne of poyſon in it, and therefore not likely to be true; but howſoever the manner of his death be uncertaine, yet this is certaine, that at this time and place he dyed, on the 19. day of *October*, in the yeare 1216. when he had Raigned ſeventeene yeares and ſixe moneths; Lived one and fifty: He was buryed, his bowels at *Croxton* Abbey, his body at *Worceſter* under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monkes Cowle, which the ſuperſtition of that time accounted Sacred, and a defenſative againſt all evill Spirits.

of

of the prises of things in his time.

NEitheir is this unfit to be recorded in Chronicles, to the end comparison may be made betweene the time past and the present: as in the time of King *Henry* the second, a Quarter of Wheate was sold for twelve pence; a Quarter of Beanes or Oates for a groat. Neitheir is the price of Silver it selfe much lesse altered, for an ounce of Silver was then valued but at twenty pence; which is now valued at least at five shillings. Whereof Philosophers must tell the reason, for seeing scarcity makes things deare, why should not plentymake them cheape?

Of Men of speciall Note in his time.

IN Military matters there were many famous men in his time, as *Robert Fits-Roger*, and *Richard Mount-Fitchet*, with many others; but chiefely two, whose Acts make them specially memorable: the one was *Hubert Burgh*, whom K. *John* had left Governour of *Dover* Castle, of whom it is related, that when Prince *Lewis* of *France* came to take the Towne, and found it difficult to be taken by force; he sent to *Hubert*, whose brother *Thomas* he had taken prisoner a little before; that unlesse he would surrender the Castle, he should presently see his brother *Thomas* be put to death with exquisite torments before his eyes: but this threatning moved not *Hubert* at all, who more regarded his owne loyalty, then his brothers life: then Prince *Lewis* sent againe, offering him a great summe of money; but neither did this move, but he kept his loyalty as inexpugnable as his Castle. The other was *Robert Fits-Water*, of whom it is related, that King *John* being with an Army in *France*, one of his knights in a great bravery would needs make a challenge to any of the *French* Campe, that durst encounter him in a Combat, when presently comes forth this *Robert Fits-Water*; and in the encounter, threw horse and man downe to the ground: whereof when King *John* heard, By Gods tooth (saith he) he were a King indeed that had such a Champion; whereupon some that stood by, saying to him, He is Sir, a servant of your owne, it is *Robert Fits-Water*, whom you have banished. Whereupon his sentence of banishment was presently reversed, and the King received him, as he well deserved, into speciall favour. In matter of Literature also there lived many famous men in the Kings Raigne; as *Geoffrey Vinesaufe*, *Simon Fraxinus*, *alias Ash*, *Adam Dorensis*, *John de Oxford*, *Colman* sirnamed The wise, *Richard Canonicus*, *William Peregrine*, *Alane Tewksbery*, *Gervasius Doroberneusis*, *John Hanvill*, *Nigell Worker*, *Gilbert Holland*, *Benet de Peterborough*, *William Parvus* a Monke of *Newburgh*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Hubert Walter*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Theologus*, *Gervasius Tilberiensis*, *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, *Johannes Devonius*, *Walter Mapis*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *Gilbert Legley*, *Mauricius Morganius*, *John de Fordeham*, *William Leycester*, *Joceline Brakeland*, *Roger* of *Crowland*, *Hugh White*, *alias Candidus*, who wrote an History intituled *Historia Petroburgensis*; *John de* Saint *Omer*, *Adam Barking*, *John Gray* an Historigrapher, and Bishop of *Norwich*; *Walter* of *Coventry*, *Radulphus Niger*, and lastly, *Simon Thurvay*, who for his pride in Learning, but more for his blasphemies against *Moses* and Christ, became at last so utterly ignorant, that hardly he could read a letter of the booke.

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THE LIFE and RAIGNE OF KING HENRY THE THIRD.

Of his comming to the Crowne, and of Acts done in his Minority.

KING *John* being dead, his eldeſt ſoone *Henry* was next to ſucceed: who being but nine yeares old, though he were capable of having his Right, yet he was ſcarce capable of underſtanding his Right: eſpecially there being another at that time, to whom a great part of the Kingdome had ſworne Allegeance. But thoſe Lords who had beene conſtant to the Father, notwithſtanding his faults, were more tender of the ſon, who was altogether innocent, and whoſe gracious aſpect gave no ſmall hope of a better diſpoſition. Amongſt all which Lords, there was none ſo eminent in worthineſſe, none ſo neare him in Alliance, as *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke*, who had married his Aunt; and he drawing the reſt of the Lords together, with a ſolemne Oration in behalfe of the young Prince, ſo confirmed them, and ſo ordered the matter, that on the twenty eight day of *October*, in the yeare 1216. he was Crowned at *Gloceſter*, by *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Joceline* Biſhop of *Bathe*, in the preſence of *Guallo* the Popes Legat, and many Lords and Biſhops; and the ſaid *William* Earle of *Pembroke*, by a generall conſent, aſſigned Protector of the Realme during the Kings Minority. In which place, the firſt thing he did, was to give notice of the new Kings Coronation to all the Countries round about, and proclaime pardon to all offenders, that within a time limited ſhould come and ſubmit themſelves to him. In the meane time Prince *Lewis* of *France*, who at his firſt hearing of King *Johns* death, thought himſelfe then ſure of injoying the Kingdome quietly, and that he ſhould need to feare no more oppoſition, now that he heares of the new Kings Crowning, and that ſo ſolemnly, and with ſo unanimous a conſent, he begins to thinke himſelfe in worſe caſe then before; and to grow jealous of the *Engliſh* Lords that had adhered to him, what they would doe in this new world. And indeed a conflict was already growne in their minds, which of the two Obligations ſhould be the greater; either that of their Oath to Prince *Lewis*, or that of their Allegeance to King *Henry*. They could not but think it extreme ungratfulnes to forſake Prince *Lewis*, whom they had themſelves invited to come: and they could not but thinke it extreme undutifulneſſe to ſtand out in oppoſition againſt K. *Henry*, their naturall Soveraigne: and that which added no ſmall weight to this ſcale, was a diſcovery lately made by the Viſcount

Melun a *French* Lord at the time of his death, who confeſſed as a matter of conſcience, that Prince *Lewis* had vowed, if once he got the kingdome, utterly to extirpate all the *Engliſh* Nobility, and to admit none but *French* to any place of dignity. But whether any of theſe reaſons, or any other were their motives; certaine it is, that many of them, of whom were principall, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warren*, *Salisbury*, and *William*, the eldeſt ſonne of the Protectour, ſhrunke from Prince *Lewis*, and went to King *Henry*, as thinking no Obligation ſo great as Allegeance: and many againe continued conſtant to Prince *Lewis*, as thinking no Obligation ſo great as an Oath. And now Prince *Lewis*, to caſt the Dice of Fortune, before his enemies, though they had gotten them a Head, ſhould gather to a head, and draw more forces together, ſtaying himſelfe at *London*, ſent his Lieutenant with an Army of twenty thouſand, to take in as many Townes as they could; and many they tooke with ſmall oppoſition: but comming to *Lincolne*, where though they had the Towne it ſelfe, yet the Caſtle ſtood out, and had beene defended by a Noble Lady a whole yeare before; they found ſuch reſiſtance, that their proceeding was there arreſted; for thither came preſently *William* the Protectour with his ſonne *William*, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, and *Chester*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers* and *Albemarle*, *William de Albinet*, *William de Cantilupe*, *Falcaſius*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Robert Vipont*, *Brent de Liſle*, *Geffrey Lacie*, and many other Barons, with all the power of the young King: who with wonderfull violence aſſault the City; at which time it was propounded by the *French*, to ſally forth, and give them battell; but conceiving their Army to be greater then indeed it was (for the *Engliſh* had ſet double Enſignes to every Company, which made a ſhew of twice as many as they were) they forbare that courſe, and kept them ſelves within the Towne; by which meanes being cooped up and ſtraitned in place, ſo as they could not make uſe of their Forces as otherwiſe they might; they were in concluſion all defeated, and all the principall men of the *Engliſh* that had adhered to Prince *Lewis* were taken priſoners: as namely, *Saer* Earle of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gant*, lately made Earle of *Lincolne* by Prince *Lewis*, *Robert Fitzwater*, *Richard Mount-fitchet*, *William Mawbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Maudet*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Roger de Treſſy*, *William de Colville*, *William de Roi*, *Robert de Ropeſley*, *Ralph Chenduit* Barons, beſides foure hundred knights or men at Armes. Onely the Earle of *Perch* their Generall, being compaſſed about, and willed to render himſelfe, ſwore he would never become priſoner to any *Engliſh*: and thereupon was runne thorow the ſight of his Helmet into the braines, and inſtantly died. This was a maine blow to Prince *Lewis*, and the laſt of his battels in *England*; and becauſe the City was very rich in Merchandiſe, the *Engliſh* in deriſion called it *Lewis* Faire. But Prince *Lewis* was not yet diſcouraged, for he had ſent to King *Philip* his Father, to ſend him new ſupplies out of *France*; and new ſupplies were indeed ſent: but *Hubert de Burgh*, Governour of *Dover*, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their comming, and in a Sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few eſcaped: and now this blow at Sea was ſo much greater then that at Land; that where that made him onely doubt, this made him deſpaire, at leaſt made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by compoſition; whereupon it was at laſt concluded, that Prince *Lewis* ſhould have fifteene thouſand Markes for the charges he had beene at, and abjure his claime to any intereſt in the kingdome; and withall to worke his Father for reſtitution of ſuch Provinces in *France* as appertained to this Crowne: and that when himſelfe ſhould be King, he ſhould reſigne them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, King *Henry* takes his Oath; and for him the Legat *Guallo* and the Protectour, to reſtore unto the Barons of the Realme, and other his ſubjects, all their Rights and Priviledges; for which the diſcord beganne betweene the late King and his people. After this Prince *Lewis* is honourably attended to *Dover*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas*, above two yeares after his firſt arrivall.

And now the kingdome is come to unity within it ſelfe, one King and one people; and for a yeare or two there was little to be done, onely ſome few there were,

whom the corruption of the times had engendred; and who being borne in a ſtorme, could not live in a calme: of whom the principall were the Earle of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Vipount*, *Foulke de Brent*, *Brian de Liſle*, and *Hugh de Baylioll*; who buſtling about, got poſſeſſion of ſome Caſtles: with what intention, all men knew; but with what hope of effecting their intention, no man could imagine: for being but a handfull of men to the body of the Realme, they were eaſily ſuppreſſed; and either brought to acknowledge their faults, or elſe puniſhed for not acknowledging them. It was now the fourth yeare of King *Henries* Raigne, at which time *William* Earle of *Pembroke*, Protectour of the Realme, died, and was buried in the new Temple at *London*: in whoſe place came the Biſhop of *Winchester*; and now was the King the ſecond time Crowned, and had granted him by Parliament, for Eſtuage, two Markes of ſilver of every knights Fee, for the affaires of the kingdome, and recovery of his Tranſmarine Dominions, which is now deſigned: and *Malleon de Savery*, the *Poictovin*, with *William Long-ſword* Earle of *Salisbury*, ſent over to try the affections of that people; whom they finde for the moſt part inclinable to the obedience of this Crowne: but the King of *France* being required peaceably to deliver them, made anſwer, that having gotten them by the ſword, by the ſword he would hold them. But now the King being come to ſome yeares of underſtanding, was in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in minde by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of the Oath he had taken for confirmation of the Liberties of the kingdome, which though oppugned by ſome (and ſpecially by *William Brewer*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, whom the King had now made his chiefe Juſticiar) as having beene an Act of conſtraint: yet the King then againe ratified, and twelve knights or other Legat men of every Shire, by Writs were charged to examine what the Lawes and Liberties were which the kingdome injoyed under his Grandfather; and that they ſhould returne them by a certaine day: and here the King by Parliament reſumeth into his hands ſuch Alienations as had beene made by his Anceſtors of any Crowne Land. The next yeare after, another Parliament is held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the movables, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the recovery of thoſe parts in *France*, with-held from the Crowne by *Lewis* now King, contrary to his Oath and promiſe made here in *England* at his departure; which, though it concerned the Honour and Dignity of the kingdome, and the eſtates of moſt of the Nobility, yet would it not be yeelded to, but upon confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the ſame words and forme as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters before: and twelve knights are choſen in every Shire, to diſpart the old Foreſts from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved, to the great comfort and benfit of the ſubject; and two yeares they were accordingly injoyed.

Of his Acts after he came to be of age.

IT was now the tenth yeare of King *Henries* Raigne, and being about nineteene yeares of age, he claimed to take the government of the kingdome into his own hands, and no longer to be under a Protectour; and now will preſently appeare the difference betweene a Prince that is ruled by good Counſell, and a Prince that will doe all of himſelfe, and take no adviſe. For the ten yeares hee was ruled by a Protectour, were all paſſed, as it were in a calme, without noyſe or clamour; but as ſoone as he tooke upon him the government himſelfe, there grew preſently ſtormes and tumults; no quietneſſe either to the ſubject or himſelfe: nothing but grievances all the long time of his Raigne. For at the Parliament now holden at *Oxford*, as ſoone as he was Crowned againe, he preſently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Foreſts, as granted in his Nonage; and therefore he not bound to obſerve it: and then not uſing any longer the Seale which the Protectour had uſed, he makes a new; and cauſeth a Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever would enjoy any benefit of Grants under his Seale, ſhould come and have them ſigned by his new Seale; by which courſe he drew much mony from many: and this was

the first grievance. Shortly after, he commits the keeping of *Barkehamstead* Castle to one *Walleran* a *Dutchman*, which Castle belonged to his Brother *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*: but when Earle *Richard* required to have the possession, as of right he ought, it was then plotted by *Hubert Burgh* Chiefe Justice, and the Kings chiefe Counsellor, to commit him to prison, which the Earle understanding, or at least suspecting, flies presently to *Marlebrough*, where he finds *William* Earle Marshall his vowed friend, with whom he hastens to *Stamford*, and there meetes with the Earles of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and send to the King, that unlesse he restore the Castle to his brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests which he had lately cancelled at *Oxford*, they would seeke to recover them by the sword. Hereupon King *Henry* to pacifie his brother, not onely renders the Castle to him, but gives him besides all that his Mother had in Dower, and also great possessions which the Earle of *Britaine*, and the Earle of *Bolengne* lately deceased, had in *England*, but to the Petition of the Lords he makes a dilatory answer, and thus was another grievance. Not long after King *Henry* is perswaded by *Hugh le Brun*, Earle of *March*, who had married his Mother, to make a journey into *France*, for recovery of his right there: but the Earle perswaded it for ends of his owne, which to have discovered, had beene no way to compasse them: he must therefore lay some colours upon his worke, and it was colour enough, that the action would be of great benefit to the King, if it might succeed, and the likelihood of succeeding was most apparent, by reason of the great inclination of the people to King *Henry*, and their great aversnesse from King *Lewis*. Upon these colours, King *Henry* undertaking the action, raiseth great summes of money from the Clergy, and from the *Londoners* for redemption of their Liberties, and takes the third part of all the goods of the *Jewes*: but when he returned home a yeare after, without having done any thing but spent his treasure and his time, and that which was more worth then both these, the lives of many Noble men and others: this was another grievance. And now King *Henry* bringing many *Poictovins* over with him, who had served him in his warres, he was to reward them here, which he could not doe, but by displacing and spoyle of his Officers. First therefore he calleth *Ralph Bretton* Treasurer of his Chamber to account, and grievously Fines him for defrauding him in his Office: Then likewise is *Hubert de Burgh* Chiefe Justiciar, and his Chiefe Counsellour called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office, who being further charged with crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of *Merton* for sanctuary, from whence, when the King commanded him to be drawne out by violence, the Bishop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be returned back to sanctuary, upon paine of Excommunication: but the King commanding him to be kept from sustenance, hunger at last enforced him to render himselfe to the Kings mercy: all his goods, which were very great, confiscate. Also *Walter* Bishop of *Carlile* is thrust out of his Office of Treasure, and *William Rodon* knight, from his place of Marshall of the Kings house, and all the chiefe Counsellours, Bishops, Earles, and Barons of the kingdome are removed, as distrusted, and onely strangers preferred to their roomes: of which course, *Peter de Rupibus* a *Poictovin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis*, the Kings speciall Favorite, were said to be the Authors: and this was another grievance. The King was now about eight or nine and twenty yeares old, and a Consultation was had for a fit wife for him. There was propounded a sister of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, but it was not thought fit the King should marry the younger sister, when *Hubert de Burgh* had married the elder: he therefore takes one of his owne choosing, and marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Raymond* Earle of *Province*, by which match he neither had Portion by his Wife, nor strength of Alliance by friends, or if any were, it was all made vaine by distance: onely he had by her a number of poore kindred, who to his great cost, lay hanging upon him, yet was the marriage solemnised with as great charge as if he had beene to have Mountaines with her: and this was another grievance. And now is the score of these grievances called upon to be paid, for

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the Lords could no longer endure so many indignities, to see themselves sleighted, and onely strangers advanced; as *Foulke de Brent*, who held the Earledomes of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, and others the like: and to see their persons exposed to danger, and their estates to ruine; for which no remedy could be, but onely the Kings confirming their Charter of Liberties: wherein it is strange to observe upon what different grounds the King and the Lords went: It seemes the King thought, that to confirme that Charter, were to make himselfe to be lesse then a King; and the Lords thought, that as long as it was denied, they were no better then slaves; and as the King could endure no diminution, so the Lords could endure no slavery, but the King might keep his owne with sitting still, the Lords could not recover their owne but by motion: and seeing their strength must be in their number, by commotion; hereupon they confederate together, and of this confederacie, *Richard* now Earle Marshall, upon the death of his brother *William*, is chiefe; who repaire to the King, and boldly shew him his errour, and requires satisfaction. Hereupon the King sends presently over for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withall summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come: after this a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, whither likewise they refuse to come, unlesse the King would remove the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Poictovins* from the Court; and more then this, they send him word, that unlesse he did this, they would expell both himselfe and his evill Counsellours out of the Land, & create a new King. Upon this threatning, Pledges are required of the Nobility for securing of their Allegeance, and Writs are sent out to all who hold by knights service, to repaire to the King at *Gloucester* by a certaine day; which the Earle Marshall and his associates refusing, the King without the judgement of his Court and their Peers, causeth them to be Proclaimed Out-lawes, seiseth upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Poictovins*; and directs out Writs to attach their bodies where soever in the kingdome. But now of these confederate Lords, the Bishop of *Winchester* wonne the Earles of *Chester* and *Lincolne* with a thousand Markes; and the King had so pleased his brother the Earle of *Cornwall*, that he likewise left them: whereupon they withdrew them into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewlin* Prince of *Wales*; whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaped out of prison, and joynes with them; taking intermutuall Oaths, that no one without other should make their accord. Hereupon the King goeth himselfe in person into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returnes to *Gloucester*, imployes new forces of strangers, but all without successe. At last a Frier is imployed to perswade the Earle Marshall to submit himselfe to the King, but all in vaine; till at length a traine is laid to draw him over into *Ireland*, to defend his state there, being seised upon by the King; where by treachery circumvented he lost his life. Yet the King disavowes the sending of any such Commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew thereof, and laies the fault upon his Officers: an easie way for Princes, never to be found in any fault.

After two yeares affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishops admonish the King by his Fathers example, to be at unity with his people, and to remove from him strangers, and to governe the Kingdome by Natives of the Realme, and by the Lawes: otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiasticall censure, both against his Counsellours and himselfe. The King seeing no way to subsist but by temporising, consents to call home those Lords out of *Wales*, restores them to their places and possessions, removes all strangers from about him, and cals his new officers to account. Hereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Segrave* take sanctuary, but afterward by mediation they obtained with great Fines their Liberty, dearly paying for their two yeares greatnes. After this a Parliament is againe called, which the King would have to be kept in the Tower, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of more freedome is appointed, in which Parliament, order is taken for removing all Sheriffes from their places, upon complaint of corruption: and here the King displaceth his Steward, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester* then

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Chancellour, the great Seale, which he refuseth to deliver, as having received it by the common councell of the kingdome; and now *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave*, are received againe into grace: by which may appeare the viciſſitude of fortune in Princes favours. After this, in the one and twentieth yeare of his Raigne, another Parliament is held at *London*, where the King requires the thirteenth part of all the moveables as well of the Clergy as Laity; which being directly oppoſed, the King promiſeth by oath, never more to injure the Nobility, ſo they would but relieve him at that preſent: After foure dayes conſultation, the King promiſing to uſe onely the counſell of his naturall Subjects, and proteſting againſt the Revocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inviolable obſervation of their Liberties, under paine of Excommunication, a Subſidy is granted him, but ſo, that foure knights be appointed in every Shire to receive and deliver the ſame, either to ſome Abbey or Caſtle, where it may be ſafely kept, that if the King faile in performance of his Grants, it may be reſtored to the Countrey from whence it was collected: And now the King, to make a ſhew of true reconciliation for his part, ſuddenly cauſeth the Earles, *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz-Geoffrey* to be ſworn his Counſellours; yet was neither of the points either for removing of ſtrangers, or for diſpoſing the money obſerved afterward by the King: for the money he made bold to take at his pleaſure; and for ſtrangers, they were ſo farre from removing, that they were drawne nearer to him: for now *William Valentine*, Unkle to the Queen, is growne the moſt inward man with him, and nothing done but by his counſell; alſo the Earle of *Provence*, the young Queenes Father, a poore Prince, hath a good ſhare of the money that was collected: and *Simon de Montford*, a *French* man borne, is entertained by the King, and preferred ſecretly in marriage to *Eleanor* the Kings ſiſter, Widow of *William* Earle of *Pembroke*, the great Marſhall, and is made Earle of *Leyceſter*, by right of his Mother *Avice*, daughter of *Blanchman*, Earle of *Leyceſter*: which courſes ſo incenſe the Nobility, that it put them out into a new commotion, and *Richard* the Kings brother becomes one of the party whom the other Lords make their ſpokeſman to the King, to aggravate his breach of promiſe, and to acquaint him with all the diſorders of the kingdome; with whoſe remonſtrance the King is ſo moved, that after he had tried the *Londoners*, and found them alſo to partake with the Lords, he cals a Parliament at *London*, whither the Lords come armed for their own ſafety: where after long debating, the King taking his Oath to referre the matter to certaine grave men of the kingdome; Articles are drawne, ſealed, and publikely ſet up to the view of all, with the ſeales of the Legat, and divers great men: but before it came to be effected, the Earle of *Cornwall*, by the working of *Simon Montford*, hath his edge rebated, and is brought to be unwilling to meddle in the matter any more; which the other Lords ſeeing, they alſo grow cold, and ſo for that time it reſted, and no more was done in it.

And now is the Kings turne to play his part, in uſing his authority, which he failes not to doe to the uttermoſt: for upon a ſmall occaſion he cauſeth the gates of *Gilbert* now Earle of *Pembroke* (the third ſonne of *William* the great Marſhall) to be ſhut againſt him at *Wincheſter*, whereupon the Earle retires into the North. Alſo *Simon Norman*, Maſter of the Kings Seale, and his greateſt Favorite, is thrown out with diſgrace, and his brother *Geoffrey* a knight Templar, is put out of the Counſell; both of them for not yeelding to paſſe a Grant from the King, made unto *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders*, the Queenes Unkle, of foure pence upon every ſack of Wooll. And now that load enough is laid upon thoſe of the Laity, comes a new load to be laid upon the Clergy; for the Pope nothing dainty to make uſe of the power he had in the King, ſends over three hundred *Romans*, requiring to have the firſt Benefices that ſhould be vacant, beſtowed upon them: which ſeemed ſo unreaſonable a requeſt, and to the Clergy of *England* ſo dammageable, that it made *Edmund* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* to give over all, and betake himſelfe to a voluntary Exile in the Abbey of *Pontiniac* in *France*; yet to ſhew his reſpect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred Markes before his departure. And to lay more weight upon the Clergy, great ſummes are alſo required of them for maintenance

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of the Popes warre against the Emperour: which though the Clergy opposed, and shewed many good reasons of their opposition both to the King and the Legat, yet by promises or threatnings, they were won or forced to yeeld unto it. And now comes the Earle of *March*, and once again: solicits the King to make another journey into *France*, which being yeelded to by the King, and assented to in Parliament, an aide presently was demanded towards it: but this demand was not onely opposed, but all the Kings Taxations and aides before granted, were now repeated; and thereupon an absolute deniall to grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to the Parliament himselfe in person; earnestly, and indeed, humbly craving their aide for this once: but all prevailed not, they had made a vow to the contrary: and the King is driven to get what he could of particular men, of whom partly by gift, and partly by loane, he gets so much, that he carries over with him thirty Barrels of Sterling money. This expedition had no better successe then the former, for after a whole yeares stay, the King was driven to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of *France*, and returne home. At his returne he puts the *Jewes* to another redemption, and the *Londoners* to another exaction; and to helpe on his charge, his wives mother, the Countesse of *Provence* comes now to visit him; who bringing her daughter *Zanchia* with her, a marriage is solemnised betweene her and *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, whose wife was lately dead, and he returned from the Holy warres. The old Countesse at her returne, is presented with many rich gifts, having besides received an Annuall Pension of foure thousand Markes out of *England*, for five yeares past; in consideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* after her decease should have the Earledome of *Provence*: but shortly after her returne, she disappoints him of that, and bestowes it upon her youngest daughter *Beatrix*, married to *Charles* the *French* Kings brother; who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicilie*: so as this Countesse lived to see all her foure daughters Queenes: *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* comming after to be elected King of the *Romans*. Upon these profusions, a consultation is had for new supplies, and no way thought so fit as by Parliament; hereupon a Parliament is againe assembled at *Westminster*, whither the King comes againe himselfe in person, urging his necessities, yet nothing would be granted without the assurance of reformation and due execution of the Lawes. And here they desire to have it ordained that foure of the most grave and discreet Peeres should be chosen as conservatours of the kingdome, and sworne of the Kings Councell, both to see Justice administred, and the treasure issued; and these, or two of them at least, should ever attend about the King. Also that the Lord Chiefe Justiciar, and the Lord Chancellour, should be chosen by the generall voyces of the States assembled, or else be one of the number of those foure. Besides they propound, that there might be two Justices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Justice for the *Jewes*, and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. But while these things were in debating, comes one *Martin*, a new Legat from the Pope, with a larger Commission then ever any before, to exact upon the State; but at the same time, Letters comming from the Emperour *Fredericke*, to intreat that the Pope might have no more supplies out of *England*; the Popes Mandate is rejected, and his Agent *Martin* disgracefully sent home. This businesse took up so much time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament; but onely an aide granted to the King for the marriage of his daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, twenty shillings of every knights Fee; and that with much adoe, and repetition of his former aides.

The Winter following he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an ayde upon a designe he had upon *Wales*, and to pay his debts, which were urged to be so great that he could not appeare out of his Chamber for the infinite clamour of such, to whom he owed for his Wine, Waxe, and other necessaries of house: but they all to his face, refused to grant him any thing: whereupon other violent courses are taken, an ancient quarrell is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fifteene thousand Markes, and *Passeleve* the Clerk is imployed, with others, in a most peremptory commission,

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to inquire of all ſuch Lands as had beene inforeſted, and either to fine the occupyers thereof at their pleaſure, or elſe to take it from them and ſell the ſame to others; wherein ſuch rigour was uſed, that multitudes of people were undone. But now to ſhew the King the eſtate of his kingdome, and the oppreſſions of Popes, inquiry was made of the Revenues which the *Romans* and *Italians* had in *England*: which were found to be annually ſixty thouſand Markes; being more then the yearely Revenues of the Crowne: which ſo moved the King that he cauſed the ſame to be notifyed, with all other Exactions, to the Generall Councell now Aſſembled at *Lyons*; and this (with the ill uſage of his Agent *Martin*) ſo vexed the Pope, that he is ſaid to have uttered theſe words: It is time to make an end with the Emperour, that we may cruſh theſe petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeaſed or deſtroyed, theſe leſſer Snakes will ſoone be trodden downe. But upon the Popes rejecting the conſideration of theſe grievances of *England*, and deſpiſing the Kings meſſage (who he ſaid, began to *Frederize*) it was abſolutely here ordained, under great penalty, that no contribution of money ſhould be given to the Pope by any Subject of *England*: and the King for a time aſſents unto it, but being of an irreſolute and wavering nature, and afraid of threats, he ſoone gave over what he undertooke, ſo as the Pope continued his former rapine; and though he had promiſed never to ſend any more Legats into *England*, yet ſent he other Miniſters under the title of Clerkes, that had as great power as Legats, and effected as much. And now, for the other part of the State, new occaſions alſo of complaint were offered: *Peter* of *Savoy* Earle of *Richmond*, comes into *England*, bringing with him certaine Maides to be marryed to young Noble men of this Countrey, the Kings Wards, of whom *Edmund* Earle of *Lincolne* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another, and the ſame yeare three of the Kings Brothers by the Mother, *Guy de Luſignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar Clerke*, are ſent over to be provided of Eſtates in *England*: alſo *Thomas* of *Savoy* (ſometimes Earle of *Flanders* by Right of his Wife) comes with his ſiſter *Beatrix*, Counteſſe of *Provence* the Queenes Mother, who are againe Feaſted and Gifted; for which the King is taxed the next Parliament in *Candlemas* Terme, and beſides ſharply reprehended for his breach of Promiſe, having Vowed and Declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that kinde; alſo for his violent taking up of proviſion, of Waxe, Silke, Roabes, and ſpecially of Wine, contrary to the will of the ſellers, and many other grievances they complaine of; all which the King patiently heares, in hope to obtaine his deſire, but yet nothing is effected, and the Parliament being Prorogued till *Midſummer* following, and the King growing more obdurate then before, it afterward brake up in diſcontent. But the Parliament not ſupplying him, he is adviſed to furniſh his wants with ſale of his Plate, and Jewels of the Crowne, being told, that though they were ſold, yet they would revert againe unto him; and having with great loſſe received money for them, he askes who had bought them: Anſwer is made, the City of *London*. That City (ſaid he) is an inexhauſtible Gulph: If *Octavius* Treaſure were to be ſold, they ſurely would buy it.

And now to vexe them, he appoints a Faire to be kept at *Weſtminſter*, forbidding under great penalty, all exerciſe of Merchandiſe within *London*, for fifteene dayes, and all other Fayres in *England*, and namely that of *Ely*: but this Novelty came to nothing; the Inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the fouleneſſe of the weather, brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders. That *Chriſtmas* alſo he requires Newyeares gifts of the *Londoners*, and ſhortly after writes unto them his Letters imperiouſly deprecatory to ayde him with money, and thereby gets of them twenty thouſand pounds, for which the next yeare after he craves pardon of them. And notwithſtanding his continuall taking up all Proviſions for his Houſe, yet he leſſens his Houſe-keeping in no honourable manner. And then ſeeing he could get nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes to every Nobleman apart, declaring his poverty; and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of thirty thouſand pound to thoſe of *Burdeaux* and his *Gaſ-*

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coynes, (who otherwiſe would not have ſuffered him to depart home) at his laſt being in *France*: but failing herein of Temporall Lords, he addreſſeth his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he findes as little reliefe; by much importunity and his owne preſence, he got of the Abbot of *Ramſey* a hundred pound; but the Abbot of *Borough* had the face to deny him, though the King told him, it was more Almes to give money to him, then to a Begger that went from doore to doore. The Abbot of Saint *Albons* yet was more kind, and gave him threeſcore Markes. To ſuch lowneſſe did the neceſſity of this indigent King (through his profuſion) bring him. The *Jewes* ever expoſed to his will, feele the weight of theſe his wants; One *Abraham*, found a Delinquent, redeemes himſelfe for ſeven hundred Markes, and *Aaron* another *Jew* proteſts, the King had ſince his laſt being in *France* taken from him at times thirty thouſand Markes of Silver, beſides 200. Markes of Gold given to the Queene.

But now the Lords aſſemble againe at *London*, and preſſe him with his promiſe made unto them, that the Chiefe Juſticiar, Chancellour and Treaſurer, ſhould be appointed by the Generall Councell of the kingdome, but by the abſence of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, (which was thought to be done of purpoſe) they returne fruſtrate of their deſire. And now the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter* falling void, the King ſends preſently to the Monkes of the Cathedrall Church, to Elect his Brother *Athelmar*; and becauſe he would not be denyed, he goes thither himſelfe in perſon, and there enters the Chapter houſe as a Biſhop or Prior, gets up into the Preſidents Chaire, beginnes a Sermon, and takes his Text, *Juſtice and Peace have kiſſed each other*; and thereupon uſeth theſe words: To me and other Kings who are to governe the people, belongs the rigour of Judgement and Juſtice; to you who are men of quiet and Religion, Peace and Tranquillity; and this day I heare you have (for your owne good) beene favourable to my requeſt; with many ſuch like words: whereby the Monkes finding the earneſtneſſe of his deſire, held it in vaine to deny him, and *Athelmar* is Elected; but with this reſervation, if the Pope allow it. Shortly after followes the memorable Caſe of Sir *Henry de Bathe*, a Juſticiar of the kingdome, and a ſpeciall Counſellour to the King; who by corruption had attained to a mighty Eſtate, and is ſaid, in one Circuit to have gotten two hundred pound land *per annum*; He is accuſed by Sir *Philip Darcy* of falſehood in the Kings Court; and the King is ſo incenſed againſt him, that in the Parliament at this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made, that whoſoever had any Action or Complaint againſt *Henry de Bathe* ſhould come and be heard. One of his fellow Juſticiars accuſed him of acquiting a malefactor for a bribe. The King ſeeing *Henry de Bathes* friends to be many and ſtrong, breakes out into rage, proteſting, that whoſoever would kill *Henry de Bathe* ſhould be acquited for the deed. But afterward by interceſſion of the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Biſhop of *London*; the King becomes pacifyed, and Sir *Henry* is releaſed, paying two thouſand Markes, and after is reſtored to his former place and favour. The King keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Yorke*, the matriage is ſolemnized betweene *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter: to the Feaſt of which ſolemnity it is ſaid the Arch-biſhop gave ſixe hundred fat Oxen, which were all ſpent at one meale: and beſides, the Feaſt coſt him foure thouſand Markes.

About this time, the Pope ſolicits King *Henry* to undertake the Croſſe, and ſo doth *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, offering to accompany him in perſon, to reſcue the King of *France*, who was now held Priſoner by the *Soudan*. And becauſe a ranſome collected for him in *France* was by tempeſt caſt away at Sea, the Captive King offers to reſtore *Normandy* to the King of *England*, ſo he would come to his reſcue. Upon this ſolicitation of the Pope, and the grant of a tenth of the Clergy and Laity for three yeares to come; the King undertakes the Croſſe, rather, it ſeemes, to get the money, then with any purpoſe to performe the Journey: which had it beene collected (ſaith *Paris*) would have amounted to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, to the utter impoveriſhing of the kingdome. And now the King by Proclamation cals the *Londoners* to *Weſtminſter*, and there cauſeth the

Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter* to declare his Intentions, and to exhort the people to undertake the Croſſe and attend him: but few are moved by their perſwaſions, onely three knights of ſmall note, whom thereupon the King in open view, imbraceth, kiſſeth, and cals his Brethren; checking the *Londoners* as ignoble Mercenaries: and there himſelfe takes his Oath for performing it, and to ſet forth upon *Midſummer* day next. In taking his Oath, he layes his right hand on his Breaſt, according to the manner of a Prieſt; and after on the Booke, and kiſt it as a Lay man. About this Tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by the People) a Parliament is called at *London*, where the Biſhops are firſt dealt withall, (as being a worke of Piety) and they abſolutely refuſe it; then the Temporall Lords are ſet upon, and they anſwer as the Biſhops: which put the King into ſo great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber, as he had beene madde. Then he fals to perſwade them apart, ſending firſt for the Biſhop of *Ely*, and deales with him in all kind manner, recounting the many favours he had done him. The Biſhop replies, Diſſwading him from the Journey by the Example of the King of *France*; and to that purpoſe uſeth many good reaſons; which the King hearing, in great paſſion commanded his ſervants to thruſt him out of doore, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the reſt; and thereupon fals upon his former violent courſes; and firſt the City of *London* is compelled to the Contribution of a thouſand Markes: and the *Gaſcoyners* being upon revolt, unleſſe ſpeedy ſuccour be ſent them; generall Muſters are made, and commandement given, that whoſoever could diſpend thirteene pounds *per annum*, ſhould furniſh out a Horſeman. This occaſions another Parliament, wherein it ſeemes, the State beganne wiſely to conſider that all their oppoſitions did no good, the Kings turne muſt be ſerved one way or other; therefore they agreed to relieve him rather by the uſuall way, then force him to thoſe extravagant courſes which he tooke; but yet ſo, as the Reformation of the Government, and the ratification of their Lawes and Liberties, might once againe be ſolemnely confirmed. And after fifteene dayes conſultation, to ſatisfie the Kings deſire for his holy Expedition, a Tenth is granted by the Clergy, and Scutage, three Markes of every knights Fee by the Laity; and thereupon thoſe often confirmed Charters are againe ratifyed, and that in the moſt ſolemne and Ceremoniall manner, that State and Religion could poſſibly deviſe. The King with all the Great Nobility of *England*, all the Biſhops in their reverent Ornaments with burning Candles in their hands, aſſemble to heare the terrible ſentence of Excommunication againſt the infringers of the ſame. And at the lighting of thoſe Candles the King having received one in his hand, gives it to a Prelate that ſtood by, ſaying: It becomes not me, being no Prieſt, to hold this Candle, my heart ſhall be a greater Teſtimony; and withall laid his hand ſpread upon his Breaſt all the time the ſentence was read, which was thus Pronounced, *Authoritate Dei Omnipotentis, &c.* Which done, he cauſed the Charter of King *John* his Father, granted by his free conſent, to be openly read. In the end, having throwne away their Candles, which lay ſmoaking on the ground, they cryed out, So let them who incurre this ſentence be extinct, and have no better ſavour then theſe ſnuffes: and the King with a loud voyce ſaid, As God helpe me, I will, as I am a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, a King Crowned and annoynted, inviolably obſerve all theſe things: and therewithall the Bels rung out, and the people ſhouted for Joy.

Yet was not all ſo quieted by this Grant, but that there were grievances ſtill, whereof the firſt fals upon his Brother *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*: for the King having ſeven and twenty yeares before given him the Province of *Gaſcogne*, now that he had a Sonne of his owne, he would take it from his Brother, and give it to his Sonne; and the Earle refuſing to deliver his Charter, it is plotted to impriſon him, but he eſcaping out of *Burdeaux*, comes over into *England*. The King to win the Nobility of *Gaſcogne* to turne to him, promiſeth them thirty thouland Markes, which they accept, ſo as he binde himſelfe by his Oath and Charter to performe it. This ſtrictneſſe of theirs the King takes in ill part, and thereupon ſends *Simon*

Montford Earle of *Leyceſter*, a ſterne man, to be their Governour, who with his inſolent Government, ſo diſcontents them, that after three yeares ſuffering, they ſend the Arch-biſhop of *Burdeaux*, with other great men, to complaine of his Inſolencies; whereupon *Montford* is ſent for, and becauſe the Lords tooke part with him, the King takes part with the *Gaſcoyners*, which *Montford* tooke ſo ill, that he upbraides the King with breaking his Promiſe: to whom the King in great rage replyed, that no promiſe was to be kept with an unworthy Traytor: at which word *Montford* riſeth up, proteſting that he lyed, and were he not Protected by his Royall Dignity, he would make him repent thoſe words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great affront to the King, is *Montford* ſent over againe into *Gaſcogne*, though with a more limited Authority, and ſhortly after the King with a Fleete of three hundred Ships goes thither himſelfe, and ſoone compoſeth all differences in the Country.

But now the King of *Spaine* pretends a title to *Aquitaine*, and to take him off, King *Henry* ſends to treate of a marriage betweene Prince *Edward* and his Siſter *Eleanor*, which being accepted by the King of *Spaine*, the Marriage is ſolemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spaine* knights the Prince, and quits his claime to *Aquitaine* for him and his Succeſſours for ever: and King *Henry* inveſts the Prince and his Wife in it, and gives unto him beſides, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Briſtow*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*; and from hence it came that ever after this, the Kings eldeſt Sonne was immediately upon his Birth Prince of *Wales*, and Earle of *Cheſter*. After this King *Henry* prepares to returne home, and well he might, having ſpent in this and his former Journeyes into thoſe parts, the ſumme of ſeven and twenty hundred thouſand pounds: More then all the Lands if they had beene ſold were worth, which when the King was told, he deſired there might be no words made of it for his credite. And now being to returne, he is deſirous with the King of *Frances* leave, to paſſe thorow *France*; and comming to *Paris* with a thouſand Horſe, where he ſtayed eight dayes, is there moſt Royally Feaſted by the King of *France*, and he as royally Feaſts the King of *France* againe. But it is the *Londoners* and the *Jewes* that are like to pay for all. For comming home about *Chriſtmas*, when the *Londoners* preſented him with a hundred pounds in money, and afterwards with two hundred pounds in Plate: it was ſo ſleighted, and ſo ill taken, that a hole was preſently found in their coate, for an eſcape of a Priſoner, which coſt them three thouſand Markes: Yet was not this enough, but he takes good Fleeces from the *Jews*, and then lets them out to Farme to his Brother *Richard*, for a great ſumme of money, and he to make what more of them he could.

Yet after all this he complaines of his Debts, which he ſaith are at leaſt three hundred thouſand Markes, which muſt needes be the heavyer to him, becauſe he had diminiſhed his owne meanes, by the allowance of fifteene thouſand Markes *per annum* to his Sonne the Prince. The onely hope is in the Parliament, but a Parliament being called, they fall preſently upon their old Grievances, complaining upon the King for breach of Charters, and renuing their Claime, to have the Chiefe Juſticiar, the Chancellour and Treaſurer, to be choſen by themſelves: ſo nothing was done for the King at this time, and the Parliament being prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, as little then, by reaſon many of the Peeres came not, as not being ſummoned according to the tenour of *Magna Charta*. And now while the King was uſing meanes to winde himſelfe out of Debt, there happened occaſions to put him further in; For now *Thomas* Earle of *Savoy*, the Queenes Brother, being at warre with the City of *Thurin*, muſt be ſupplyed with money towards it by the King of *England*: Now the Elect Biſhop of *Toledo* the King of *Spaines* Brother, comes into *England*, and muſt be ſumptuouſly Feaſted, and have great gifts preſented him: Now *Eleanor* the Princes Wife, arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and muſt all be entertained at the Kings charge, and have no ſmall preſents given them at their departure. Now comes *Ruſſandus* from the Pope, with power to Collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Popes uſe and the Kings, and to abſolve;

ſolve him from his Oath of the Holy warre, ſo he would come to deſtroy *Manfred* Sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, now in poſſeſſion of the kingdome of *Sicilie*, and *Apulia*. And this man likewiſe hath great gifts beſtowed upon him, beſides a rich Prebend in *Yorke*. But the Pope by too much ſeeking his profit, loſeth credit and all, for the Clergy ſleights him, and will give him nothing: and when he would have borrowed of the Earle of *Cornwall* five hundred Markes, the Earle anſwered, he liked not to lend his money to one, upon whom he could not Diſtraine. But King *Henries* greateſt charge, was his purchaſing a kingdome for his Sonne *Edmund*; for now comes the Biſhop of *Bononia* from the Pope, with a Ring of Inveſtiture to Prince *Edmund*, in the kingdome of *Sicilie*, which he pretends to be at his diſpoſing; and King *Henry* takes it in ſo good earneſt, that after this he cals his Sonne *Edmund* by no other name then King of *Sicilie*. But all this was done by the Pope, but to angle away King *Henries* money, as indeed upon this hope, he had drawne the King into the engagement of a hundred and fifty thouſand Markes; for to draw the King on, it was given out that the Pope had defeated all *Manfreds* Forces, and was thereby in poſſeſſion of the kingdome, when the truth was, that *Manfred* had defeated the Popes Forces, and was thereby himſelfe eſtabliſhed in the kingdome.

The yeare 1275. the King keepes his *Chriſtmas* at *Wincheſter*, where new Grievances ariſe. The Merchants of *Gaſcogny*, having their Wines taken from them by the Kings Officers without ſatisfaction; complaine to their Lord the Prince, he to his Father, and his Father having beene informed before-hand by his Officers, that their clamour was unjuſt; as relying upon the Princes favour; he falls into a great rage with the Prince, and breakes out into theſe words: See! now my Blood and my owne Bowels impugne me: but afterwards pacified, he gives order the injuries ſhould be redreſſed. And now the Princes Followers themſelves come to be a Grievance, who relying upon their Maſter commit many outrages, and ſpoyle and wrong men at their pleaſure, and the Prince himſelfe is not altogether free, of whom it is ſaid, that meeting a young man travailing by the way, he cauſed one of his eares to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be put out: and many ſuch prankes plaid by him and his Followers in *Wales*, made the *Welſh* breake out into open Rebellion, which the Prince would faine have ſuppreſſed, but there was no money to be had towards the doing it. And now the King fals to ſhifts, he comes into the Chequer himſelfe, and there layes penalties upon Sheriffes, that returne not their moneys in due time; then he fals upon meaſures of Wine and Ale, upon Buſhels and Weights, and ſomething he gets; but *London* is his beſt Cheqner, and every yeare commonly he hath one quarrell or other to the *Londoners*, and they are ſure to pay. And now fals out an accident, ſeeming of great honour, but certainely of no profit to the kingdome. *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings Brother is Elected King of the *Romans*, for although *Alphonſus* King of *Spaine* the great Mathematician were his Competitour, yet Earle *Richards* money wrought more then his Learning, and the Arch-biſhop of *Collen* comes over to fetch him, and Crowned he is at *Aquiſgrane*. This Earle of *Cornwall* is reported able to diſpend a hundred Markes a day, for ten yeares, beſides his Revenues in *England*. But now, as a man that payes deare for an Office, lookes that his Office ſhould pay him againe: So Earle *Richard* having given infinitely to compaſſe this Advancement, looked to helpe himſelfe againe by the Place; and this, and the deſire he had to revenge himſelfe upon thoſe that had oppoſed his Election, made him take ſuch violent courſes that he came ſoone to be diſpoſſeſſed, forſaken, and forced to returne into *England* a poorer King, then he went out an Earle.

Alls done in the contention betweene the King and his Barons.

NOw King *Henry* very proud to have his younger ſonne a King as well as his brother, cals a Parliament, wherein he brings forth his ſonne *Edmund*, clad in *Sicilian* habit, and tels the Parliament, that for advancing this ſonne of his to the

kingdome of *Sicilie*, he had bound himselfe under covenant of losing his kingdome in the summe of an hundred and forty thousand Markes, and hoped they would not thinke much to aide him with money for so great an advancement: but the Parliament stood firme to their usuall condition of *Magna Charta*; so as that might be confirmed, they were content to give two and fifty thousand Marks, but this gave the King no satisfaction. The yeare after, another Parliament is holden at *London*, wherein upon the Kings pressing them againe for meanes to pay his debts to the Pope; the Lords tell him plainely, they will not yeeld to give him any thing for any such purpose; and give their reasons, and withall repeate their owne grievances, his breach of promise, the insolencie of his brothers, and specially *William de Valence*, who had given the lie to the Earle of *Leycester*, and no right done him in it; and many such things, which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himselfe, and tels them how he had often by ill counsell beene seduced; but promiseth by his Oath which he tooke on the Tombe of Saint *Edward*, to reforme all those errours. But the Lords not well knowing how to deale in this businesse, as being divided betweene a desire to satisfie the King, and a desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withall the variablenesse of the Kings nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned to Saint *Barnabies* day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In which meane time, the Earles *Gloceſter*, *Leyceſter*, *Hereford*, the Earle Marshall *Bigod*, *Spenser*, and other great men confederate, and provide by Armes to effect their desire: and here is the foundation laid of those bloudy wars that ensued betweene King *Henry* and his Barons. And now the King being put to his shifts for money, gets the Abbot of *Westminster* to put his Seale and that of his Covent to a Deed Obligatory, as a surety for two hundred Markes, making account, that by his example, others would be drawne to doe the like: but his trusty servant *Simon Passeleve* being imployed to other Monasteries, and telling them amongst other reasons to perswade them, that the King was Lord of all they had, they onely answered, they acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet so, as to defend, not to destroy the same: and this was all he could get of them. The Prince also in no lesse want then his Father, is driven to morgage his Towne of *Stamford*, *Brahan*, and many other things, to *William de Valence*, a *Poictovin*, wherby appeared the disorder of the time, when the Prince was in want, and strangers had such plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, whither the Lords come attended with large traines: and here they beginne with the expostulation of the former Liberties, requiring that the Chiefe Justiciar, the Chancellour and Treasurer may be ordained by publike choyce; and that the twenty foure Conservatours of the kingdome may be confirmed, twelve by the election of the Lords, and twelve by the King, with whatsoever else made for their imagined security. The King seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, sweares solemnly againe to the confirmation of them, and causeth the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords left not here, the Kings brethren, the *Poictovins*, and other strangers must presently be removed; and this also, though with some little opposition, was at last concluded: and thereupon the Kings brethren and their followers are despoyled of all their fortunes, and exiled by proscription under the Kings owne hand, directed to the Earles of *Hereford* and *Surrey*. But now sickenesse and mortality happening to many great ones, it is imputed to poysons, supposed to have beene prepared by those strangers proscribed; the Earle of *Gloceſter* in a sickenesse, suddenly lost his haire, his teeth, his nailes; and his brother hardly escaped death; which made many to suspect their neerest servants, and their Cookes: *Walter Scoynie* the Earle Steward, is strictly examined, committed to prison, and afterward without confession, is upon presumptions onely executed at *Winchester*: *Elias* a converted *Jew*, is said to have confessed, that in his house the poyson was confected; but it was when he was a *Jew*, and not a Christian. Every man that had received any wrong by those strangers, now put up their complaints, and are heard. *Guydo de Rochfort* a *Poictovin*, to whom the King had given the Castle of *Rochester*, is banished, and all his goods

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confiscate. *William Bussy*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and most reproachfully used. *Richard Gray*, whom the Lords had made Captaine of *Dover* Castle, is set to intercept whatsoever the *Poictouins* convaied that way out of *England*, and much treasure of theirs, and of the elect of *Winchester* is by him taken, besides great summes committed to the new Temple are found out, and seised for the King.

And now the new Chiefe Justiciar *Hugh Bigod*, brother to the Earle Marshall, (chosen this last Parliament by publike voyce) procures that foure knights in every Shire should inquire of the oppressions of the poore, done by great men; and certifie the same, that redresse might be made. Also order was taken against corrupting of justice; when yet notwithstanding this pretended care of the publike, it is noted by the Writers and Records of that time, how the Lords were themselves but as *totidem tyranni*, enforcing the services of the Kings tenants that dwelt neare them. But to make their cause the more popular, it was rumored that the King stood upon it, that his necessity must be supplied out of the estates of his people, whether they would or no: which the King hearing, sends forth Proclamation, declaring how certaine malitious persons had falsely and seditiously reported, that he meant unlawfully to charge his subjects, and subvert the Lawes and Liberties of the kingdome, and by these false suggestions, averted the hearts of his people from him: and therefore desires them not to give credit to such perturbers: for that he was ready to defend all Rights and Customes due unto them: and that they might rest of this secured, he caused his Letters to be made Patents. But now *Montford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spenser*, inforce the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where they get the authority of the twenty foure to be estated wholly upon themselves, and they alone to dispose of the custody of the Castles, and other businesses of the kingdom: and here they bind the King to lose to them their Legall obedience whensoever he infringed his Charter. At this time intelligence was given to the Lords, that *Richard* King of the *Romans* had a purpose to come into *England*; and the Lords suspecting he would come with power to aide the King his brother, take order for guarding the Ports, with intent to hinder his landing: but finding his traine to be but small, accompanied onely with his Queene, two *German* Earles, and eight knights: upon his promise to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to land, but would nether permit the King (who came thither to meete him) nor himselfe to enter into *Dover* Castle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter house, where the Earle of *Gloceſter* standing forth in the midst, cals out the Earle, not by the name of King, but *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*; who in reverent manner comming forth, taketh his Oath in these words. *Heare all men, that I* Richard *Earle of* Cornwall, *doe here sweare upon the holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithfull and diligent to reforme with you the Kingdome of* England, *and be an effectuall Coadjutor to expell all Rebels and disturbers of the same; and this Oath will inviolably observe, under paine of losing all the Land I have in* England: *so helpe me God.* But though this Earle came home but weake and poore, yet upon his returne the King takes heart, and seeks all meanes to vindicate his power: and first sends messengers secretly to *Rome*, to be Absolved from his enforced Oath; and to have the more assurance from the King of *France*, he makes an absolute resignation of all his Right to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earledomes of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Tourene*, and *Maine*: in regard whereof, the King of *France* gives him three hundred thousand pounds (some say Crownes) of *Anjouin* money; and grants him to enjoy all *Guyen*, beyond the River *Garonne*, all the Countrey of *Xantoigne* to the River of *Charente*, the Countrey of *Limousin* and *Quercy*, for him and his successours, doing their homage to the Crowne of *France*, as Duke of *Aquitaine*. And now was the King of *France* made Arbiter of the difference betweene King *Henry* and his Barons, who gives sentence against the Barons concerning the Provisions at *Oxford*; but of their side concerning King *Johns* Charter: by which nice distinction, though he did but leave the matter as he found it: (for those Provisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his sentence draw

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many away from the party of the Barons, amongſt whom was *Henry* ſonne to the Earle of *Cornwall*, *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de Leisbourne*, *Haimo Leſtrange*, and many others. But the Earle of *Leyceſter*, notwithſtanding this revolt, recovers the Town and Caſtle of *Glaceſter*; conſtraines the Citizens to pay a thouſandpounds for their redemption; goes with an Army to *Worceſter*, poſſeſſeth him of the Caſtle, thence to *Shrewsbery*, and ſo comes about to the Ile of *Ely*, ſubdues the ſame, and growes exceeding powerfull. The King doubting his approach to *London*, fals to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon theſe conditions; that all the Caſtles of the King ſhould be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Proviſions of *Oxford* ſhould inviolably be kept; all ſtrangers by a certaine time ſhould avoid the kingdome, except onely ſuch as were licenſed to ſtay. The Prince had fortified *Windſor* Caſtle; but *Leyceſter* comming to beſiege it, he treats with him for Peace, which is refuſed, and the Caſtle is rendred to him.

The King at this time, to win time, convokes another Parliament at *London*, wherin he won many Lords to take his part; as namely the Prince *Richard* his brother, *Henry* his ſon, *William Valence*, with the reſt of his brothers lately returned, and with them the King marcheth to *Oxford*, whither divers Lords of *Scotland* repaire to him; as *John Commin*, *John Bayliol*, Lords of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce*, and others: alſo many Barons of the North; *Clifford*, *Percey*, *Baſſet*, and others. From *Oxford* he goes to *Northampton*, where he tooke priſoners, *Simon Montford* the younger, with foureteene other principall men; thence to *Nottingham*, making ſpoyles of ſuch poſſeſſions as pertained to the Barons in thoſe parts. And now the Kings ſide growes ſtrong, which the Earles of *Leyceſter* and *Glaceſter* ſeeing, they write to the King, proteſting their loyalty, and how they oppoſed onely ſuch as were enemies to him and the kingdome, and had belied them. The King returnes anſwer, that themſelves were the perturbers of him and his State, and ſought his and the kingdomes deſtruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewiſe and the Earle of *Cornwall* ſend letters of defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and ſend the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter*, with offer of thirty thouſand Markes to the King, for the dammages done in theſe warres, ſo as the Statutes of *Oxford* may be obſerved; but this offer is not accepted. The Earle ſeeing no remedy, but it muſt be put to a day; takes his time to be earlier ready then was expected, and ſupplies his want of ſtrength with policie, placing on the one ſide of a hill neare *Lewis*, where the battell was fought, certaine Enſignes without men, in ſuch ſort, as they might ſeeme a farre off, to be Squadrons of ſuccours to ſecond thoſe he brought to the encounter, whom he cauſed all to weare white Croſſes, both for their owne notice, and the ſignification of his cauſe, which he would have to be thought for juſtice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornwall*, and his ſonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arundell* and *Hereford*, with all the Scottiſh Lords, are taken priſoners; the Eale *Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Luſignan*, the Kings brothers, with *Hugh Bigod* Earle Marſhall, ſave themſelves by flight: five thouſand (ſome ſay twenty thouſand) others are ſlaine in the battell. A yeare and a halfe is *Simon Montford* in poſſeſſion of his priſoners, carrying the King about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten all the ſtrongeſt Caſtles in the kingdome.

And now comes *Erinnys* and ſets debabte betweene the two great Earles of *Leyceſter* and *Glaceſter*, about their Dividend: *Leyceſter* is taxed to doe more for his owne particular then the common good, his ſonnes alſo preſuming upon his greatneſſe, grew inſolent; whereupon *Glaceſter* diſcontented, forſakes that ſide, and betakes him to the Prince, who lately eſcaping out of the Caſtle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him to try the fortune of another battell. The revolt of this Earle being great in it ſelfe, was greater by its example; for now many others revolted likewiſe: and the Earle of *Leyceſter* ſeeing the improvement of the Princes forces, who was now with his Army about *Worceſter*, though he ſaw his owne diſadvantage, yet imbattels in a Plaine neare *Eveſham* to encounter him, and noting the manner of the approach of the Princes Army, ſaid to thoſe about him; Theſe

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men come bravely on, they learne it not of themselves, but of me; and seeing himselfe likely to be beset, and overlaid with multitude, he advised his friends, *Hugh Spenser*, *Ralph Basset*, and others, to shift for themselves; which when they refused to doe, then (saith he) let us commend our soules to God, for our bodies are theirs: and so undertaking the maine weight of the battell, perished under it; and with him are slaine, his sonne *Henry*, eleven Barons, with many thousands of common Souldiers. And thus ended *Montford* the great Earle of *Leycester*, highly honoured in his life, and more highly should have beene after his death, if the people might have had their will, who talkt of Miracles enough to have made him a Saint.

And now is King *Henry* by this victory of his sonne, at liberty; who together repaire to *Winchester*, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to the Earle *Montford* are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure; the *Londoners* also have their Liberties taken from them. But though the death of *Montford* gave a great wound to the party of the Barons, yet it was not mortall, at least not mortal presently, for there remained reliques that kept it alive a good while after. *Simon* and *Guy de Montford*, sons of the Earle of *Leycester*, and other of the Barons, take and defend the Ile of *Ely*: the Castle of *Killingworth* held out halfe a yeare, till their victuals failed; and then yeelded upon conditions to have their lives and goods saved: and many others there were, resolute and desperate persons, strongly knit and fastned together, though now shortly upon dissolving. For after the Parliament at *Westminster*, the King with an Army going against them, and being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Montford* submit themselves to him: but when the Earle of *Gloucester* opposed the restoring them to their estates, they were faine to flie the kingdome, and make their fortunes in other Countries, as indeed they did; the younger in *Italy*, the elder in *France*, where they were Propatours of two great Families. Their mother was banisht shortly after the battell of *Evesham*, a Lady of eminent note, as being the daughter and sister of a King; and yet of more note for her patient bearing of adversity, or rather for her making a benefit of adversity; for by this meanes she betooke her selfe to the veile of piety, and died a Nunne at *Montarges* in *France*.

Three yeares after this, the disinherited Barons held out, till at length, conditions of render are propounded; but here the Councell are divided in opinion: *Mortimer* and others stated in the possessions of the disinherited, are against restoration; alleadging, it were injustice to take from them the rewards of their service. *Gloucester*, and the twelve ordained to deale for the peace of the State, are earnest for restoration; alleadging, it were hard measure to grant them their lives, & not their livelihoods: but not prevailing, in great discontentment *Gloucester* retires from Court, sends messengers to warne the King to remove strangers from his counsell, and observe the Provisions at *Oxford*, as he promised at *Evesham*: otherwise that he should not marvell if himselfe did what he thought fit. Hereupon *John de Warren*, Earle of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia* are sent to the Earle of *Gloucester*: who though they could not perswade him to submit to the King; yet thus much they got of him under his hand and seale, that he would never beare Armes against the King or his sonne *Edward*, but onely defend himselfe, and pursue *Roger Mortimer* and his other enemies. And now a Parliament is convoked at *Bury*, wherein many demands are made by the King and the Legat, and all for money from the Clergy; but all denied, that nothing but denials are done in this Parliament. After this, the Legat imployes Solicitours to perswade the disinherited Lords which held the Ile of *Ely*, to returne to the faith and unity of the Church, and to the peace of the King, according to the forme propounded at *Coventry*: to which the Lords make answer, that they never opposed the unity of the Church, but the avarice of Church-men that were put in authority; and that they never opposed the King, but for the good of the kingdome: and then required that the Provisions of *Oxford* might be observed, and pledges be given them for their security. Hereupon the yeare after, the King prepares a mighty Army, and Prince *Edward* with bridges

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entring the Ile of *Ely*, shuts them up so, that he constraines them at last to yeeld; also the Earle of *Gloucester* comming to *London* with an Army, is by the Legat once againe perswaded to render himselfe to the King, and upon forfeiture of twelve thousand Markes if ever he should raise any commotion againe, is reconciled. Now remaines *Lewlin* and the *Welsh*, to be chastened for aiding of *Simon Montford*; but the King going against them with an Army, they give him two and thirty thousand pounds Sterling, and so make their peace. And here was an end of the first warres betweene the Kings of *England* and their Barons. The next yeare after the Popes Legat *Ottobon* signes with the Croysado both the Kings sonnes, *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Earle of *Gloucester*, and divers Noble men induced to undertake the Holy warre, by the sollicitation of him and the King of *France*: who notwithstanding his former calamities endured in that action, would once again adventure it: and because Prince *Edward* wanted meanes to furnish himselfe out, the King of *France* lends him thirty thousand Markes upon a morgage of *Gascoyne*. And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the peace of the kingdome, and to reforme the excesses which the warre had bred; and the same yeare assembles his last Parliament at *Marleborough*, where the Statutes of that title were enacted. Neare two yeeres it seemes to have beene after the undertaking the Crosse before Prince *Edward* set forth; but then taking his wife *Eleanor* with him, though young with childe, he set forward; and in the voyage, when many of his people seemed desirous to leave him, and returne home, he is said to have strucken his breast, and sworne, that if all his followers forsooke him, he would yet enter *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, though but onely with his horse-keeper *Fowin*. Shortly after *Richard* King of the *Romans* died, and the yeare following King *Henry*.

Of his Taxations, and wayes for raising of money.

NEver sonne was more like a Father in any thing, then King *Henry* was like his Father King *John*, in this point, for raising of money; for he trode directly in all his steps, if he added not something of his owne. King *John* had great Subsidies granted him by Parliament, for any great action he undertooke, so had King *Henry*. King *John* resumed the lands alienes from the Crowne, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of the vacancie of Bishopricks and Abbeys, so did King *Henry*. K. *John* took great Fines of many for crimes not proved, but onely supposed, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of a new Seale, so did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great summes from the *Jewes*, so did King *Henry*. And one way more he had to get money, which perhaps his Father had not, and that was by begging, as he told the Abbot of *Borough*; It was more Almes to give money to him, then to the Begger that went from doore to doore. Indeed Taxations in this Kings Raigne may be reckoned amongst his Annuall Revenues, for scarce any yeare passed without a Parliament, and seldome any Parliament without a Taxe; or if any sometimes without, it was then cause of the greater Taxation some other way; as when he tooke of the *Londoners* for having aided the Barons, twenty thousand Markes.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

IN this Kings Raigne were ratified and confirmed the two great Charters of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*: also in his time were enacted the Statutes called of *Merton*, of *Oxford*, and of *Marleborough*. Also stealing of cattell, which before was but Pecuniary, he made capitall: and the first that suffered for the same, was one of *Dunstable*, who having stollen twelve Oxen from the Inhabitants of *Colne*, and being pursued to *Redburne*, was by a Bailiffe of Saint *Albons*, according to the Kings Proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may seeme strange that in these times so much bloud should be shed in the field, and none upon the

ſcaffold, for till the twenty ſixth yeare of this King, that one *William Mariſe*, the ſonne of *Geoffrey Mariſe*, a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned for Piracie and Treaſon, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered, there is no example of that kinde of puniſhment to be found in our Hiſtories. Particularly in this Kings Raigne was made that Statute, by which the Ward and marriage of the heires of Barons within age, is given to the King. Alſo in this Kings Raigne the Pleas of the Crowne were pleaded in the Tower of *London*. All Weares in the *Thames* are in this Kings time ordained to be pluck'd up and deſtroyed. Alſo the Citizens of *London* are allowed by Charter, to paſſe Toll-free through all *England*, and to have free Warren about *London*, alſo to have and uſe a common Seale. Alſo it was ordained that no Sheriffe of *London* ſhould continue in his office longer then one yeare, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth yeare of this King were Aldermen firſt choſen within the City of *London*, which then had the rule of the City, and of the Wards of the ſame, and were then yearely changed, as now the Sheriffes are. It was in this Kings time allowed to the City of *London*, to preſent their Major to the Barons of the Exchequer to be ſworne, which before was to be preſented to the King, whereſoever he were. In his time the clauſe *Non obſtante* (brought in firſt by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his grants and writings. Alſo in this Kings time, *William* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, firſt cauſed that cuſtome to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordſhip are bound to owe their ſuite to the Lords Court, of whom they hold their Tenements.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

AFfaires of the Church for matter of Doctrine, were never more quiet then in this Kings Raigne; for now all Hereſies accounted of the time, eſpecially the *Albigenſes* were in a manner ſuppreſſed by the Armes of the King of *France*, not without the Vote of the King of *England*, who forbore to make warre upon him in tenderneſſe to this ſervice; but for matter of manners, they were never more turbulent: for now Abbeys were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy-men outraged, Biſhops themſelves not ſpared, and all for greedineſſe of money, or for revenge. *Ottobone* the Popes Legat here in *England*, lying at the Abbey of *Oſeney*, there happened a difference betweene his ſervants and the Schollers of *Oxford*, in which contention, a brother of his was ſlaine, and the Legat himſelfe faine to fly into the Steeple for ſafegard of his life: whereupon afterward being gotten from thence by the Kings ſafe conduct, he thundred out curſes againſt the Schollers, and interdicted the Univerſity, ſo as the Colledges grew deſolate, and the Students were diſperſed abroad into other places, for the ſpace of halfe a yeare: till the Monkes of *Oſeney*, and the Regent Maſters of *Oxford* were faine to goe bare-foote and bare-head through *London*, as farre as *Durham* houſe, where the Legat lay; and there upon their humble ſubmiſſion, and great mens interceſſion, they were abſolved, and the Univerſity reſtored to its former eſtate. But of this *Ottobone*, it may not be impertinent to relate a little further; that going afterward out of *England*, he came by degrees, after the death of *Innocent* the fifth, to be Pope of *Rome* himſelfe, by the name of *Adrian* the fifth, and died within fifty dayes after his election. Amongſt affaires of the Church, may be reckoned the Ulcers of any member of the Church: ſuch a one as in this Kings time brake out moſt loathſome; for one procuring five wounds to be made in his body, in reſemblance to the five wounds in Chriſts body, tooke upon him to be Chriſt, and had gotten a Woman, that tooke upon her to be the Virgin *Mary*; who continuing obſtinate in their madneſſe, were adjudged to be immured and ſhut up betweene two wals, to the end (no doubt) the contagion of their filthineſſe ſhould ſpread no further. In this Kings time, a little novelty was firſt brought in by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who ordained that Cardinals ſhould weare red Hats: ſomething perhaps for myſtery, and ſomething for diſtinction.

Workes of piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King cauſed a cheſt of Gold to be made for laying up the Reliques of King *Edward* the Confeſſour, in the Church of *Weſtminſter*. Hee builded a Church for converted *Jewes* in *London*: alſo an Hoſpitall at *Oxford*, for paſſengers and diſeaſed perſons: alſo the new Coventuall Church and the Chappell of our Lady at *Weſtminſter*, whereof hee laid himſelfe the firſt ſtone: alſo the houſe of *Black-Friers* in *Canterbury*. In his time, *Ela* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, founded the Abbey of *Lacok* in *Wiltſhire*; *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, founded *Hayles* a Monaſtery of Ciſterſian Monkes neare to *Winchcombe* in *Gloceſterſhire*: *Reginold de Moun*, Earle of *Somerſet*, and Lord of *Dunſter*, founded the Abbey of *Newham* in *Devonſhire*: *Randulph* the third Earle of *Cheſter*, and Lord of little *Britaine*, builded the Caſtles of *Chartley*, *Beſtone*, and the Abbey of *Dela Creſſe*: Sir *John Manſell* the Kings Chaplaine, founded a houſe of Regular Chanons neare to *Rumney* in *Kent*: *William de Albineto* Earle of *Arundell*, founded the Priory of *Wimondham*: *William Brune*, a Citizen of *London*, and *Roſia* his wife, founded the Hoſpitall of our Lady without *Biſhopſgate* in *London*: And *Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Arundell*, founded the Nunnery of *Marran* neare to *Linne*. *Friers Minors* firſt arrived at *Dover*, nine in number, whereof five remained at *Canterbury*, and there builded the firſt Covent of Friers Minors that ever was in *England*: the other foure came to *London*, who encreaſing in number, had a place aſſigned them in Saint *Nicholas Shambles*, which *John Iwyn*, Mercer of *London*, appropriated to the uſe of the ſaid Friers, and became himſelfe a Lay brother. Alſo in this Kings time the new worke of Saint *Pauls* Church in *London* was begunne. If it were piety in the *Jew*, who falling into a Privie upon a Saterday, would not be taken out that day, becauſe it was the *Jewes* Sabbath: It was as much piety in the Earle of *Gloceſter*, that would not ſuffer him to be taken out the next day, becauſe it was the Chriſtian Sabbath; and when the third day he was taken out dead, whoſe piety was the greater? A ſtrange accident upon an act of piety, is related in this Kings time; which if true, is a Miracle, if not true, is yet a Legend, and not unworthy to be read: that in a time of dearth, one man in a certaine Pariſh, who allowed poore people to relieve themſelves with taking Corne upon his ground, had at Harveſt a plentifull crop, where others that denied them, had their Corne all blaſted, and nothing worth. In this Kings time alſo, *Hugh Balſamus*, Biſhop of *Ely*, founded Saint *Peters* Colledge in *Cambridge*. *Hubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, was buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers in *London*, to which Church he gave his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, which afterward the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* bought, and made it his Inne; ſince commonly called *Yorke* place, now *White-Hall*.

Caſualties happening in his time.

AT one time there fell no Raine in *England*, from the firſt of *March* to the *Aſſumption* of our Lady; and at another time there fell ſo much Raine, that *Holland* and *Holdernes* in *Lincolneſhire* were over-flowed and drowned. In the ſeventeenth yeare of his Raign, were ſeene five Suns at one time together, after which followed ſo great a Dearth, that people were conſtrained to eate horſe fleſh, and barkes of Trees: and in *London* twenty thouſand were ſtarved for want of foode. Alſo in his time the Church of Saint *Mildred* in *Canterbury*, and a great part of the City was burnt. Alſo the Towne of *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine* was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may ſeeme no fit place to tell it, yet here or no where it muſt be told; that in this Kings time there was ſent by the King of *France*, the firſt Elephant that ever was ſeene in *England*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE marryed *Eleanor*, the ſecond of the five Daughters of *Raymond* Earle of *Provence*, who lived his Wife thirty ſeven yeares, his Widow nineteene, dyed a Nun at *Aimesbury*, and was buryed in her Monaſtery. By her, he had ſixe Sonnes, and three Daughters: of his Sonnes, the foure youngeſt dyed young, and were buryed, three of them at *Weſtminſter*, and the fourth in the New Temple by *Fleetſtreet*. His eldeſt Sonne *Edward*, ſurnamed *Longſhanke*, of his tall and ſlender body, ſucceeded him in the kingdome. His ſecond Sonne *Edmund*, ſurnamed *Crouch-backe*, of bowing in his backe, (as ſome ſay) but more likely of wearing the ſigne of the Croſſe, (anciently called a Crouch) upon his backe, which was uſually worne of ſuch as had vowed voyages to *Hieruſalem*, as he had done: He was inveſted Titular King of *Sicilie* and *Apulia*, and created Earle of *Lancaſter*, on whoſe perſon originally the great contention of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* was Founded. He had two Wives, the firſt was *Avelin*. Daughter and Heire of *William* Earle of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no iſſue. The ſecond was Queene *Blanch*, Daughter of *Robert* Earle of *Artois*, (Brother of Saint *Lewis* King of *France*) Widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne* King of *Navarre*: by her he had iſſue three Sonnes, and one Daughter. His eldeſt Sonne *Thomas*, who after his Father was Earle of *Lancaſter*, and having marryed *Alice*, Daughter and Heire of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without iſſue. His ſecond ſonne *Henry* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his Brothers death was Earle of *Lancaſter*, and Father of *Henry* the firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*: his third Sonne *John*, who dyed unmarryed. His Daughter *Mary* marryed to *Henry* Lord *Percy*, Mother of *Henry* the firſt Earle of *Northumberland*. This *Edmund* dyed at *Bay* in *Gaſcoyne*, in the yeare 1296. when he had lived fifty yeares, whoſe body halfe a yeare after his death was brought over into *England* and entombed at *Weſtminſter*. Of King *Henries* three Daughter, the eldeſt *Margaret* was marryed to *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, by whom ſhe had iſſue, two Sonnes, *Alexander* and *David*; who dyed both before their Father, without iſſue, and one Daughter *Margaret* Queene of *Norway*, Wife of King *Erike*, and Mother of *Margaret* the Heire of *Scotland* and *Norway*, that dyed unmarryed. The ſecond Daughter of King *Henry* was *Beatrice*, borne at *Burdeaux*, marryed to *John* the firſt Duke of *Britaine*, and had iſſue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, *John* Earle of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* marryed to *Philip* Sonne of *Robert* Earle of *Artois*, *Eleanor* a Nunne at *Aimesbury*, and *Mary* marryed to *Guy* Earle of S. *Paul*, ſhe deceaſed in *Britaine*, and was buryed at *London*, in the Quire of the Gray Fryers within *Newgate*. The third Daughter of King *Henry*, named *Katherine*, dyed young, and lies buryed at *Weſtminſter*, in the ſpace betweene the Chappels of King *Edward* and Saint *Benet*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of ſtature but meane, yet of a well compacted body, and very ſtrong: one of his eyelids hanging downe, and almoſt covering the blacke of his Eye: For his inward endowments, it may be ſaid, he was wiſer for a man, then for a Prince; for he knew better how to governe his life then his Subjects. He was rather Pious then Devout, as taking more pleaſure in hearing Maſſes then Sermons, as he ſaid to the King of *France*, He had rather ſee his Friend once, then heare from him often. His minde ſeemed not to ſtand firme upon its Baſis, for every ſudden accident put him into paſſion. He was neither conſtant in his love, nor in his hate; for he never had ſo great a Favorite whom he caſt not into diſgrace, nor ſo great an Enemy whom he received not into favour. An example of both which qualities was ſeene in his carriage towards *Hubert de Burgh*, who was for a time his greateſt Favourite, yet caſt out afterward in miſerable diſgrace, and then no man held in greater hatred, yet received afterward into grace againe. And

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it is memorable to heare with what crimes this *Hubert* was charged at his Arraignment, and specially one: That to dissuade a great Lady from marriage with the King, he had said, the King was a squint-eyed Foole, and a kinde of Leper, deceitfull, perjured, more faint-hearted then a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Noble Ladies company. For which, and other crimes laid to his charge in the Kings Bench, where the King himselfe was present; he was adjudged to have his Lands confiscate, and to be deprived of his title of Earle; yet after all this, was restored to his estate againe, and suffered to live in quiet. He was more desirous of money then of honour, for else he would never have sold his Right to the two great Dukedomes of *Normandy* and *Anjou* to the King of *France* for a Summe of money. Yet he was more desirous of honour then of quietnesse, for else he would never have contended so long with his Barons about their Charter of Liberty, which was upon the matter, but a point of Honour. His most eminent vertue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his Continency, for there is nothing read, either of any base children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

Of his Death and Buriall.

THough he had lived a troublesome life, yet he dyed a quiet death; for he had setled Peace in his kingdome, and in his Conscience. For being at Saint *Edmundsbury*, and finding himselfe not well at ease, he made the more hast to *London*; where calling before him his Lords, and specially *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Gloceſter*; he exhorted them to be true and faithfull to his Sonne Prince *Edward*, who was at that time farre from home, and therefore had the more need of their care, which consisted chiefly in their agreement one with another. And then, his sickneſſe encreasing, he yeelded up his Soule to God, on the sixteenth day of *November*, in the yeare 1272. when he had lived threescore and five yeares, Raigned five and fifty, and was buryed at *Weſtminſter*, which he had newly Builded.

Of Men of note in his time.

OF Martial men famous in his time there were many, but three specially who obscured the rest: The first was *William Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke*, memorable for the great care he had of King *Henry* in his minority, and more memorable for the little care, that Destiny had of his Posterity; for leaving five Sonnes behind him, they all lived to be Earles successively, yet all dyed without issue: So as the great name and numerous Family of the *Marshals* came wholly to be extinct in that Generation. The second was *Richard de Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter*, who in a Battaile against *Baldwyn de Giſnes*, a valiant *Fleming*, imployed by King *Henry*, himselfe alone encountred twelve of his Enemies, and having his Horse slaine under him, he pitcht one of them by the legge out of the saddle, and leapt into it himselfe, and continued the fight without giving ground, till his Army came to rescue him. An Act that may seeme fitter to be placed amongst the Fictions of knights Errant, then in a true Narration. The third was *Simon Montford*, a man of so audacious a spirit, that he gave King *Henry* the lye to his face, and that in presence of all his Lords; and of whom it seemes, the King stood in no small feare: for passing one time upon the *Thames*, and suddenly taken with a terrible storme of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be set ashore at the next Staires, which happened to be at *Durham* House, where *Montford* then lay, who comming downe to meet the King, and perceiving him somewhat frighted with the Thunder, said unto him, Your Majesty need not feare the Thunder, the danger is now past: No *Montford* (said the King) I feare not the Thunder so much as I doe thee. Of men famous for Sanctity of life, there were likewise many in his time, but three more eminent then the rest, *Edmund* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Bishop of *Chicheſter*, and *Thomas* Arch-deacon of *Hereford*; All three either Canonized, or at least thought

thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To these may be added *Robert Grosshead* Bishop of *Lincolne*, who Translated the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, out of Greeke into Latine; which through envy of the Jewes never came to the knowledge of Saint *Hierome*, wherein are many Prophesies of our Saviour Christ. Of men famous for learning there were likewise many in his time; of whom, some left workes behinde them for testimonies of their knowledge in divers kindes, as *Alexander Hales* a Fryer Minor, who wrote many Treatises in Divinity; *Ralph Coggeshall*, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of *Ralph Niger*; *Randulph* Earle of *Chester*, the third and last of that name, who compiled a Booke of the Lawes of *England*; *Henry Bracton*, who wrote the Booke commonly called by his name, *De Consuetudinibus Anglicanis*; and besides these, *Hugh Kirkestead*, *Richard* of *Ely*, *Peter Henham*, *John Gyles*, and *Nicholas Fernham*, excellent Physitians; *Richard* surnamed *Theologus*, and *Robert Bacon*, two notable Divines; *Stephen Langthon*, *Richard Pisaker*, *Simon Stokes*, *John of Kent*, *William Shirwood*, *Michael Blaunpaine*, *John Godard*, *Vincent* of *Coventry*, *Albericke Veer*, *Richard Wish*, *John Basing*, *Roger Waltham*, *William Seningham*, and others.

THE

THE LIFE and RAIGNE OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST. Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

Of his comming to the Crowne,

AS soone as King *Henry* was dead and buryed, the great Lords of the Land caused his eldest Sonne Prince *Edward* to be proclaimed King: and assembling at the New Temple in *London*, they there tooke order for the quiet Governing of the kingdome, till he should come home. For at this time he was absent in the Holy Land; and had beene there above a yeare when his Father dyed. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he suffered in all that time, and in his returne; for at his first comming thither, he rescued the great City of *Acon*, from being surrendred to the Souldan; after which, out of envy to his Valour, one *Anzuzim* a desperate *Saracen*, who had often beene employed to him from their Generall, being one time, upon pretence of some secret message, admitted alone into his Chamber, with a poysoned knife gave him three wounds in the Body, two in the Arme, and one neare the armepit, which were thought to be mortall, and had perhaps beene mortall, if out of unspeakeable love, the Lady *Eleanor* his Wife had not suckt out the poyson of his wounds with her mouth, and thereby effected a cure, which otherwise had beene incurable: and it is no wonder, that love should doe wonders, which is it selfe a wonder. And now being disappointed of Aides that were promised to be sent him, and leaving Garrisons in the places for defence of the Country, he with his Wife *Eleanor* takes his journey homewards, and first passing by *Sicilie*, was there most kindly received by *Charles* King of that Island, where he first heard of his Fathers death, which he tooke more heavily farre, then he had taken the death of his young Sonne *Henry*, whereof he had heard a little before, at which when King *Charles* marvailed, he answered, that other Sonnes might be had, but another Father could never be had. From hence he passeth through *Italy*, where much honour is done him both by the Pope and other Princes; and then descends into *Burgoigne*, where by the Earle of *Chalbon*, a stout man at Armes, he is challenged at a Turneament, with a pretence to solemnize his presence, but with a purpose indeed to disgrace his person; and though Prince *Edward* in many respects might justly

juſtly have refuſed it, yet the nobleneſſe of his mind would not ſuffer him to paſſe by any occaſion of ſhewing his valour, and in this encounter he ſo foiled the Earle, as he made it appeare, that Fame had beene no lyer in the report it made of him. And here a great part of his *Engliſh* Nobility met him, from whence he paſſeth into *France*, where the King *Philip* his neare Couſin (as being Siſters Sonnes) entertaines him with great ſolemnity: and graceth his ſolemnity with ſo much courteſie, that it wonne Prince *Edward* voluntarily to do him homage for the Territories he held in *France*; & this voluntarines in Prince *Edward*, won the King of *France* againe to grant quietly unto him, all the Lands in *France* that belonged to him, and ſo theſe two great Kings by reciprocall courteſie effected that, which their Predeceſſours by force could never effect. From hence he paſſeth through *Aquitaine*, and having there taken homage of his Subjects, and ſet all things in order, he ſet Saile and arrived in *England*, above a yeare after the death of his Father: a long time for plotting of miſchiefe, and a ſtrong temptation to plotters of miſchiefe; if all the cauſes of quietneſſe had not concurred: but ſuch was the worthineſſe of Prince *Edwards* perſon, and ſuch the undoubtedneſſe of his Title, that as there could be no Competitour, ſo there would be no Oppugner. And indeed the Divine Providence had ſhewed a ſpeciall care over him from his Child-hood: whereof one or two Examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this, that being yet but young, and playing one time at Cheſſe with a Friend, in the midſt of his game, without any apparent occaſion, he removed himſelfe from the place where he ſate, when ſuddenly there fell from the roofe of the houſe a great ſtone, which if he had ſtayed in the place but never ſo little had beaten out his braines. Another Example of the Divine Providence over him, (though it happened afterwards) was this: Having prepared a great Fleete of Ships for a journey into *Flanders*, and being at *Winchelſey*, where the Ships were to meete; it happened that riding about the Harbour, his Horſe frighted with the noyſe of a Windmill, which the wind drove violently about, skrambled up and leapt over the Mud wall of the Towne, ſo as neither the King nor the Horſe was to be ſeene, but every one judged the King could not chuſe but be throwne and killed, yet ſuch was the Divine Providence over him, that the Horſe lighted upon his feet, and the King keeping the Saddle returned ſafe. And under the wing of this Divine Providence, he had now paſſed all the dangers of his tedious Journey, and being ſafely come to *London*, was on the fifteenth day of *Auguſt* in the yeare 1274. Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, together with his Wife Queene *Eleanor*, by *Robert Kilwarby* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*: where five hundred great Horſes were let looſe, for any that could take them, and yet the outward ſolemnity was not more great, then the inward joy was univerſall, every man rejoycing, not onely at a change, which of it ſelfe is pleaſing, but at a change ſo much for the better, as this was like to be.

Of his Acts done after he was Crowned.

THe Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfitly be divided into five parts: His Acts with his Temporall Lords; His Acts with his Clergy; Then with *Wales*; Then his Acts with *Scotland*; And laſtly with *France*. And firſt, concerning his Lords, he gave them good contentment in the beginning of his Raigne, by enlarging their liberties, and granting them eaſier Lawes, for which purpoſe he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of *Weſtminſter* the firſt, ſo as he had no difference with them, till toward the end of his Raigne, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. In the next place, concerning his Acts with his Clergy, he began with them betimes; for having lived to be of good age, three or foure and thirty yeares old, in his Fathers Raigne, he obſerved in that time, that their power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their wings; at leaſt to keepe them from farther growing: which he did by theſe meanes: Firſt, in the ſixth yeare of his Raigne, he deprived many chiefe Monaſteries of their Liberties, and tooke from the Abbot and Covent of *Weſtminſter*, the Returne of

Writs

Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father, King *Henry* the third. The next yeare after he got to be enacted the Statute of Mortmaine, to hinder the encreaſe of their Temporall Poſſeſſions. In the ſecond Statute of *Weſtminſter*, he defalked the Juriſdiction of Eccleſiaſticall Judges; and growing more upon them, he required the moity of all their Goods, as well Temporall as Spirituall, for one yeare. Then cals he a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admiſſion of any Church-men in it: And it is worth the noting, that *Marchian* his Treaſurer, acquainting him that in Churches and Religious houſes, there was much treaſure to be had, if it might be taken; he made no ſcruple of it, but cauſed it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not well contented with it, to pleaſe them againe, he bids them aske ſomething of him, wherein they ſhould ſee how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeale the Statute of Mortmaine, that had beene made ſo much to their hinderance; He anſwered, that this was a Statute made by the whole body of the Realme, and therefore was not in his power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undoe that which all the Members together had done; and perhaps whatſoever they ſhould have asked elſe, he would have had an anſwer to redeeme his Offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

In the next place are the *Welſh*, who had themſelves begun with the King: For their Prince *Leolyn* being ſummoned to attend at his Coronation, refuſed to come; and afterward at more leiſure, being required to come and doe his Homage, he ſtood upon termes of ſafe conduct, pretending doubt to be uſed, as his Father *Gryffin* had beene; who upon hard uſage in the Tower, ſeeking to make eſcape, fell from the Walls and brake his necke. But indeed it was alwayes a Cuſtome with this Nation, at every change of Princes in *England*, to try concluſions, hoping at one time or other to have a day of it, and to change their yoke of bondage into liberty; for which they were never better Provided then now; eſpecially (which is the greateſt matter in Warre) having a Valiant Prince to be their Leader. But there happened an accident which tooke off their edge at this time: For the Lady *Eleanor*, a Daughter of the late Earle *Simon Montford*, whom Prince *Leolyn* extreamely loved, being paſſing out of *France* into *Wales*, was by the way upon the Sea taken by *Engliſh* ſhips, and brought to King *Edward*, and for the love of her, Prince *Leolyn* was content to ſubmit himſelfe to any conditions: which beſides ſubjection of his State, was to pay fifty thouſand pounds Sterling, and a thouſand pounds *per annum* during his life; and upon theſe conditions the marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was ſolemnized here in *England*, whereat the King and Queene were themſelves preſent. Three yeares *Leolyn* continued loyall, and within bounds of obedience, in which time *David*, one of his Brothers, ſtaying here in *England*, and found by the King to be of a ſtirring Spirit, was much honoured by him; Knighted, and matched to a rich Widow, Daughter of the Earle of *Darby*, and had given him by the King beſides, the Caſtle of *Denbigh*, with a thouſand pounds *per annum*: though (as it was afterwards found) he lived here but in the nature of a ſpy: For when Prince *Leolyns* Lady was afterward dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into rebellion, then goes his Brother *David* to him, notwithſtanding all theſe Favours of the King: and they together enter the *Engliſh* Borders: Surpriſe the Caſtles of *Flynt* and *Rutland*, with the perſon of the Lord *Clifford*, ſent Juſticiar into thoſe parts: and in a great Battaile overthrew the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, with the ſlaughter of Sir *William Lyndſey*, Sir *Richard Tanny*, and many others. King *Edward* adverriſed of this Revolt and overthrow, being then at the *Vyzes* in *Wiltſhire*, prepares an Army to repreſſe it; but before his ſetting forth, goes privately to his Mother Queene *Eleanor*, lying at the Nunnery of *Ambresbury*, with whom whileſt he conferred, there was one brought into the Chamber, who faigned himſelfe (being blinde) to have received his ſight at the Tombe of King *Henry* the third: Aſſoone as the King ſaw the man, he remembred he had ſeene him before, and knew him to be a moſt notorious lying Villaine, and wiſhed his Mother in no caſe to be-

leeve him: but his mother, who much rejoyced to heare of this Miracle, for the glory of her husband, finding her ſonne unwilling that his Father ſhould be a Saint, grew ſuddenly into ſuch a rage againſt him, that ſhe commanded him to avoid her Chamber: which the King obeyes, and going forth, meetes with a Clergy man, to whom he tels the ſtory of this Impoſtour, and merrily ſaid, He knew the juſtice of his Father to be ſuch, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of ſuch a wicked wretch, then reſtore them to their ſight. In this meane time the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* had gone of himſelfe to Prince *Leolin*, and had laboured to bring him and his brother *David* to a re-ſubmiſſion, but could effect nothing, for beſides other reaſons that ſwayed Prince *Leolin*, the conceit of a Propheſie of *Merlin*, that he ſhould ſhortly be Crowned with the Diadem of *Brute*, ſo overweighed him, that he had no care for peace, and ſhortly after no head: for after the Earle of *Pembroke* had taken *Bere* Caſtle, which was the ſeat of Prince *Leolin*, he was himſelf ſlain in battell; and his head cut off by a common Souldier, was ſent to King *Edw.* who cauſed the ſame to be Crowned with Ivie, and to be ſet upon the Tower of *London*; And this was the end of *Leolin*, the laſt of the *Welſh* Princes, betraied (as ſome write) by the men of *Buelth*. Not long after his brother *David* alſo is taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious death: Firſt drawn at a horſe taile about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the trunke of his body divided, his heart and bowels burnt, his head ſent to accompany his brothers on the Tower of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Cities, *Briſtow*, *Northampton*, *York*, and *Wincheſter*: A manifold execution, and the firſt ſhewed in that kind to this kingdome, in the perſon of the ſon of a Prince, or any other Noble man that we reade of in our Hiſtory. It is perhaps ſomething which ſome here obſerve, that at the ſealing of this conqueſt, King *Edward* loſt his eldeſt ſon *Alphonſus*, of the age of twelve years, (a Prince of great hope) and had onely left to ſucceed him, his ſonne *Edward* lately borne at *Carnarvan*, and the firſt of the *Engliſh*, intituled Prince of *Wales*; but no Prince worthy of either *Wales* or *England*. And thus came *Wales* to be united to the Crowne of *England*, in the eleventh yeare of this King *Edwards* Raigne; who thereupon eſtabliſhed the government thereof, according to the Lawes of *England*, as may be ſeene by the Statute of *Rutland*, in the twelfth yeare of his Raigne.

The worke of *Wales* being ſetled, King *Edward* paſſeth over into *France*, upon notice of the death of *Philip* the Hardy, to renew and confirme ſuch conditions as his ſtate in thoſe parts required, with the new King *Philip* the fourth, intituled the Faire, to whom he doth homage for *Aquitaine*, having before quitted his claime to *Normandy* for ever. After three yeares and a halfe being away in *France*, he returns into *England*; and now in the next place comes the buſineſſe with *Scotland*, and will hold him worke at times as long as he lives, and his ſonne after him. *Alexander* the third, King of *Scots*, as he was running his horſe, fell horſe and man to the ground, and brake his necke, and died immediately; by reaſon whereof (he leaving no iſſue, but onely a daughter of his daughter *Margaret*, who died alſo ſoone after) there fell out preſently great contention about ſucceſſion. Ten Competitors pretend title, namely, *Erick* King of *Norway*, *Florence* Earle of *Holland*, *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Anandale*, *John de Baylioll* Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Haſtings* Lord of *Abergeveny*, *John Cummin* Lord of *Badenow*, *Patrick de Dunbarre* Earle of *March*, *John de Veſcie*, *Nicholas de Sulas*, *William de Roſſe*, all or moſt of them deſcending from *David* Earle of *Huntington*, younger brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and great Unkle to the late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Anceſtours over that kingdome and proving it by authority of old Chronicles, as *Marianus Scotus*, *William* of *Malmſbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Ralph de Lucetto*, and others; which though the *Scottiſh* Lords who ſwaied the *Interregnum* oppoſed, yet are they conſtrained for avoyding of further inconveniences, to make him Arbiter thereof, and the tenne Competitours bound to ſtand to his award. Two are eſpecially found, betweene whom the right lay, *John de Baylioll* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*; the one deſcending from an elder daughter, the other from a ſonne of a younger

daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldeſt daughter of this *David* brother to King *William*. The controverſie held long, twelve of either kingdome learned in the Lawes, are elected to debate the ſame at *Berwick*; all the beſt Civilians in the Univerſities of *France* are ſolicited to give their opinions; all which brought forth rather doubts then reſolutions: whereupon King *Edward* the better to ſway this buſineſſe by his preſence, takes a journey Northward; where being come as farre as *Lincolnſhire*, he loſt his beloved wife Queene *Eleanor*: and thereupon going backe to ſee her Funerall performed at *Weſtminſter*: that done, he returnes preſently to his *Scottiſh* buſineſſe. And now ſixe yeares were paſſed ſince the death of King *Alexander*, and yet nothing concluded in this controverſie; whereupon King *Edward* deals privately with *Bruce*, (who had the weaker Title, but the more friends) and promiſeth him, if he would ſweare fealty and homage to the Crowne of *England*, he would Inveſt him in that of *Scotland*. But *Bruce* anſwers, he was not ſo deſirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the liberties of his Countrey. Whereupon with the like offer he ſets upon *Bayliol*, who having better right, but leſſe love of the people, and more greedy of a kingdome then honour, accepts the condition; and thereupon is Crowned King at *Scone*, hath fealty done him by all the chiefe Nobility, except *Bruce*: comes to *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne*, where King *Edward* then lay; and there, with many of his Nobles, ſweares fealty, and doth homage to him, as his Soveraigne Lord. Which act done to ſecure him, overthrew him: for being little beloved before, hereby he became leſſe: ſuch as ſtood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (tender of the preſervation of their Countries liberty) took ſtomach againſt him; and not onely for this, but ſhortly after for his injuſtice in the caſe of the Earle of *Fife*, one of the ſixe Governours in the time on the *Interregnum*, who had beene ſlaine by the Family of *Alberneth*; the brother of which Earle proſecuting Law before King *Bayliol*, in his high Court of Parliament, and having no right done him (King *Bayliol* giving judgement of the ſide of the *Albernethes*) he appeales to the Court of the King of *England*: whereupon King *Bayliol* is ſummoned, appeares, ſits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his cauſe was to be heard, and then is cited by an Officer to ariſe, and to ſtand in the place appointed for pleading; then he craves to anſwer by a Procuratour, but is denied, and thereupon deſcends to the ordinary place, and defends his cauſe himſelfe: which indignity (as he tooke it) ſo incenſeth him, that he returnes home with a breaſt full charged with indignation; meditates revenge, renues the ancient league with *France*, confirmes it with marriage of his ſonne *Edward*, to a daughter of *Charles* brother to King *Philip*, glad in regard of late offences taken againſt the King of *England*, to embrace the ſame; which done, *Bayliol* defies King *Edward*, renounceth his Allegeance, as unlawfully done, being not in his power, without conſent of the State, to doe any ſuch Act. Hereupon brake out that mortall diſſenſion betweene the two Nations, which conſumed more Chriſtian bloud, and continued longer then ever quarrell we reade of did, between any two people in the world. For he that beganne it, could not end it, but it laſted almoſt three hundred yeares, and was never throughly aboliſhed, till the late bleſſed union wrought by him in whom Wiſdome and Vertue, Right and Power concurred all to make it firme. And now the fatall Chaire in which the Kings of *Scotland* uſed to be Inaugurated, ſeemes to recover its ſecret operation, according to antient Propheſie: that whither ſoever that Chaire ſhould be removed, the kingdome ſhould be removed with it; and this Chaire King *Edward* cauſed to be brought out of *Scotland* to *Weſtminſter*, and to be placed there amongſt the Monuments, where it ſtill continues. But now King *Bayliol* being ſummoned to appeare at *New-Caſtle*, and refuſing to come, King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army, conſiſting of foure thouſand horſe, and thirty thouſand foot, beſides five hundred horſe, and one thouſand foote of the Biſhop of *Durham*. *Berwicke* is firſt wonne, with the ſlaughter of fifteene thouſand *Scots*, (our Writers ſay more) and after that, the Caſtles of *Dunbarre*, *Roxborough*, *Edinburgh*, *Sterling*, and Saint *Johns* Towne; and now King *Baliol* ſues for Peace, ſubmits himſelfe, takes againe his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward*, as his Soveraigne Lord: which done,

a Parliament for *Scotland* is held at *Berwicke*, where the Nobility likewiſe did Homage to him, confirming the ſame by their Charter, under their hands and ſeales: onely *William Douglaſſe* refuſeth; content rather to endure the miſery of a Priſon, then yeeld to the ſubjection of the King of *England*. But King *Baylioll*, notwithſtanding his ſubmiſſion, is ſent priſoner into *England* after his foure yeares Raigne in *Scotland*; and King *Edward* returnes home, leaving *John Warren* Earle of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, Warden of all *Scotland*, *Hugh Creſſingham* Treaſurer, and *Ormeſley* Chiefe Juſtice, with Commiſſion to take in his name, the Homages and Fealties of all ſuch as held Lands of that Crowne. But this continued not long, for King *Edward* being abſent in *France*, the *Scots* fell upon the Officers he had left, ſlew Sir *Hugh Creſſingham* with ſixe thouſand *Engliſh*, recovered many Caſtles, and regained the towne of *Berwick*, and all by the animation and conduct of one *William Walleys*, a poore private Gentleman, (though Nobly deſcended) who ſeeing his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men, either in captivity or ſubjection) aſſembles certaine of as poore and deſperate eſtate as himſelfe, and leads them to attempt upon whatſoever advantages they could finde to annoy the *Engliſh*, and having therein good ſucceſſe, it ſo encreaſed both his courage and company, that he afterward came to be the generall Guardian of the whole kingdome; and was in poſſibility to have abſolutely redeemed his Countrey from the ſubjection of the *Engliſh*, if the ſpeedy comming of King *Edward* had not prevented him. For now King *Edward*, to bring his worke neare together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Juſtice to *Yorke*, where they continued above ſixe yeares, and thither he cals a Parliament, requiring all his ſubjects that held of him by knights ſervice, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory day: where there aſſemble three thouſand men at Armes on barded horſes, and foure thouſand other armed men on horſe without bards, with an Army of foote anſwerable, conſiſting moſt of *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, beſides five hundred men at Armes out of *Gaſcoyne*; and with this power he makes his ſecond expedition into *Scotland*: the Earles of *Hertford* and *Norfolke*, with the Earle of *Lincolne*, led his Vauntgard at the famous battell of *Fonkirke*, where the ſhouts of the *Scots* were ſo great, that King *Edwards* horſe frighted withall, caſt him off, and brake two of his ribs; which notwithſtanding he gets up againe, goes on, and gets the victory, wherein are reported to be ſlaine two hundred knights, and forty thouſand foot of the *Scots*: but *William Walleys* with ſome few, eſcaped to make more work. And here againe that kingdome might ſeeme as if quite overthrowne. Moſt of the eſtates of the Earles and Barons of *Scotland* (with their titles) that had ſtood out, were beſtowed on the *Engliſh*; and a Parliament is called at Saint *Andrewes*, where all the great men of that kingdome, except onely *Walleys*, once againe ſweare Fealty to the King of *England*. It ſeemes ſwearing of Fealty was with the *Scots* but a Ceremony without ſubſtance, as good as nothing: for this is now the third time they ſwore Fealty to King *Edward*, yet all did not ſerve to make them loyall: for not long after, comes the newes of a new King made and Crowned in *Scotland*: *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carrick*, ſonne to that *Bruce* who was competitour with *Baylioll*, eſcaping out of *England*, becomes Head to the confuſed Body of that kingdome: and perceiving *John Cummyn* (who had a title himſelfe) to goe about to bewray his intentions to King *Edward*; he finding him at *Dunfrayes*, lets upon him, and murthers him in the Church. Whereof as ſoone as King *Edward* heard, he ſends *Aymer de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*, and the Lords *Clifford* and *Percie*, with a ſtrong power to revenge the death of *Cummyn*, and to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*, who upon *Bruces* revolt, were all retired to *Berwicke*, whilſt himſelfe prepares an Army to follow: wherein to be the more nobly attended, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever ought by their Paternall ſucceſſion, or otherwiſe had meanes of their owne for ſervice, ſhould repaire to *Weſtminſter*, at the Feaſt of *Penteceſt*, to receive the Order of knighthood, and a Military Ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the ſonnes of Earles, Barons, and knights, aſſemble at the day appointed, and receive Purples, ſilkes, Sindons, Scarffes, wrought with

Gold

Gold or Silver, according to every mans Eſtate. For which traine (becauſe the Kings Houſe was too little, by reaſon a part of it had beene lately burnt) roome is made, and the Apple-trees cut downe at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themſelves, and keepe their Vigile. The Prince (whom the King then likewiſe knighted, and gave him the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, kept his Vigile with his Traine at *Weſtminſter*, and the next day girds theſe three hundred knights, with the Military Belt, in ſuch manner as he himſelfe had received it. Which done, the King before them all makes a Vow, that alive or dead, he would revenge the death of *Cumyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*: Adjuring his Sonne and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he dyed in this Journey, they ſhould carry his Corps with them about *Scotland*, and not ſuffer it to be interred, till they had vanquiſhed the Uſurper, and abſolutely brought the Country to Subjection. The Prince and all the Nobles promiſe upon their Faith, to imploy their uttermoſt power to performe his Vow: and herewithall he ſets forth with a potent Army, preſently after *Whitſontide*, and makes his laſt Expedition into *Scotland*, in the foure and thirtieth yeare of his Raigne.

The Earle of *Pembroke*, with that power ſent before, and aid of the *Scottiſh* party, had before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battaile neare Saint *Johns* Towne, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly miſſed the taking of his Perſon, but he eſcaping in diſguiſe, and ſheltring himſelfe in obſcure places, was reſerved for greater Battailes, his Brothers *Nigell*, *Bruce*, and ſhortly after, *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Prieſt, were taken and Executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwicke*. And now King *Edward* had done for Fighting, all was now for Executions, and indeed his deſire of Revenge made him inexorable, and vow to ſpare none of what degree ſoever. The Earle of *Atholl*, (though of Royall blood, and allyed unto him) was ſent to *London*, where all his preferment was, to have a higher paire of Gallowes then the reſt. The Wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Roſſe*, is ſent Priſoner to *London*, and his Daughter to a Monaſtery in *Lindſey*. The Counteſſe of *Boughan*, who had beene ayding at *Bruces* Coronation, is put into a woodden Cage, and hung out upon the walls of *Berwicke* for people to gaze on. But though *Bruces* party was thus dejected, and himſelfe at this time appeared not, but ſhifted privily from place to place, in a diſtreſſed manner, (attended onely with two Noble Gentlemen, who neeer forſooke him in his misfortunes, the Earle of *Lenox* and *Gilbert Hay*) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which he ſuddenly aſſailes the Earle of *Pembroke* at unawares, gives him a great defeate, and within three dayes after chaſeth the Earle of *Gloceſter* into the Caſtle of *Aire*, where he beſieged him, till by the Kings Forces he was driven againe to his former retire. Whereupon King *Edward*, who had ſpent his Winter at *Carlile*, in *July* following with a freſh Army enters *Scotland* himſelfe, but falling into a Dyſentery or Bloody-flix, at *Borough* upon the Sands he ended his life: and thus ended King *Edwards* troubles with *Scotland*, but not *Englands* troubles, which are more to come, then yet are paſt.

But though this buſineſſe of *Scotland* never left King *Edward* till his dying day, yet it had been upon him but as an Ague, ſometimes putting him into violent heats, and ſometimes leaving him in a quiet temper, with ſuch a viciſſitude, that when he had quietneſſe with *Scotland*, he had troubles with *France*, whereof the time is now to ſpeake. It is well knowne, that *Philip* King of *France*, Father of the preſent King, and *Edward* King of *England* were neare Couſins, the Sonnes of two Siſters; and it hath beene ſhewed before at King *Edwards* returning from the Holy Land, and paſſing through *France*, what extraordinary kindneſſe and mutuall courteſie paſſed betweene them, that one would have thought neither they nor theirs ſhould ever have falne out: and perhaps never ſhould, if they had beene private men, and not Princes. For private men may eaſily continue Friends, as having none to conſider but themſelves; but Princes hardly, as having beſides themſelves, their Subjects to conſider. And though they be the Subjects oftentimes that make the Quarrell, yet they are the Princes that muſt maintaine it. And beſides, betweene Princes

ces there can never be but jealousies, and where jealousies are, every trifle makes a quarrell. And this was the case of these two Kings, certaine of the King of *England's* Subjects, had upon the Coast of *Normandy* done spoyle to some Subjects of the King of *France*: and this difference of the Subjects made a difference betweene the Kings, while each of them standing in defence of his owne, fall out themselves, and for a beginning the King of *France* summons King *Edward*, as owing homage to that Crowne, to appeare and answer it in his Court. And King *Edward*, though voluntarily before he had done it in a way of Courtesie, yet being now imperiously commanded, he refuseth it; upon which refusall, all his Territories in *France* are condemned to be forfaited, and an Army is presently sent to seise upon the same, led by *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neele*, Constable of *France*. *Burdeaux*, with divers other Peeces of importance, are taken from him. And now King *Edward* well knowing what danger it was to have so powerfull an Adversary; endevours first to strengthen himselfe with Friends abroad, seekes to match his Sonne *Edward* with a Daughter of *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*: Marries one of his Daughters to the Duke of *Barre*, who pretended Title to *Champaigne*; another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; sends fifteene thousand pounds Sterling to *Adolph de Nassaw* the Emperour, for recovery of certaine Lands which he claimed in *France*; and with all these and many other confining Princes, he sets upon the King of *France*, and then sends over his Brother *Edmund* Earle of *Lancaster*, the Earles of *Lincolne* and *Richmond*, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Armes, and a Navy of three hundred and sixty Saile. In the meane time the King of *France*, having had intelligence of the intended alliance betweene King *Edward*, and *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*, sends for the said Earle (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter to make merry with him at *Paris*: where instead of Feasting him, he makes him Prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought (being his Vassall) to match her with his capitall Enemy. The Earle excuseth it the best he could, and by much mediation is released himselfe, but not his Daughter; whereupon the Earle, presuming upon aide from King *Edward*, takes Armes, and defies the King of *France*; who thereupon comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him: which caused King *Edward*, with all speed possible to relieve this distressed Earle, and so leaving the Government of the kingdome in his absence, to the Bishop of *London*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, and the Lords *Reynold*, *Grey*, and *Clifford*; with five hundred Saile, and eighteene thousand men at Armes, he passeth over into *France*, but finding the Country distracted into many popular Factions, and the King of *France* daily getting upon them, (having already won *Lisle*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Burges* and *Dam*) and the Emperour *Adolph* failing to send him aide as he had promised, he fell into great perplexity: and having stayed the whole Winter at *Gaunt*, where by reason of many outrages committed by his Souldiers, he was so affronted by the *Gauntois*, that his owne person was not without some danger; He thereupon in the Spring of the yeare, concludes a Truce with the King of *France* for two yeares, takes his sister *Margaret* to Wife, and affianceth the Daughter of the same King to his Sonne Prince *Edward*, and so returnes into *England*: And these were all the troubles King *Edward* had with *France*.

But now must something be spoken of troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the beginning: In a Parliament at *Salisbury*, the five and twentieth yeare of his Raigne, the King requires certaine of his Lords to goe to the Warres in *Gascoyne*; which needed a present supply by reason of the death of his Brother *Edmund*: but the Lords make all their excuses, every man for himselfe: Whereupon the King in great rage threatned, they should either goe, or he would give their Lands to others that should. Upon this *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, High Constable, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marshall of *England*, make their Declaration, that if the King went in Person they would attend him; otherwise not. Which answer offended the King more, and being urged againe, the Earle Marshall protested he would willingly goe thither with the King, and march before him in the Vauntguard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe; But the King told

told him plainely, he should goe with any other, though he went not himselfe in Person. I am not so bound (saith the Earle) neither will I take that journey without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earle, you shall either goe or hang. And I sweare by the same Oath (said the Earle) I will neither goe nor hang, and so without leave departs. Shortly after the two Earles assemble many Noble men, and other their Friends, to the number of thirty Bannerets, so as they were fifteen hundred men at Armes, well appointed, and stood upon their Guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the matter passe, in regard that his businesse called him presently into *Flanders*; when being ready to take ship, the Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earles, Barons, and the Commons send him a Roll of the Grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions, with his seeking to force their services by unlawfull courses: to which the King sends answer, that he could not alter any thing without the advice of his Councell, who were not now about him, and therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in his Journey, (which they absolutely refused to doe, though he went in Person, unlesse he had gone into *France* or *Scotland*) that they would yet doe nothing in his absence, prejudiciall to the peace of the kingdome; and that at his returne, he would set all things in good order to their contentment. But having taken his Journey, and being held there with long delayes, to his exceeding great expenses, he was forced to send over for more supply of Treasure; and thereupon gave order for a Parliament to be held at *Yorke* by the Prince, and (because of his Minority, for he was then but sixteene yeares of age) by such as had the manage of the kingdome in his absence: and to the end he would not be disappointed of aide, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter: Promising from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwise then by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon all such as had denyed to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27. yeare of his Raigne, a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein the promised Confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what disafforestation had heretofore beene made, was earnestly urged, and in the end with much adoe Granted; and that with omission of the Clause, *Salvâ Jure Coronæ nostræ*; which the King laboured to have inserted, but the people by no meanes would agree, and the perambulation of the Forests of *England* was then committed to three Bishops, three Earles, and three Barons. But some yeares after, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his Raigne, King *Edward* begunne to shew his resentment of the stubborne behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so terrifies *Roger Bigod*, Earle Marshall, that to recover his favor the Earle made him his Heire, in Possession; (though he had a Brother of his owne living) reserving onely to himselfe a thousand pounds *per annum*, during his life. Of others likewise he got great summes for the same offence; The Earle of *Hereford* escaped his fine by death. But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, (whom he accused to have disturbed his Peace in his absence) he sends over to Pope *Clement* the fifth, (who succeeded *Bonifice*) that he might be crusht with a double power. This Pope was Native of *Burdeaux*, and so the more regardfull of the Kings desire, and the King the more confident of his favour; which to entertaine and encrease, King *Edward* sends him a whole furnish of all vessels for his Chamber of cleane Gold: which great gift so wrought with the Pope, that he untied the King from the Covenant made with his Subjects concerning their Charters, confirmed unto them by his last three Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his Oath: A safe time for Princes, when they might tye themselves in any obligation to their Subjects, and afterward for a bribe to the Pope be untyed againe.

His Taxations, and wayes for raising of money.

IF Taxations may suffer degrees of comparison, it may not unfitly be said of these three last Kings, that King *John* was in the Positive, his Sonne *Henry* the third

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in the Comparative: and this King *Edward* in the Superlative. For not onely he farre exceeded the two former, but he hath left a ſpell to all that come after, for ever comming neare him: but then under the name of Taxations, wee muſt include the wayes he tooke for raiſing of profit. But firſt in the way of Parliament. In the firſt yeare of his Raigne, was granted him a tenth of the Clergy for two yeare, beſides a fifteenth of them and the Temporalty. In his fifth yeare, a twentieth of their goods towards the *Welſh* warres. In his ſeventh, the old money was called in, and new coyned, in regard it had beene much defaced by the *Jewes*, for which 297. were at one time executed in *London*: and this brought in profit of no ſmall value. In his eleventh yeare, he had a thirtieth of the Temporalty, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for his warres in *Wales*. In the thirteenth, Eſcuage, forty ſhillings of every knights Fee. In his foureteenth yeare, he had a thouſand Markes of certaine Merchants Fined for falſe weights. In his nineteenth, the eleventh part of all movables of the Clergy, and ſhortly after a tenth for ſixe yeares. In his twentieth, *William Marchyan* then Lord Treaſurer of *England*, perceiving great riches to be in Churches and religious houſes, put it ſo into the Kings head, that they were all brought into the Kings Treaſury. In the eighth yeare of his Raigne, he ſent out his Writ *Quo Warranto*, to examine by what title men held their lands; which brought him in much money, till *John* Earle of *Warren*, being called to ſhew his title, drew out an old ruſty Sword, and then ſaid, He held his land by that, and by that would hold it to death; which though it made the King deſiſt from his Project, yet he obtained at that time a fifteenth part of the Clergy. In his ſeventeenth yeare he Fined all his Judges for corruption: Sir *Ralph Higham* Chiefe Juſtice of the higher Bench, in ſeven thouſand Markes: Sir *John Loveton* Juſtice of the lower Bench, in three thouſand Markes: Sir *William Brompton*, in ſixe thouſand Markes: Sir *Salmon Rocheſter*, in foure thouſand Markes: Sir *Richard Boyland*, in foure thouſand: Sir *Walter Heptan*, in two thouſand: Sir *William Saham*, in three thouſand: *Robert Litbury* Maſter of the Rolls, in one thouſand: *Roger Leycaſter*, in one thouſand: *Henry Bray* Eſcheatour, and Judge for the *Jewes*, in one thouſand: but Sir *Adam Stratton* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, in foure and thirty thouſand: and *Thomas Wayland* (found the greateſt Delinquent, and of the greateſt ſubſtance) had all his goods, and whole eſtate confiſcated to the King, and himſelfe baniſhed out of the kingdome. In his eighteenth yeare he baniſhed the *Jewes*, of whom there was at that time above fifteen thouſand in the kingdom, who had but all their goods confiſcate leaving them onely meanes to beare their charges in going away.

In his foure and twentieth yeare, he commanded a new Subſidy to be levied upon all ſarplers of Wooll going out of *England*: as likewiſe with Fels and Hides. In his five and twentieth yeare, he cals a Parliament at Saint *Edmundsbery*, where is granted the eighth part of the goods of good Townes, and of other people the twelfth. As for the Clergy, they deſire to be excuſed, and refuſe to contribute, in regard of their many late paiments, as in the two and twentieth yeare of his Raigne, they paied the moity of their goods: and in his three and twentieth yeare, he ſeiſed into his hands, all Priories aliens and their goods: beſides he had a loane of the Clergy, which amounted to an hundred thouſand pounds: but notwithſtanding upon this refuſall of the Clergy, the King puts all Clergy men out of his protection, whereby they were to have no Juſtice in any of his Courts, (a ſtraine of State beyond any of his Predeceſſours) which ſo amazed them, that in the end, the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, with the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, and *Lincolne*, yeelded to lay downe in their Churches, the fifth part of all their goods towards the maintenance of the Kings warres, whereby they appeaſed his wrath, and were received into grace. But the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, by whoſe animation the reſt ſtood out, had all his goods ſeiſed on, and all the Monaſteries within his Dioceſe, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appointed to miniſter onely neceſſaries to the Monkes, converting the reſt to the Kings uſe: at length by much ſuite, the Abbots and Prieſts, giving the fourth part of their goods, redeeme themſelves, and the Kings favour. In the ſixe and twentieth yeare of his Raigne, at a Parlament

ament holden at *Yorke*, is granted him the ninth penny of the goods of the Temporalty: the tenth penny of the Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*, and of *Yorke* the fifth: and in this yeare alſo he raiſed the Impoſition upon every ſack of Wooll, from a noble to forty ſhillings. In his two and thirtieth yeare he ſends out a new Writ of Inquiſition, called *Traile-baſton*, for intruders on other mens lands; who to oppreſſe the right owner, would make over their land to great men; for Batterers hired to beate men, for breakers of Peace, for Raviſhers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, falſe Aſſiſours, and other ſuch Malefactours: which Inquiſition was ſo ſtrictly executed, and ſuch Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much treaſure to the King. As likewiſe did another Commiſſion at the ſame time, ſent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Miniſters of Juſtice; wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. At this time alſo he called his Lords to account for their ſtubbornneſſe ſome yeares before, in denying to attend him into *Flanders*; which brought him in profit anſwerable to their greatneſſe that were called. After all this, in his foure and thirtieth yeare, there is granted him the thirtieth penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants towards his journey into *Scotland*. And this may be ſufficient to ſhew his Taxations to have beene in the Superlative degree. And yet beſides theſe, he had no ſmall benefit by Silver Mines, which in his time were found in *Devonſhire*.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

IN the firſt yeare of his Raine were made the Statutes called of *Weſtminſter* the firſt. In his twelfth yeare were made the Statutes of *Acton Burnell*. In the foureteenth yeare of his Raigne were made the Statutes called *Additamenta Gloceſtria*. He ordained ſuch men to be Sheriffes in every County, as were of the ſame County where they were to be Sheriffes. He ordained that *Jewes* ſhould weare a Cogniſance upon their upper Garment whereby to be knowne, and reſtrained their exceſſive taking of Uſury. In his time was alſo Enacted the Statute of Mortmaine. In his twelfth yeare, in the Quindenes of Saint *Michael*, the Juſtices Itinerants beganne to goe their generall Circuits. In his time new pieces of money were coyned, and halfe pence of Silver came to be in uſe, which were before of baſe metall. In his time, three men for reſcuing a priſoner, arreſted by an Officer, had their right hands cut off by the wriſts. In his time all *Jewes* were baniſhed out of the Realme. This King by Proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea-coale in *London* and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noyſome ſmoake. In his eleventh yeare the Bakers of *London* were firſt drawne upon Hurdles, by *Henry Waleys* Major, and Corne was then firſt ſold by weight. In this Kings time the title of Baron which had before beene promiſcuous to men of eſtate, was firſt confined to ſuch onely as by the King were called to have voice in Parliament.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN his time, at a Synod holden at *Reading* by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, it was ordained according to the Conſtitutions of the Generall Councell, that no Eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould have more then one Benefice, to which belonged the Cure of ſoules: and that every perſon promoted to any Eccleſiaſticall Living, ſhould take the Order of Prieſthood within one yeare after. In his time lived and died Pope *Bonface* the 8. of whom his Predeceſſour had Prophe ſied: *Aſcendes ut Vulpes, Regnabis ut Leo, Morieris ut Canis.*

Workes of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King Founded the Abbey of the Vale Royall in *Cheſhire*, of the *Ciſteaux* Order. In his time *John Bayliol* King of *Scots*, builded *Bayliol* Colledge in *Oxford*: alſo in his time, *Walter Marton* Lord Chancellour of *England*, and after

Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Founded *Marton* Colledge in *Oxford*, who was drowned paſſing over the water at *Rocheſter*, being at that time no Bridge there, as now there is. In his time was finiſhed the new worke of the Church of *Weſtminſter*, which had beene threeſcore and ſixe yeares in building. In his time was laid the Foundation of the *Black-Friers* beſides *Ludgate*, and of *Baynards* Caſtle: alſo in his time, his ſecond wife Queene *Margaret* beganne to build the Quire of the *Gray-Friers* in *London*. In his time was begunne to be made the great Conduit in *London*, ſtanding againſt the Church called *Acres* in *Cheape*. In his time *Henry Walleys*, Major of *London*, cauſed the *Tonne* upon *Cornhill*, to be a Priſon for night-walkers: and alſo builded a houſe called the Stocks, for a Market of fiſh and fleſh, in the midſt of the City. In this Kings time, *Edmund* Earle of *Leyceſter*, the Kings brother, Founded the *Minories*, a Nunnery without *Aldgate*. This King builded the Caſtle of *Flint* in *Wales*, and the Caſtle of *Beaumaris* in the Ile of *Angleſey*, and the Caſtle of *Carnarvan* by *Snowdon*. Alſo in this Kings time, *John Peckham* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, Founded a Colledge of Canons at *Wingham* in *Kent*.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN the ſecond yeare of this Kings Raigne, there happened the greateſt rot of Sheepe in *England* that ever was knowne, which continued five and twenty years, and came (as was thought) by one infected Sheepe of incredible greatneſſe, brought out of *Spaine* by a *French* Merchant into *Northumberland*. In the fifteenth yeare of this Kings Raigne, Wheate was ſold for tenne Groats a Quarter; where the next yeare after there was ſo great a Dearth, that it was ſold for eighteene pence the Buſhell. In the ſeventeenth yeare of his Raigne, there fell ſo much raine, that Wheate was raiſed from three pence the Buſhell, to ſixteene pence; and ſo encreaſed yearely, till at laſt it was ſold for twenty ſhillings the Quarter. And this yeare the City of *Carlile*, and the Abbey with all the houſes belonging to the Friers Minors, was conſumed with fire. In his one and twentieth yeare, a great part of the Towne of *Cambridge*, with the Church of our Lady, was alſo burnt. In the ſeven and twentieth yeare of his Raigne, his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and the Monaſtery adjoyning, were conſumed with fire. The Monaſtery of *Gloceſter* alſo was burnt to the ground. In this yeare alſo, an Act of Common Counſell, by conſent of the King, was made concerning victuals; a fat Cocke to be ſold for three halfe pence, two Pullets for three halfe pence, a fat Capon for two pence halfe penny, a Gooſe foure pence, a Mallard three halfe pence, a Partridge three halfe pence, a Pheaſant foure pence, a Hearon ſixe pence, a Plover one penny, a Swanne three ſhillings, a Crane twelve pence, two Woodcocks three halfe pence, a fat Lambe from *Chriſtmas* to *Shrovetide*, ſixteene pence; and all the yeare after for foure pence.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, his firſt was *Eleanor*, daughter to *Ferdinand* the third King of *Spaine*, and was married to him at *Bures* in *Spaine*: who having lived with him ſixe and thirty years, in a journey with him towards *Scotland*, at *Herdeby* in *Lincolneſhire* ſhe died; in whoſe memory, and as Monuments of her vertue, and his affection, King *Edward* cauſed Croſſes with her Statue to be erected in all chiefe places, where her Corps in carrying to *Weſtminſter*, reſted: as at *Stamford*, *Dunſtable*, Saint *Albons*, *Waltham*, *Cheapſide*; and laſtly, at the place called *Charing Croſſe*: ſhe was buried in *Weſtminſter*, at the feete of King *Henry* the third, under a faire Marble Tombe, adorned with her Portraiture of Copper guilt. By this wife, King *Edward* had foure ſonnes and nine daughters; his eldeſt ſonne, *John*; his ſecond, *Henry*; his third, *Alphonſus*; died all young in their Fathers time: his fourth ſonne, *Edward*, called of *Carnarvan*, becauſe borne there, ſucceeded him in the kingdome. Of his daughters, the eldeſt named *Eleanor*, was firſt married by *Proxie* to *Alphonſus*, King of *Arragon*; but he dying before the marriage ſolemniſed, ſhe was afterward

married

married at *Briſtow*, to *Henry* Earle of *Barry* in *France*; by whom ſhe had iſſue, ſons and daughters. *Joane* the ſecond daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, borne at *Acon* in the Holy Land, was married to *Gylbert Clare* called the Red Earle of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, by whom ſhe had iſſue, ſonnes and daughters. She ſurvived her husband, and was re-married to the Lord *Ralph Monthermere*, Father to *Margaret* the mother of *Thomas Montacute*, Earle of *Salisbury*; from whom the now Vicount *Montacute* is deſcended. *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brabant*. *Berenger* and *Alice*, their fourth and fifth daughters, dying young and unmarried. *Mary* their ſixth daughter, at tenne yeares of her age, was made a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Aimesbury* in *Wiltſhire*, at the inſtance of Queene *Eleanor* her Grandmother, who lived there. *Elizabeth* their ſeventh daughter, was firſt married to *John* Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *FreeZeland*; he dying within two yeares, ſhe was afterward married to *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, Lord of *Breknok*, and High Conſtable of *England*; by whom ſhe had iſſue, ſonnes and daughters. *Beatrice* and *Blanch*, their eighth and ninth daughters, died young and unmarried. King *Edwards* ſecond Wife was *Margaret*, eldeſt daughter of *Philip* King of *France*, called the Hardy, and ſiſter to *Philip* called the Faire; at eighteene yeares old ſhe was married to King *Edward*, being above threeſcore; yet at the unequall yeares ſhe had iſſue by him, two ſonnes and a daughter: their eldeſt ſonne was borne at a little Village in *Yorkſhire* called *Brotherton*, and was thereof called *Thomas* of *Brotherton*: he was created Earle of *Norfolke*, and Earle Marſhall of *England*, after *Roger Bigod*, who died without iſſue. Their ſecond ſonne *Edmund*, was borne at *Woodſtocke* in *Oxfordſhire*, and of the place was ſo called: he was created Earle of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *John*, and ſiſter and ſole Heire of *Thomas* Lord *Wakes* of *Lydell* in the County of *Northampton*; by whom he had iſſue two ſonnes and one daughter: his ſonnes *Edmund* and *John*, died without iſſue; his daughter *Joane*, for her beauty called the Faire maid of *Kent*, was married firſt to *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and from him divorced; was re-married to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her Right Earle of *Kent*, and by her, Father of *Thomas* and *John Holland*, Duke of *Surrey*, and Earle of *Huntington*: and laſtly, ſhe was the Wife of *Edward* of *Woodſtocke*, the blacke Prince of *Wales*; and by him Mother of King *Richard* the ſecond. This Earle *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester*, in the fourth yeare of King *Edward* his Nephew. *Eleanor*, the daughter of King *Edward* by his ſecond Wife *Margaret*, died in her childhood.

Of his perſonage and conditions.

HE was tall of ſtature, higher then ordinary men by head and ſhoulders, and thereof called *Longſhanke*; of a ſwarthy complection, ſtrong of body, but leane; of a comely favour, his eyes in his anger, ſparkling like fire; the haire of his head black and curled. Concerning his conditions, as he was in warre peacefull; ſo in Peace he was warlike, delighting ſpecially in that kinde of hunting, which is to kill Stagges or other wilde beaſts with Speares. In continencie of life, he was equall to his Father; in acts of valour, farre beyond him. He had in him the two wiſdomes, not often found in any, ſingle; both together, ſeldome or never: An ability of judgement in himſelfe, and a readineſſe to heare the judgement of others. He ſeemed to be a great obſerver of opportunity (a great point of wiſdome in any, in Princes greateſt) and that he could beare an injury long, without ſeeking to revenge it; as appeared by his carriage towards the Earle *Roger Bigod*, whom when he ſaw his time, he called to account for an affront he had offered him divers yeares before. He was not eaſily provoked into paſſion, but once in paſſion, not eaſily appeaſed, as was ſeene by his dealing with the *Scots*; towards whom he ſhewed at firſt patience, and at laſt ſeverity. If he be cenſured for his many Taxations, he may be juſtified by his well beſtowing them; for never Prince laid out his money to more honour of himſelfe, or good of his kingdome. His greateſt unfortunateneſſe

was in his greateſt bleſſing; for of foure ſonnes which he had by his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, three of them died in his owne life time, who were worthy to have out-lived him; and the fourth out-lived him, who was worthy never to have beene borne.

Of his death and buriall.

IN his laſt expedition into *Scotland*, being at *Carlile*, he fell ſicke; and lying in his death-bed, he ſent for his ſonne *Edward:* to whom, beſides many admonitions to Piety; he commanded three things ſpecially: that he ſhould carry his bones about with him through *Scotland* till he had ſubdued it: that he ſhould ſend his heart into the Holy Land, with ſevenſcore knights to that warre, and the two and thirty thouſand pounds he had provided for that purpoſe; and that he ſhould never recall *Gaveſton* from baniſhment: and ſoon after of a dyſentery or Bloudy-Flix, he died at *Borough* upon the Sands, the ſeventh of *July*, in the yeare 1307. when he had Raigned foure and thirty yeares and ſeven moneths, lived threeſcore and eight yeares: Being dead, his Corps was brought to *Waltham* Abbey, and there kept the ſpace of ſixteene weekes, and after, on *Simon* and *Judes* day buried at *Weſtminſter*.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Martiall men there were many, theſe ſpecially: *John* Earle of *Warren*, who oppoſed the Kings Inquiſition by *Quo Warranto:* and *Roger Bigod*, who gave the King an affront to his face. Of learned men alſo many, ſpecially theſe; *John Breton* biſhop of *Hereford*, who compiled a book of the Lawes of *England*, called *le Breton*: *Thomas Spot* a Chronographer: *John Everſden* a writer of Annals, and of this Kings Raigne: *Gregory Cairugent* a Monke of *Gloceſter*, and a writer alſo of Annals. *John Peckham* a Franciſcan Frier, made Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who writ many excellent workes: *John Read* an Hiſtoriographer: *Thomas Bungey* a Frier Minor, an excellent Mathematician: *Roger Bacon* a Franciſcan Frier, an excellent Philoſopher and Mathematician: *Robert Kilwarby* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and after made a Cardinall: alſo *Ralph Baldock* Biſhop of *London*, who writ a Chronicle of *England* in the Latine tongue: but above them all, though of another Countrey, *Thomas Aquinas*, borne of a Noble Family, whoſe workes are too famous to be ſpoken of; who going to the Councell holden at *Lyons* by Pope *Gregory* the tenth, died by the way.

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THE LIFE and RAIGNE OF KING EDWARD THE SECOND.

Of his Acts before, and at his Coronation.

Edward of *Carnarvan*, eldeſt Sonne of King *Edward* the firſt, ſucceeded him in the kingdome; and never did Prince come to a Crowne with more applauſe of Nobility and People; and there was good cauſe for it: For he had beene trained up in all good courſes for Piety and Learning; he had ſeene the Government of his Father, from whoſe Example he could not but have learned many good Leſſons; he had been initiated in the wayes of State, having beene left Governour of the Realme, and preſiding in Parliament in his Fathers abſence; and he was now three and twenty yeares old, a fit age for bearing the weight of a Scepter; and yet for all theſe advantages, there wanted not feares of him in the mindes of many, who could not but remember what prankes he had played not long before; how he had broken the Biſhop of *Cheſters* Parke, and in moſt diſorderly manner had killed his Deere, for which both himſelfe had beene committed to Priſon, and his Friend *Pierce Gaveſton* baniſhed the Realme: and if he did ſuch things being but Prince, what might not be feared of him comming to be King? For ſeldome doth advancement in honour alter men to the better, to the worſe often, and commonly then, when it is ſoyned with an Authority that ſets them above controlement. Neither yet was their feare more out of what they had ſeene, then out of what they ſaw; for where he ſhould have endevoured to accompliſh the charge his Father had given him in his death-bed, he ſeemed to intend nothing leſſe: nothing more then wholly to breake it; for he preſently called home *Pierce Gaveſton* from baniſhment; and the two and thirty thouſand pounds, which his Father had ſpecially appointed for the Holy Warre; either all or the moſt of it he beſtowed upon *Gaveſton*: and for carrying his Fathers bones with him about *Scotland*; it had beene well if he had ſuffered them quietly to be laid at reſt in *England*; for after the Corps had beene kept above ground, ſixteene weekes in the Abbey of *Waltham*, and that the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Walter Langton*, the then Lord Treaſurer, and Executor of his Fathers Will, was buſie in preparing for his Funerals; he ſent the Conſtable of the Tower to arreſt him, and impriſon him at *Wallingford*, ſeiſing upon all his Goods, and giving them to *Gaveſton*, and all for old grudges. And (that which ſeemed a high ſtraine of incongruity)

before.

before he had ſeene performed his Fathers Funerals, which was not till the 27. of *October* following; he entred into Treatie of his owne Nuptials, for going over to *Boleigne*, on the two and twentieth of *January*, he marryed *Iſabell*, the Daughter of *Philip* the Faire, King of *France*: which Marriage was honoured with the preſence of foure Kings, the King of *France* himſelfe, the King of *Navarre* his Sonne, the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Sicilie*: and three Queenes beſides the Bride, *Mary* Queene of *France*, *Margaret* the Dowager Queene of *England*, and the Queene of *Navarre*: and yet did *Gaveſton* exceed them all in bravery. This was obſerved by the Lords of *England*: and thereupon when his Queene and he came afterward to be Crowned, they went unto him, ſignifying what a hainous tranſgreſſion of his Fathers will it was to call home *Gaveſton*, and ſeeing the charge was no leſſe given to them then to him, if he did not performe it they would; and therefore unleſſe he would remove *Gaveſton* from the Court and kingdome, they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding: which ſtrooke ſuch a dampe to Prince *Edwards* ſpirits, to thinke what a diſgrace it would be to him; if ſo many of his great Friends being preſent, *Charles* of *Valois*, the King of *Frances* Brother, the Dukes of *Britaine* and *Brabant*, the Count of *Luxenburg*, who was afterward Emperor, the Duke of *Savoy*, the two Dutcheſſes of *Brabant* & *Artois*, with many other Princes and great Ladies, if now his Coronation ſhould be called in queſtion, that he ſolemnly ſwore he would do what they deſired in the next Parliament, ſo they would be quiet now; and thereupon, on the 24. day of *February*, in the yeare 1307. his Queene and he were both Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, by the hands of *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by Commiſſion from *Robert* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, being then in Exile, and out of the kingdome: At which ſolemnity there was ſo great a preſſe of People, that Sir *John Blackwell* knight was crowded to death. And now in the very Act of his Coronation, there was given another provocation to the Lords againſt *Gaveſton*: for the King had appointed him to carry the Crowne of Saint *Edward* before him, (the greateſt honour could be done to a Subject) which added to the other honours the King had done him, (for he had made him Earle of *Cornewall*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlaine) ſo incenſed the Lords, that they entred into conſultation, how to ſuppreſſe this violence of the Kings affection; which ſhortly after they put in execution. Portion in money King *Edward* had none with his Wife: but the King of *France* gave him the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, which he had ſeiſed upon before, as confiſcate to him: and thereupon King *Edward* did him Homage for that Dutchy, and for the County of *Ponthieu*.

Of his difference with his Lords about Gaveſton.

VVE ſhall have here no *Quinquennium Neronis*, no ſuch five yeares, as *Nero* afforded in the beginning of his Raigne; but this King at his firſt entrance will ſhew what he is, and what he will continue to be as long as he lives; for though he tooke ſome great and grave men to be of his Councell, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the end they ſhould be pliant to him, then that he had any meaning to apply himſelfe to them; For let them ſay what they would, *Gaveſton* muſt be the Oracle; all the Kings actions were but *Gaveſtons* impreſſions: And now *Gaveſton* preſently after the Coronation, to let the world be a witneſſe of his worthineſſe, and that the King had not beſtowed his Favours upon him without cauſe; cauſed to be publiſhed a Turneament at *Wallingford*: whither came all the great Lords of the kingdome, as *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Humfrey* Earle of *Hereford*, *Aymer* Earle of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earle of *Warren*, with many others, all Valiant men at Armes; yet none had the honour of the day like to *Gaveſton*. And thus farre he did well, if he could have ſtayed here, if having gotten true glory, he had not falne into vaine-glory: For the Lords envyed him not ſo much for his advancement in Honours, as they hated him for his inſolency in Manners: for in a ſcornefull pride he would be caſting ſcoffes upon them all, calling *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* the Stage Player, the Earle of *Lincolne* Burſten-

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belly; *Aimer de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Joseph* the *Jew*, and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the blacke Dogge of *Arderne*; which scoffes together with his other insolencies, drew such a party upon him, that in the next Parliament, the whole assembly obtaines of the King to draw Articles of their grievances: of which the chiefe were, that the great Charter of *Magna Charta* should be observed, that all strangers should be banished the Court and kingdome, that the businesse of the State should be treated of by the Counsell of the Clergy and the Nobles, and that the King should not begin any warre, nor goe out of the kingdome without consent of Parliament. Which Articles, though seeming harsh to the King, yet for avoyding of further inconvenience, he yeelds unto them; and specially to the banishment of his Minion *Gaveston*, as hoping that would excuse him for all the rest; and *Robert* of *Winchelsey*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, lately called home from Exile, pronounceth Excommunication against all such as should oppose the Articles. Hereupon *Gaveston* is sent away into *Ireland*, where he lived awhile, not as a banisht man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Country, and indeed not unworthily; for in the time of his being there, he is said to have made a Journey into the Mountaines of *Dublin*, and to have broken and subdued the Rebels there; built *New Castle* in the *Kerns* Country, repaired the Castle of *Kevyn*, and passed up to *Munster*, and *Thowmond*: performing every where much service with great valour and worthinesse, that if he had stayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his deserts in *Ireland*, have redeemed his defects in *England*: but the King impatient of his absence, and asking advice what meanes might be used to recall him; It was told him, that if he could but match him with the Earle of *Glocesters* sister, a man of such greatnesse, and so greatly beloved of the people, for his sake certainely no man would grudge at his comming home. Hereupon the King sends for *Gaveston*, and makes up the match betweene them, and married they were at *Barkamstead*; but this did no good. For *Gaveston* still working upon the King in such manner, that he scarce left him meanes to sustaine himselfe, and as little to maintaine the Queene, nothing being done but as *Gaveston* would have it; put the Lords into a new discontentment; who thereupon went againe to the King, and told him plainly, that unlesse he would put *Gaveston* out of the Court and kingdome, they would rise up in Armes against him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great strait: Loath he was to leave *Gaveston*, and fearefull he was to provoke the Lords; in the end, his feare prevailing over his love, he was content he should be Banished, and in such sort Banished, that if ever he returned, or were found in the kingdome, he should be held, and proceeded against as an Enemy of the State. So once againe is *Gaveston* sent packing out of the kingdome, and goes into *France*, but found no safe Harbouring there: For the King of *France* hearing of it, gave strait charge, if he were found in his Dominions to apprehend him: Then he passeth into *Flanders*, but is there no safer then in *France*: After waving about, and finding no place to rest in safety, he returnes secretly into *England*, relying upon the Kings Love, and the Duke of *Glocesters* Favour. The King receives him as an Angell sent from Heaven, and to be out of the Lords Eye, goes a Journey to *Yorke*, taking *Gaveston* along with him, and there thinkes to be in quiet; but the Lords hearing of it follow him thither, chusing for their Generall, *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, a man possest of five Earledomes, *Lancaster*, *Leycester*, *Ferrers*, *Lincolne*, and *Salisbury*, besides the Liberty of *Pickering*, and the Honour of *Cokermore*, and other Lands in *Wales*; and there was not a man of the whole Nobility that was not of the Party, but onely *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Kings Sisters Sonne; These Lords sent to the King, either to deliver *Gaveston* into their hands, or at least to send him peremptorily out of the kingdome. But the King led by ill Counsell, and little regarding the Lords Message, takes *Gaveston* with him to *New-Castle* upon *Tine*, thence to *Tynmouth*, where the Queene then lay, who (though great with Childe, and entreating the King with teares to stay with her) yet such was his desire to see *Gaveston* put into some place of security, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he tooke a Ship, and passed with *Gaveston* to *Scarborough*, and

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leaving him there in a ſtrong Caſtle, not eaſie to be wonne, he went himſelfe into *Warwickſhire*; perhaps that the Lords might ſee he had not *Gaveſton* with him. But the Lords hearing where *Gaveſton* was, aſſaulted the Caſtle with ſuch violence, that *Gaveſton* ſeeing no meanes to eſcape, was content to render himſelfe; requeſting onely, that he might but once be allowed to ſee the Kings face; and the King hearing he was taken, deſired as much: to which the Earle of *Pembroke* conſented; and taking *Gaveſton* into his cuſtody, promiſed upon Forfeiture of all he had, to have him forth-comming: but deſiring to be with his Wife that night, who lay not farre off, at *Dedington* he delivers him to his Servants to carry to *Wallingford*. From whom, as they paſſed by *Warwicke*, the Earle of that place hearing of it, tooke him forcibly from his keepers, and brought him to his owne Caſtle. Where after long deliberation, whether it were wiſedome to ſuffer *Gaveſton* to ſpeake with the King or no; It was at laſt concluded to take off his head; which at a place thereby, called *Blacklow*, was preſently put in execution. His Corps was carryed to *Oxford*, and kept there two yeares, till the King cauſed it to be brought to *Langley*, and there builded a Monaſtery of purpoſe, where his Soule ſhould be prayed for.

This *Gaveſton* was the Sonne of a Gentleman of *France*, who had done good ſervice for King *Edward* the firſt, in *France*; and for his ſake this Sonne of his was taken and brought up with the Prince: a man of excellent parts of body, and of no leſſe Endowments of minde; Valiant and Witty; to which if we might adde Vertuous, he had beene compleate; Though the Lords (whether they had heard ſo, or whether they ſaid it to weane the King from him) told the King that his Father was a Traitor to the King of *France*, and for the ſame was executed; and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this *Gaveſton* was baniſhed out of *France* for conſenting to his Mothers Witch-craft; and that he had now bewitched the King himſelfe. But why ſhould the Lords be ſo violent againſt *Gaveſton*? might not the King place his Affection where he pleaſed? Might he not make his owne choyce of what companion he liked? No doubt he might; and fit he ſhould: but yet in this caſe, the Lords had great cauſe to doe as they did; both in regard of the King, of themſelves, and of the Common-wealth. It is true, if the Valour of *Gaveſton* could as well have made the King Valiant, as his riot made him riotous, there might ſome good have come of their extraordinary conjunction: but ſeeing Vertues are but perſonall, Vices onely are communicative; it now made the King not onely more Vicious then otherwiſe he would have beene, but Vicious, where otherwiſe he would not have beene; and therefore great cauſe in regard of the King, to remove *Gaveſton* from his company; and no leſſe in regard of the Lords themſelves; For *Gaveſtons* advancing was their debaſing; his greatneſſe with the King made them but Cyphers: but in regard of the Common-wealth, moſt cauſe of all; For while the King was altogether ruled by *Gaveſton*, and *Gaveſton* himſelfe was altogether irregular; the Common-wealth could have but little hope of Juſtice, but was ſure to ſuffer as long as *Gaveſton* was ſuffered. And this may be ſufficient to juſtifie the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

Of his Troubles with Scotland.

AND now we have ſeene two of the charges of his Fathers Will broken by the King, and puniſhed in him; the two and thirty thouſand pounds appointed for the Holy Warre, beſtowed upon *Gaveſton*, and the King for it puniſhed himſelfe with want; *Gaveſton* called home from baniſhment, and the King for it puniſhed with the loſſe of his Subjects love. It remaines to ſee how well he performed the third charge of his Fathers Will, for ſubduing of *Scotland*. It was now the ſixth yeare after the death of his Father King *Edward*, and *Robert Bruce* now gotten to be King of *Scotland*, had ſtayed all this while to ſee how this new King *Edward* would prove: and when he found by the courſes he held, that he was like to

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prove a good easie Enemy; he thereupon tooke heart, and began to stirre, and in a very short time had brought almost all *Scotland* under his obedience; and finding no opposition he entred the *English* Borders, tooke and burnt Townes, that now King *Edward*, unlesse he would sit still, and suffer *Bruce* to come and pull his Crown from his head, he could not chuse but doe something to stop his proceeding. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but like himselfe, fitter for a Court then for a Campe: Many men, and great Bravery; but readier to take spoiles, then to make spoile: and accordingly they sped; For going to raise the siege at *Striveling*, defended for King *Edward*, by the valiant knight *Philip Mowbray*, the Kings Army consisting of a hundred thousand, was defeated and overthrowne by the *Scots* Army, consisting of scarce thirty thousand. So true is that saying of an ancient Souldier, There is more hope of an Army where the Generall is a Lion, though the Souldiers be but Sheepe, then of an Army where the Generall is a Sheepe, though the Souldiers be Lions. But indeed the *Scots*, besides Valour, used Policy: For having in their owne Army none but Foot, no Horse at all, they had made Trenches in the Ground three foot deepe, covering them with Twigges and Hurdles, where the *English* Horsemen were to passe, who Floundring in those Trenches, were killed no lesse by their owne Fellowes then by the Enemy. In this Battell, called of *Bannocks borough*, were slaine the Lord *Mowle*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *William Marshall*, Sir *Giles*, Doctor *Argenton*, and seven hundred Knights and Squires, specially *Gylbert* Earle of *Glocester*, who had shewed much Valour that day; and whom the *Scots* would willingly have kept for ransome, if they had knowne him; but he had forgotten to put on his Coate of Armes, whereby to be knowne. The slaughter of common Souldiers was certainely great, though perhaps not so great as *Hector Boetius* speakes of, who saith they were fifty thousand. There were taken Prisoners, *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *John Seagrave*, *John Claveringham*, *William Latimer*, and Sir *Roger Northbrooke*, bearer of the Kings shield; the King himselfe with the Bishops, the Earles of *Hartford* and *Pembroke*, and *Hugh Spenser*, saved themselves by flight; *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, was afterward released in exchange for *Bruces* Wife, who had beene long kept a Prisoner in *England*. After this, many *English* fell away to the *Scots*, and all the North parts from *Carlile* to *Yorke*, came under their Subjection; and the *English* grew so faint-hearted, and into such contempt, that three *Scots* durst venture upon a hundred *English*, when a hundred *English* durst scarce encounter with three *Scots*. And what can be thought the cause of this great dysaster to this King, but the want of his Fathers blessing for not performing the charge he gave him dying, which is commonly accompanyed with the want of a higher blessing, without which a *Vacat* is set upon the labours of men, that makes them all frustrate? But *Bruce*, not satisfied with his Acquests in *England*, sends his Brother *Edward* into *Ireland* also, who so farre prevailed, that many *Irish* came in unto him, and in the end Crowned him King of a great part of that Island, and so continued the space of three yeares; till the Primat of *Armagh*, and the Lord *Brinningham*, Justiciar of *Ireland*, gathering Forces together opposed him, and in a Battaile taking him Prisoner, at *Dundalke* cut off his head, with the slaughter of many thousands of the *Scots* besides. With which the *Scots* are so incensed, that they invade againe the *English* Borders, forraging as farre as *Yorke*; whereupon a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein an ayde is granted of Armed men to goe against them; *London* sets forth two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, Saint *Albons* ten, and so proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levyed; which comming to *Yorke*, through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments, was soone dissolved, and returned backe without effecting any thing. Not long after the Towne of *Berwicke* was betrayed to the *Scots*, through the treason of *Peter Spalding* the Governour, and other *Englishmen*; whom the King of *Scots* to make them an Example, caused to be hanged for being Traitors to their Country. King *Edward* hearing of the surrendring of *Berwicke*, raiseth an Army, and beleaguers it; but the *Scots* to divert his Forces, enter upon *England* by other wayes, and were like

like to have surprised the person of the Queene, lying then neare *Yorke*. The siege of *Berwicke* is notwithstanding eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to have regained the Towne, had not the Earle of *Lancaster* with his followers withdrawne himselfe upon discontent, hearing the King say he would give the keeping thereof to *Hugh Spenser* the younger, who was now grown a speciall favourite of the Kings, and therefore not to be endured by the Earle. In the mean time the *Scots* worne the Castles of *Harbottle*, *Warke*, and *Mitford*, so as they possessed the greater part of all *Northumberland*, burning all before them, till they came to *Ripon*, which Towne they spoyled, and carrying there three dayes, they received a thousand Markes to save the Towne from burning, as they had done the Townes of *Norchallerton*, *Borough-bridge* and others. In their returning backe, they burnt *Knaresborough*, and *Shipton in Craven*, and all other afore them, carrying into *Scotland* a marvellous number of Cattell, besides prisoners, men and women. The *Yorkshire* men thus grievously endammaged, gather together to the number of ten thousand: and at the Towne of *Mitton*, tenne miles from *Yorke*, encounter the *Scots*, where they lost three thousand of their men, and were defeated: which battell, because of the many Spirituall men that were in it, was called the white battell. Whereof when the King heard, he left the siege of *Berwicke*, to follow the *Scots*, but they returned another way. The yeare following, King *Edward* once againe with a great Army entred *Scotland*, but the *Scots* having destroyed all afore, the King oppressed with famine was forced to returne: whom the *Scots* followed, and in a place of the Forest of *Blackmore*, set upon him, that he hardly escaped; where were taken *John* Earle of *Britaine*, and the Lord of *Sethac*, the *French* Kings Embassadour, and many others. After this, King *Edward* finding the *Scots* either too strong, or too wily for him, made a Truce with them for two yeares, some say for thirteene. And this was the successe of this unfortunate King in his warres with *Scotland*.

Of his troubles at home.

BUt his troubles abroad were not so grievous as those at home, or rather, they were those at home that made his troubles abroad so grievous; for though the Lords having made an end of *Gaveston*, and cut off his head, thought they had made an end of their need to beare Armes, and had cut off the head of all their discontents, yet as if *Gaveston* had beene a Phœnix, as it were out of his ashes another Phœnix riseth presently up, and puts the Lords to as much trouble as ever *Gaveston* did. For now the younger *Spenser* upon a sudden growes as great a Favorite of the Kings as ever *Gaveston* was: and indeed in all points just such another, equall to him in goodlinesse of personage, in favour of the King, and in abusing the Lords, for though they were the Lords themselves that brought him at first in to be the Kings Chamberlaine, the rather (as was thought) because he was one whom the King did not love: yet being once in the place, he so wonne upon the King by diligent service, and by complying with the Kings humour, that he brought the King at last to comply with his humour, and nothing must be done but as *Spenser* would have it. It seemes it was the Kings nature, that he could not be without a bosome friend, one or other to be an *Alter idem*: and to seeke to remove such a one from him, was to seek to remove him from himselfe, as impossible a thing as to alter nature; yet the Lords being more sensible of their owne grievance, to be insulted on by a Favourite, then of the Kings grievance to be affronted by his subjects, are more intentive to worke their owne ends then the Kings: and therefore to remove *Spenser* and his Father from the King, which they knew was a worke not to be done but by strong hand, they continue their Armes, and confederating together, they send to the King, peremptorily requiring the confirmation and execution of the Articles formerly granted, threatning withall, that unlesse he presently performe the same, they would constraine him to it by force of Armes: and thereupon assemble strong forces about *Dunstable*, where the King then lay. The great Prelates of the king-

dome, with the Earle of *Gloceſter*, labour to appeaſe them, and with two Cardinals ſent lately by the Pope to reforme theſe diſorders: they repaire to Saint *Albons*, and deſire conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably; but the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuſe to receive, ſaying, they were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters; that there were many worthy and learned men in the kingdome, whoſe counſell they would uſe, and not ſtrangers, who knew not the cauſe of their commotion: ſo the Cardinals with this anſwer returned to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* ſo labour the buſineſſe, that the Lords were content to yeeld up to the King ſuch horſes, treaſure, and jewels, as they had taken of *Pierce Gaveſton* at *New-Caſtle*, ſo as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon *John Sandall* Treaſurer of the kingdome, and *Ingelard Warle* keeper of the Wardrobe, are ſent to Saint *Albons* to receive thoſe things at their hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complaines of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their riſing in Armes, their taking and murthering *Pierce Gaveſton*, and ſuch other affronts. Whereunto with one accord they anſwer, that they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour; having taken Armes, not for any contempt of his royall perſon, but to deſtroy the publike enemy of the kingdome, which otherwiſe would never have beene done. Which ſtout reſolution of theirs, the Queene with the Prelates and the Earle of *Gloceſter* ſeeing, they ſeeke by all meanes to qualifie their heate; and at length ſo prevailed with them, that they humble themſelves to the King, and crave pardon for that they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into grace, as his loyall ſubjects: grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their Indemnity concerning the death of *Gaveſton*: and for the greater ſhew of true reconcilement, *Guy de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke*, is made of the Kings Counſell, though ſhortly after he ended his life, not without ſuſpition of poyſon; as being a man much envied by ſuch as poſſeſt the King. The King kept his Chriſtmas at *Clipſton*, and his Eaſter at *Clarendon*: and they ſeemed to be all good friends, but this reconcilement of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of fire with aſhes, every little wind that blew, made it breake out into flames afreſh, & the time being ſo unſetled as it was, it was impoſſible but ſuch winds would continually be blowing. It was ſuch a wind blew, when the great Earle of *Lancaſter* had his wife (a Lady who had lived with him alwayes in good fame) taken out of his houſe at *Canford* in *Dorſetſhire*, by one *Richard* Saint *Martin*, a deformed lame Dwarfe, who challenged her to be his wife, and that he had lien with her before the Earle married her: and this wind was made to blow the ſtronger, by the Ladies owne confeſſion, for upon examination, ſhe voluntarily averred, it was all true: and thereupon the ougly fellow in her right claimed the two Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisbury*, which he durſt not have done, if he had not beene back'd with great Abettours: and it was not without aſperſion upon the King himſelfe. It was another ſuch wind blew, when at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, at dinner in the open Hall at *Weſtminſter*, a woman fantaſtically diſguiſed, entred on horſebacke, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, wherein was ſignified the great neglect he ſhewed of ſuch as had done him and his Father noble ſervices, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, and ſuch other complaints; which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage; they who guarded the doore being ſharply reprehended for ſuffering her to enter in ſuch manner, anſwered, It was the faſhion of the Kings houſe in times of Feſtivals, to keepe out none that came as this woman did, to make ſport. Search being made for the woman, ſhe is found and examined who ſet her on; ſhe confeſſed a knight gave her money to doe it; the knight is found, and upon examination, boldly anſwered, he did it for the Kings honour, and to no other end; and thereupon eſcaped without further trouble. It was ſuch another wind blew, when a knight was taken paſſing by *Pomfret*, with Letters ſealed with the Kings Seale, directed to the King of *Scots*, about murthering the Earle of *Lancaſter*; which meſſenger is executed, his head ſet upon

the top of the Caſtle, and the Letters reſerved to witneſſe the intended plot. Which whether it were fained, or true, the report thereof reflected upon the King, and made many to take the Earles part. It was ſuch another wind blew, when a fanatick fellow, one *John Powdras*, a Tanners ſonne of *Exeter*, gave forth, that himſelfe was th true *Edward*, eldeſt ſonne of the late King *Edward* the firſt, and by a falſe Nurſe was changed in his Cradle, and that the now King *Edward* was a Carters ſon, and laid in his place: but this wind was ſoone blowne over, when at his death, being drawne and hanged, he confeſſed he had a Familiar Spirit in his houſe in the likeneſſe of a Cat, that aſſured him he ſhould be King of *England*, and that he had ſerved the ſaid Spirit three yeares before to bring his purpoſe about. But moſt of all, it was ſuch a wind blew, when a Baron named *William Brewis*, having waſted his eſtate, offers to ſell unto divers men, a part of his inheritance called *Powis*. *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, obtaines leave of the King to buy it, & bargains for it. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Unkle and Nephew, great men likewiſe in thoſe parts, not underſtanding, it ſeemes, any thing of the former bargaine, contract alſo for the ſame Land with the ſaid Sir *William Brewis*. *Hugh Spenſer* the younger, hearing of this ſale, and the land adjoyning to part of his, obtaines a more ſpeciall leave of the King, being now his Chamberlaine, and buyes it out of their hands. The Earle of *Hereford* complaines hereof to the Earle of *Lancaſter*: who thereupon at *Sherbourne* enters into a new confederation with divers Barons there aſſembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and die together in maintaining the right of the kingdome; and to procure the baniſhment of the two *Spenſers*, father and ſonne, whom they now held to be the great ſeducers of the King, and oppreſſours of the State, diſpoſing of all things in Court at their pleaſure, and ſuffering nothing to be obtained but by their meanes: and under this pretence they take Armes, and comming armed to Saint *Albons*, they ſend to the King, being then at *London*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*, (who were there aſſembled to conſult for peace) requiring him as he tendred the quiet of the Realme, to rid his Court of thoſe Traitours, the *Spenſers*, condemned in many Articles of high treaſon by the communalty of the Land, and withall to grant his Letters Patents of pardon and indemnity both to them and all ſuch as tooke part with them. The King returnes anſwer, that *Hugh Spenſer* the father was now beyond the Seas, imployed in his buſineſſe, and his ſonne was guarding the Cinque-ports according to his office, and that it was againſt Law or Cuſtome they ſhould be baniſhed without being heard: and withall ſwore, he would never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting Letters of pardon to ſuch notorious offenders, who contemned his perſon, diſturbed the kingdome, and violated the royall Majeſty. Which anſwer ſo exaſperated the Lords, that preſently they approached to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbs, till they had leave of the King to enter into the City; where they peremptorily urge their demands: to which at length by mediation of the Queene, and the chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condeſcend, and by his Edict, publiſhed in *Weſtminſter* Hall, by the Earle of *Hereford*, the *Spenſers* are baniſhed the kingdome. *Hugh* the father hearing it, keepes beyond the Seas, but the ſonne ſecretly hides himſelfe in *England*, expecting the turne of a better ſeaſon. And indeed ſhortly after, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* in a Councell holden at *London*, pronounceth the baniſhment of the *Spenſers* to have beene erronious, and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the *Spenſers* are called home, and ſet in as great authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their deſire, with the Kings Letters of indemnity returne home, but yet not with ſuch ſecurity as to give over the proviſion for their owne defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected accident, that ſuddenly wrought the Lords confuſion. The Queene making her progreſſe towards *Canterbury*, intended to lodge in the Caſtle of *Leedes*, belonging to the Lord *Badleſmere*, (who had beene long the Kings Steward, but now tooke part with the Lords) and ſending her Marſhall to make ready for her and her traine, they who kept the Caſtle told him plainely, that neither the Queene, nor any elſe ſhould enter there without Letters from their Lord. The Queene her ſelfe goes to

the Caſtle, and receives the like anſwer; whereupon ſhe is driven to take ſuch lodging otherwhere as could be provided. Of which indignity ſhe complaines to the King; who tooke it ſo to heart, that preſently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he laies ſiege to the Caſtle, takes it, hangs the keeper *Thomas Culepepper*, ſends the wife and children of the Lord *Badleſmer* to the Tower, and ſeiſeth upon all his goods and treaſure. And having this power about him, and warmed with ſucceſſe and the inſtigation of the Queene, ſuddenly directs his courſe to *Chichester*; where he keepes his Chriſtmas, and there provides for an Army againſt the Barons: whereof many (ſeeing the Kings power encreaſing) left their Aſſociats, and yeeld themſelves to his mercie: amongſt whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and meanes; the Lord *Hugh Audely*, the Lord *Maurice Barkely*, and others: who notwithſtanding, contrary to their expectation, were ſent to divers Priſons. The Earles of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford* ſeeing this ſudden change, withdrew themſelves and their companies from about *Gloceſter*, towards the North-parts: whom the King followes with his Army; wherin were the Earles of *Athell* & *Angus*, and at *Burton* upon *Trent*, where they had made a head, diſcomfited their forces, and put them to flight. In the meane time the Earle of *Lancaſter* had ſent into *Lancaſhire* a knight of his, named *Robert Holland*, (one whom he had brought up of naught) to raiſe more forces amongſt his Tenants; but he hearing of this flight of his Lords, goes with his forces to take the Kings part; which ſo diſmaies the Earle, that he beganne now to thinke of ſuing to the King for grace; but being in the way, at a Towne called *Borough-bridge*, was there ſet upon by Sir *Simon Warde* Sheriffe of *Yorke*, and Sir *Andrew Harkeley* Conſtable of *Carlile*, who utterly defeat his forces: In which fight was ſlaine the Earle of *Hereford*, (who fighting valiantly upon a Bridge, was by a Varlet skulking under the Bridge, thruſt with a Speare into the fundament) Sir *Roger Beneſield*, Sir *William Sulland* and others; there was taken the Earle of *Lancaſter*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, Sir *John Mowbray*, Sir *Roger Tuckets*; Sir *William Fits-Williams*, with divers other, and were led to *Yorke*. This field was fought the fifteenth day of *March*, in the yeare 1320. It was not long after that Sir *Hugh Daniell*, Sir *Bartholomew de Baddelſmer* were taken. Three dayes after the Earle of *Lancaſter* is brought to *Pomfret*, where the King ſitting himſelfe in judgement with *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* his brother, the Earle of *Pembroke*, the Earle *Warren*, *Hugh Spenſer*, lately created Earle of *Winchester*, and others; ſentence of death is given againſt him, to be drawne, hanged, and beheaded as a Traitor. The two firſt puniſhments are pardoned, in regard he was of Royall bloud: onely beheaded he was the ſame day without the Towne of *Pomfret*, before his owne Caſtle. To ſpeake of the Miracles ſaid to be done by him after his death, might be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle, and therefore I omit them. By the like judgement were condemned, the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warren Liſle*, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Mauduit*, *Henry Bradburne*, *William Fits-Williams*, *William* Lord *Cheyney*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, *Joceline* Lord *Damill*, all which were executed at *Yorke*. Shortly after, the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawne, hanged, and quartered at *London*; the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windſor*; the Lords *Badleſmere* and *Aſhburton* at *Canterbury*: at *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, Sir *William Flemming*; at *Briſtow*, Sir *Henry Wonington*, and Sir *Henry Montford* Bannerets, at *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Clifford*, and Sir *William Elminbridge*, principall men in principall places, to ſpread the more terrour over the kingdome: all their eſtates and inheritances are confiſcated, and many new men advanced by the ſame. And this is the firſt bloud of Nobility that ever was ſhed in this manner in *England* ſince *William* the Conquerour.

But not long after, the King in a calmer humour, beganne to have a ſenſe of the Earle of *Lancaſters* execution, which he diſcovered upon this occaſion: ſome about him making earneſt ſuite for a Pardon to one of the Earles followers; and preſſing the King hard to it, he fell into a great paſſion, exclaiming againſt them as unjuſt and wicked Counſellours, who would urge him to ſave the life of a notorious Varlet, and would not ſpeake one word for his neare kinſman, the Earle of *Lancaſter*: who (ſaid he) had he lived, might have beene uſefull to me, and the whole kingdome;

dome; but this fellow the longer he lives, the more miſchiefe he will doe, and therefore by the ſoule of God, he ſhould die the death he had deſerved. Sir *Andrew Harkeley*, who was the man that tooke the Earle of *Lancaſter* priſoner, being advanced for his ſervice to the Earledome of *Carlile*, enjoyed his honour but a while, for the next yeare after, either thruſt out into diſcontent by the *Spenſers*, envying his high preferment, or combining with the *Scots*, upon hope of a great match, (as he was accuſed) he is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hanged, and quartered at *London* for Treaſon. But now the King of *France* ſummons King *Edward* to come and doe his homage for *Gaſcoyne*, and he not comming, all his Territories in *France* are adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance are ſeiſed on by the *French*. Hereupon a Parliament is called, and it is by common conſent of all agreed, that the King ſhould not goe in perſon himſelfe, in regard of the diſtraction of the times, but ſhould ſend ſome ſpeciall man to excuſe his appearance; whereupon *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother is ſent, but to little effect. Then it is thought fit the Queene ſhould goe, and indeed the Queene went; but what was the cauſe of her going, there is amongſt Writers great variance: ſome ſay ſhe was ſent by the King to accommodate this buſineſſe, which ſhe negotiated ſo well, as that all quarrels were ended, upon condition the King ſhould give to his ſonne *Edward*, the Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, with the Earledome of *Ponthieu*, and ſend him over to doe his homage for them; which after many conſultations, the King is wrought to yeeld unto; and the Prince is ſent with the Biſhop of *Exeter* and others to the Court of *France* accordingly: but others ſay, ſhe went out of diſcontent, to complaine to her brother the King of *France*, for wrongs offered her by the *Spenſers*, who had ſo alienated the Kings minde from her, that he would ſcarce come where ſhe was, nor allow her fit maintenance for her calling. But whatſoever was the cauſe of her going, there appeared no cauſe of her ſtaying, but that ſhe had gotten into her company, *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore*, a gallant young Gentleman, whom ſhe ſpecially favoured, lately eſcaped out of the Tower of *London*, by giving his keepers (as was ſaid) a ſleeping drinke. And withall, the Biſhop of *Exeter* perceiving ſome plots to be in hand, and their cloſe conſultations made without him, withdrawes himſelfe ſecretly, and diſcovers to the King what he obſerved in their courſes. Whereupon the King ſends preſently for the Qu. and Prince, and ſolicits the King of *France* to haſten their return; which when he ſaw was neglected and delaied, he cauſed them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the kingdome, baniſhed them and all their adherents out of the Land; and withall cauſeth all the Ports to be ſtrongly kept; and ſends three Admirals to attend in ſeverall Coaſts to hinder their landing. It was not without ſuſpition, that as the King for love of the *Spenſers*, had his minde alienated from loving the Queen; ſo the Queen for love of *Mortimer*, had her minde alienated from loving the King, and therefore having him with her, cared not how long ſhe ſtaied. However it was, when the Queene heard of the Kings Proclamation, ſhe knew there was no returning for her into *England* without ſome good aſſiſtance: whereupon ſoliciting her brother the King of *France*, he aided her with men and money (ſay ſome: but others, that he refuſing to aide her, as being wrought under hand by the *Spenſers* againſt her; ſhe left the *French* Court, and went into *Heynault*, to the Earle of that Countrey, who upon a contract betweene her ſonne Prince *Edward* and *Philippa* the Earles daughter, aided her with a competent Army, under the conduct of his brother *John*: and with them and her beloved *Mortimer*, ſhe tooke ſhipping and landed at *Orwell*, a Port neare into *Harwich* in *Suffolke*: where preſently came to her the Earle Marſhall, *Henry* Earle of *Leyceſter*, and *Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter* with the wry neck, called *Tortcell*, with many other Lords and Biſhops. The King at this time being at *London*, and hearing of the Queenes landing with ſuch forces, and chiefely how all the Realme ranne flocking to her, was ſuddenly ſtrucken into a great amazement; and though he had his great Counſellours the *Spenſers* about him, yet now he found what little good their counſel could do him: and indeed in this caſe, what ſhould he, or what could he do? To ſtay in *London* was apparent danger, for he plainely ſaw the

Londoners

Londoners to be more inclining to take the Queenes part then his, and to goe from *London* to any other place was as unsafe, all places being possest either with certaine Enemies or uncertaine Friends: at last the Isle of *Lundy* is thought of, a place plentifull of provision, abounding with Conies, Fish and Fowle, and the Island of hard accesse, as having but one place in it where it could be entred, and that so narrow, that a few might easily keepe out many; upon this place he resolves, and taking with him the Earle of *Glocester*, the *Spensers*, and *Robert Baldocke*, with some few others, he takes shipping, but by contrary windes is driven backe, and faine through Tempests to land in *Wales*, and there in the Abbey of *Neth* in *Glamorganshire* kept himselfe close. In the meane time the Queene was come to *Oxford*, where *Adam* Bishop of *Hereford* Preaching tooke for his Text, *Caput meum dolet*, and thereupon inferred, that the kingdome being now deadly sicke of its head, it was fit to remove that head, and put a sounder in the place. At this time also, the *Londoners* to shew their love to the Queene, seised upon *Walter Stapleton* the good Bishop of *Exeter* and Lord Treasurer of *England*, left Governour there by the King, and with great despight beheaded him, as also divers others, onely because they favoured the King. In the meane time, the Queene went from *Oxford* to *Glocester*, and from thence to *Bristow*, where *Hugh Spenser* the Father was, a man of fourescore and ten yeares old, who is there taken, and without examination or Judgement, in most cruell manner Executed, having his heart pulled out of his body being yet alive, and his body left hanging upon the Gallowes. After this the Queene stayed at *Hereford* the space of a moneth, and then dividing her Army, she sends one part of it, under the Conduct of *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, and *Ryce ap Powell* a Clerke, to find out the King: and this *Ryce* being a *Welshman*, and knowing the Country well, brought the Earle to the Monastery of *Nethe* where the King was, whom they there take together with *Spenser* the Sonne, *Robert Baldocke*, and *Simon* of *Reading*. The King is by the Bishop of *Hereford* committed to the custody of the Earle of *Leycester*: where all that Winter he was used no worse then was fit for a captive King. But *Edmund* Earle of *Arundell*, *John Daniel*, and *Thomas Micheldene*, at the instance of *Mortimer*, are all three beheaded. Presently after is *Hugh Spenser* the younger, who was now Earle of *Glocester*, drawne, hanged and quartered, his head sent up to be set upon *London* Bridge, and his foure quarters bestowed in severall Cities. The like is done with *Simon* of *Reading*, but *Robert Baldocke* is committed to *New-Gate*, against whom, when no just cause of death could be found, there was used so much cruelty in his imprisonment, that he shortly after dyed.

Presently after *Christmas* a Parliament is called, wherein it is agreed to depose the King, and set up his Sonne, which he hearing refused it, unlesse his Father would freely resigne, whereupon are appointed three Bishops, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, and of every City a Burgesse, to goe to the King, (in custody then at *Kenelworth*) The Bishops were, *John* of *Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam Torleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Lincolne*. But the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincolne*, getting to the King before the rest came, perswade the King to resigne his Crowne to his eldest Sonne, craftily promising him he should have as good maintenance afterward, as ever he had when he was King. And contrarily threatning him, that if he did it not, the people would exclude both him and his Sonne too, and make a King of another Race. By these promises and threatnings, the meeke King is drawne to yeeld to the Bishops motion; but when afterward the Bishop of *Hereford*, and the other Commissioners came, and were sate in a place appointed to take his Resignation, the King comming forth amongst them in mourning Robes, upon a suddenfell downe in a swound, in whom the Earle of *Leycester*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, had much adoe to recover life; but then the Bishop of *Hereford* rising up, delivered the cause of their comming, as the other Bishops before had done. To which the King answered, that as he much grieved his People should be so hardned against him as utterly to reject him; so it was some comfort unto him, that they would yet receive his Son

to

to be their Soveraigne. After this, *Thomas Blunt* knight, Steward of the Kings house, brake the Staffe of his Office; and *William Trussell* Speaker of the Parliament, in name of the whole kingdome, pronounced a Forme of Renouncing all Allegeance to *Edward* of *Carnarvan*. Here *Caxton* writes, that from the time of this Kings Deposing, which was in *December*, to the time of his Sonnes Crowning, which was not till *Candlemas* following, all Pleas of the *Kings Bench* were stayed, and all Prisoners, arrested by Sheriffes, commanded to be set at liberty; which seemes to have little probability, seeing his Sonne *Edward* presently upon his Deposing was received for King: But howsoever so great a Dowre was then assigned to Queene *Isabel*, that scarce a third part of the Revenues of the Crowne is left for the new King and his Wife: And to the late King is allowed a hundred Markes a moneth for his maintenance, with which he lived with his Cousin the Earle of *Leycester*, in good plenty and contentment for a time, onely this grieved him most of all (he said) that the Queene his Wife would never be gotten to come to see him: For he swore most devoutly that from the time he first saw her face, he could never like of any other Woman. By which it may appeare, that neither *Gaveston* nor the *Spensers* had so debauched him, as to make him false to his bed, or to be disloyall to his Queene. But the Queene being hardned against him, and conceiving he had too great Liberty under the Earle of *Leycester*, by advise of her pestilent Counsellour, *Adam Torleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, appoints *Thomas Gourney*, and *Sir Matrevers* knights, to take him from the Earle into their owne Custody, and to carry him whither they thought good; who thereupon take him from *Kenelworth*, and carry him first to *Corfe* Castle, and from thence to *Bristow*, where they shut him in the Castle; till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and send him beyond Sea, they tooke him in the night and carryed him to *Barkeley* Castle, where by the way they abused him most inhumanely, as Sir *Thomas de la Mare* knight of *Glocestershire* in his Life relateth: For to the end he should not be knowne, they shaved his Head and Beard, and that in most beastly manner; for they took him from his Horse and set him upon a Hillocke, and then taking puddle water out of a Ditch thereby, they went to wash him, his Barber telling him that cold water must serve for this time: whereat the miserable King looking sternely upon him, said, That whether they would or no, he would have warme water to wash him: and therewithall to make good his word, he presently shed forth a shower of teares. Never was King turned out of a kingdome in such a manner; Many kingdomes have beene lost by the chance of Warre, but this kingdome was lost before any Dice were cast; no blow strucke, no Battell fought; done forcibly, and yet without force; violently, and yet with consent; both parties agreed, yet neither pleased; for the King was not pleased to leave his kingdome, and the Queene was not pleased to leave him his life; it was not safe to leave him a part, by which he might afterward recover the whole; and therefore this was the marke now aimed at, having taken away his kingdome openly, how they might take away his life secretly; be the Authours of it, and not be seene in it; but this must be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

BY this King it appeares, there is something else besides the grievance of Taxations, that alienates the mindes of *English* Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations then in this Kings time, yet never were the Subjects minds more alienated from their King, then they were from him. Before his Coronation, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporalty. In his fifth yeare in a Parliament at *London*, was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporalty. In his fifteenth yeare was granted the sixth penny of temporall mens Goods, through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, towards his Warres with *Scotland*. And more then these we reade not of: but then at the defeate of the Earle of *Lancaster*, there were Confiscations that supplyed

plyed the place of Taxations, by which (as one ſaith) he became the richeſt King that had beene ſince the Conqueſt.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

HE Ordained that the moneyes of his Father, though counted baſe by the People, ſhould be currant. In the eight yeare of his Raigne, by reaſon of a dearth which raiſed the price of all Victuals, it was Ordained by Parliament, that an Oxe fatted with graſſe, ſhould be ſold for fifteene ſhillings; fatted with Corne, for twenty; the beſt Cow for twelve ſhillings; a fat Hogge of two yeares old, three ſhillings foure pence; a fat Sheepe ſhorne, fouteteene pence, with the Fleece, twenty pence; a fat Gooſe for two pence halfe-penny; a fat Capon two pence; a fat Hen a penny; foure Pigeons a penny; whoſoever ſold for more, ſhould forfait their Ware to the King. But after theſe Rates impoſed, all kinde of Victuals grew ſo ſcarce, that proviſion could hardly be made for the Kings houſe; whereupon ſhortly after, the Order was revoked, and Market Folkes permitted to make the beſt of their Wares. In this Kings time an Ordinance was made againſt knights Templars, accuſed of Hereſie and other crimes, and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers Priſons. The like was done by all the Kings of Chriſtendome, at one inſtant, being condemned in a Generall Counſell at *Vienna*. In the 14. yeare of his Raigne, on the 15. of *October*, the Clerkes of the Exchequer went towards *Yorke* with the Booke called *Domus Dei*, and other Records and Proviſion that laded one and twenty Carts, but within halfe a yeare they were brought backe againe.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN the 17. yeare of his Raign the Biſhop of *Hereford* was arreſted, accuſed of High Treaſon, for aiding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion; but he refuſed to anſwer, (being a conſecrated Biſhop) without leave of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe Suffragan he was, (and who he ſaid was his direct Judge, next the Pope) or without the conſent of his fellow Biſhops: who then all aroſe, and humbly craved the Kings Clemency in his behalfe; but finding the King implacable, they tooke him away from the Barre, and delivered him to the cuſtody of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*: ſhortly after, he was againe taken and convented as before, which the Clergy underſtanding, the Arch-biſhops, *Canterbury*, *Yorke*, and *Dublin*, with tenne other Biſhops, all with their Croſſes erected, went to the place of Judgement, and againe tooke him away with them; charging all men, upon paine of Excommunication, to forbeare to lay violent hands upon him; with which audacious Act, the King was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he preſently commanded inquiry to be made *ex Officio Judicis*, concerning thoſe Objections againſt the Biſhop, wherein he was found guilty, though abſent, and had all his Goods and Poſſeſſions ſeiſed into the Kings hands. In this Kings time the Crowchet Fryers came firſt into *England*. In his time, Pope *John* the two and twentieth, firſt Inſtituted the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*; begunne before by *Urban* the fourth.

Workes of piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King founded *Oriall* Colledge, and Saint *Mary* Hall in *Oxford*: He builded a Church of Fryers at his Manour of *Langley*, where the ſoule of *Gaveſton* ſhould be prayed for. In this Kings twentieth yeare, *Richard Rothing* Sheriffe of *London* builded the Parish Church of *Garlickhithe* in *London*. *Ralph Baldocke* Biſhop of *London* gave two thouſand Markes to the building of the new Worke of the Chappell, on the South ſide of *Paules* Church. And left much more by his Teſtament.

Caſualties.

IN the eighth yeare of this Kings Raigne, was ſo great a dearth, that Horſes and Dogges were eaten, and Theeves in priſon pluckt in peeces thoſe that were newly brought in amongſt them, and eate them halfe alive; which continuing three yeares, brought in the end ſuch a peſtilence, that the living ſcarce ſufficed to bury the dead. In the fourth yeare of his Raigne, the Church of *Middleton* in *Dorſetſhire*, with all the Monuments, was conſumed with Lightning, the Monkes being at Matrins. In this Kings time, digging the Foundation of a worke about *Pauls*, were found more then a hundred heads of Oxen and kine, which confirmed the opinion, that of old time it had beene the Temple of *Jupiter*, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beaſts.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE marryed *Iſabel* Daughter of *Philip* the Faire, King of *France*, ſhe being but twelve yeares of age; who lived his Wife twenty yeares, his Widdow thirty, and dying at threeſcore and three yeares old, at *Ryſings* neare *London*, was buried in the midſt of the *Gray Fryers* Quire in *London*. By her he had iſſue two Sons and two Daughters: his eldeſt Sonne named *Edward* of *Windſor*, becauſe borne there, ſucceeded him in the kingdome. His ſecond Sonne named *John* of *Eltham*, becauſe borne there, was at twelve yeares old created Earle of *Cornwall*: he dyed in *Scotland*, in the flowre of his Youth, unmarryed. His eldeſt Daughter *Joane*, being a childe, was marryed in the fourth yeare of King *Edward* her Brother, to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Sonne to King *Robert Bruce*, at ſeven yeares old, who comming afterward into *England* to viſit her Brother, dyed here, and was buryed at the *Gray Fryers* in *London*. His ſecond Daughter *Eleanor*, was marryed to *Reginold* the ſecond Earle of *Gelder*, with a portion of fifteene thouſand pounds, and had iſſue by him two Sonnes, who were Earles ſucceſſively.

Of his Perſonage, and Conditions.

HE was faire of body, and of great ſtrength, but given much to drinke, which made him oftentimes bewray his owne Secrets; For his other conditions, his greateſt fault was, that he loved but one, for if his love had beene divided, it could not have beene ſo violent. He was extreame in nothing but in loving; and though love moderated, be the beſt of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worſt of paſſions. He was rather unfortunate then unhappy; ſeeing unfortunateneſſe is in the Event, unhappineſſe in the Cauſe; and if his fortune had beene to love good men, his owne goodneſſe would have made him happy. Two Vertues were eminent in him above all his Predeceſſours, Continence, and Abſtinence: So continent that he left no baſe iſſue behind him; So abſtinent, that he tooke no baſe courſes for raiſing of money. They who deſpiſed him being alive, ſo much honoured him being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to make him a Saint.

Of his Death and Buriall.

MAny wayes were attempted to take away his life: Firſt, they vexed him in his dyet, allowing him nothing he could well endure to eate, but this ſucceeded not. Then they lodged him in a chamber over canon and dead carkaſſes, enough to have poyſoned him, and indeed he told a workman at his window, he never endured ſo great a miſery in all his life, but neither did this ſucceed: Then they attempted it by Poyſons, but whether by the ſtrength of his conſtitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this ſucceed. At laſt the peſtilent *Achitophel*, the Biſhop of *Hereford*, deviſed a Letter to his keepers, blaming them for giving him

too much liberty, and for not doing the ſervice which was expected from them: and in the end of his Letter wrote this line, *Edwardum Occidere nolite timere bonum eſt*: Craftily contriving it in this doubtfull ſenſe, that both the keepers might find ſufficient warrant, and himſelfe might find ſufficient excuſe. The keepers gueſſing at his meaning, tooke it in the worſt ſenſe, and accordingly put it in execution; they tooke him in his bed, and caſting heavy bolſters upon him, and preſſing them hard downe, ſtifled him; and not content with that, they heated an iron red hot, and through a pipe thruſt it up into his Fondament, that no markes of violence might be ſeene; but though none were ſeene, yet ſome were heard; For when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roare and cry all the Caſtle over. *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, his murtherers, looking for reward, had the reward of murtherers: For the Queene and Biſhop *Torleton* diſavowing the command, threatned to queſtion them for the Kings death: whereupon they fled beyond Sea; and *Gourney* after three yeares being taken in *France*, and ſent into *England*, was in the way upon the Sea beheaded. *Matrevers* flying into *Germany*, had the grace to repent, but lived ever after miſerably. Thus dyed this King in the yeare 1327. more then halfe a yeare after his depoſing; when he had Raigned almoſt 19. yeares, lived 43. His body was carryed to *Glocester*, and there without any Funerall Pompe buryed in the Monaſtery of Saint *Peter*, by the Benedictine Fryers.

Of Men of note in his time.

IN this Kings time, of Martiall men were many, whoſe Acts have beene ſpoken of in the late Kings life. Of Learned men, alſo many, as *John Duns* the great Logician, called *Doctor Subtilis*, borne in *Northumberland*, at *Emildune* a Village three miles diſtant from *Almwicke*; though both the *Scots* and the *Iriſh* challenge him for theirs. *Robert Walſingham* a Carmelite Fryer, who wrote divers Treatiſes. *Robert Baſton* borne in *Nottingham-ſhire*, a Carmelite Fryer of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* tooke with him into *Scotland*, to write ſome Remembrances of his victories, but being taken by the *Scots* was conſtrained by *Robert Bruce* to write Remembrances of his overthrowes. *William Riſhanger*, a Monke of Saint *Albans*, an Hiſtoriographer; *Ralph Baldocke* Biſhop of *London*, who wrote a Hiſtory intituled *Hiſtoria Anglica*; *John Walſingham*, a Carmelite Fryer, who wrote divers Treatiſes; *Nicholas de Lyra* a Jew by birth, who wrote many excellent Treatiſes in Divinity; *William Ockam* a Fryer *Minor*, who wrote divers Treatiſes, and namely againſt *John Duns*, and alſo againſt Pope *John* the 23. in favour of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; *Thomas Huſelwood*, a Canon of *Leedes* in *Kent*, who wrote a Chronicle, called *Chronicon compendiarium*; *Robert Perſcrutator*, borne in *Yorkeſhire*, a blacke Fryer and a Philoſopher, or rather a Magician; and laſtly, though not leaſt worthy to be remembred, *John Mandevile*, the great Travellour, a Doctor of Phyſicke, and a Knight.

THE LIFE and RAIGNE OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

Of his comming to the Crowne, and Acts done in his minority.

EDward of *Windſor*, eldeſt ſonne of King *Edward* the ſecond, by Order of Parliament, upon his Fathers Reſignation, was proclaimed King of *England*, on the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the yeare 1327. and becauſe he had not yet received the Order of knighthood, he was by *Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter* girt ſolemnly with the Sword, and on the firſt day of *February* following, was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Walter Reginolds* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: and thereupon a generall Pardon is Proclaimed, which hath ſince beene uſed as a Cuſtome with all the ſucceeding Kings: that at their firſt comming to the Crowne, a Generall Pardon is alwayes granted. And becauſe the King was under age, ſcarce fifteene yeares old (though *Froyſſard* ſaith he was then Eighteene) there were twelve appointed Governours of him and the kingdome, namely the Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Worceſter*; *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, Earle Marſhall, *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, the Kings Unkles; *John* Earle *Warren*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Percie*, *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, and *John* Lord *Roſſe*: but though theſe were appointed and bore the name, yet the Queen and *Roger Mortimer* tooke all the authority to themſelves. The firſt action that was undertaken, was an expedition againſt the *Scots*; for *Robert Bruce*, though now old and ſickly, and (as was ſaid) Leprous: yet conſidering the youth of the new King, and the diſtractions of the kingdome, thought it now a fit time to doe ſome good upon *England*: and entring the *Engliſh* borders with an Army, ſent defiance to King *Edward*: whereupon an Army is raiſed, and the *Heynaulders* (whom the Queen had brought over) are joyned with the *Engliſh*; but a variance falling out betweene the two Nations, made the action not ſucceſſefull. For the Kings Army encountring the *Scots* at *Stanhope* Parke in *Weridall* in the Biſhopricke of *Durham*, though three times as many as the *Scots*, as being thirty thouſand; yet through this variance, but more through treaſon of ſome great men, ſuffered them all to eſcape their hands, and the *Scots* returned home in ſafety, the *Engliſh* with diſhonour: and after this, the *Engliſh* ſeeing the *Heynaulders* could doe them no good, ſent them away to their owne Country. In King *Edwards* ſecond yeare, his marriage with *Philippa* of *Heynault* is ſolemniſed, (a diſpenſation being firſt gotten, becauſe of their neareneſſe in bloud) and a Parliament is holden at

Northamp.

Northampton, where the King made three Earles: *John* of *Eltham* his brother, Earle of *Cornwall*; *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, and *James Butler* of *Ireland*, Earle of *Ormond*: and in this Parliament a dishonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match betweene *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, being but seven yeares old, and *Joane* sister to King *Edward*, not so old; at which time, by the secret working of Queene *Isabell*, *Roger Mortimer* and Sir *James Douglasse*; the King surrenders by his Charter, all his title of Soveraignty to the Kingdome of *Scotland*, restores divers Deeds and Instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called *Ragmans Roll*, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments, amongst which was the blacke Crosse of *Scotland*; and besides, any *English* man is prohibited to hold lands in *Scotland*, unlesse he were a dweller there. In consideration whereof King *Bruce* was to pay thirty thousand Markes, and to renounce his claime to the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and any other place possessed by him in *England*. This was no good beginning, and yet worse followed after. For another Parliament being holden at *Winchester*, *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, the Kings Unkle, is there accused, and condemned upon his confession, for intending to restore his brother, the late King *Edward*; an intention onely without any fact, yet condemned he was, and brought to the Scaffold, but generally so beloved of the people, that he stood on the Scaffold from one a clocke till five, before any executioner could be found that would doe the office, till at last a silly wretch of the Marshalsey was gotten to cut off his head. But the Authors of his death escaped not long themselves, for in the third yeare of the Kings Raigne, another Parliament is holden at *Nottingham*, wherein the Queen hath all her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to her Pension of a thousand pounds a yeare, and her selfe confined to a Castle, where she remained the rest of her dayes, no fewer then thirty yeares, a time long enough to finde that her being the daughter of a King, the sister of a King, the wife of a King, and the mother of a King, were glorious titles, but all not worth the liberty of a meane estate; and as for *Mortimer*, (lying then in the Castle of *Nottingham*) and lately created Earle of the *Marches* of *Wales*) he was seised on in this manner; the King taking with him *William Montacute*, *Robert Holland*, and others, goe secretly one night by Torchlight, through a privie way under ground, till they came to the Queenes Chamber, where leaving the King without, they entred, and found the Queene with *Mortimer*, ready to goe to bed: then laying hands on him, they led him forth, after whom the Queene followed, crying, *Bel fits, bel fits, ayes pitie du gentil Mortimer*; good son good sonne, take pity upon the gentle *Mortimer*, suspecting that her sonne had beene amongst them: this course was taken to apprehend him for avoyding of tumult, he having no fewer then nineteore knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner servants continually about him. But thus seised on, he is committed presently to the Tower, accused of divers great crimes, whereof these were chiefe; that he had procured the late Kings death; that he had beene the author of the *Scots* safe escaping at *Stanhope* Parke, corrupted with the gift of thirty thousand pounds; that he had procured the late marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and kingdome; that he had beene too familiar with the Queene, as by whom she was thought to be with child: of which Articles he is found guilty, and condemned; and thereupon is drawne and hanged on the common Gallowes at the Elmes, now called *Tiburne*, where his body remained two dayes as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders.

After these businesses in *England*, there comes a new businesse upon him from the King in *France*: for about this time *Philippe le Bel*, King of *France*, the Queens brother dying without issue, the right of succession to the Crowne is devolved upon the Heire to *Charles* a former King, wherein are competitours *Philip* Duke *de Valois*, and *Edward* King of *England*; *Edward* is the nearer in bloud, but drawes his Pedegree by a Female: *Philippe*, the further off, but descending by all Males; and because the Law *Salique* excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all descendants by Females, therefore is *Philips* title preferred before King *Edwards*, and

and *Philip* is received and crowned King of *France*: to which preferment of his, *Robert* d' *Arthois* a Peere of great power, gave no ſmall furtherance. And now as ſoone as *Philip* was Inveſted in the Crowne, he ſummons King *Edward* to come and doe his Homage for the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and his other lands in *France*, held of that Crowne, according to the cuſtome; which though it were ſome prejudice to King *Edwards* claime afterward, yet in regard his kingdome of *England* was ſcarce well ſetled, and himſelfe but young, he was contented to doe; and thereupon the ſixth of *June*, in the yeare 1329. King *Edward* in a Crimſon Velvet gowne imbroidered with Leopards, with his Crowne on his head, his Sword by his ſide, and golden Spurres on his heeles; preſents himſelfe in the body of the Cathedrall Church of *Amyens* before King *Philip*, ſitting in his Chaire of Eſtate, in a Velvet Gowne of a Violet colour imbroydered with Flowers *de lys* of Gold, his Crowne on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viſcount *Melun* Chamberlaine of *France*, firſt commands King *Edward* to put off his Crowne, his Sword, and his Spurres, and to kneele downe, which he did, on a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before King *Philip*; and then the Viſcount putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were theſe: You become Liegeman to my Maſter here preſent, as Duke of *Aquitaine* and Peere of *France*, and you promiſe to beare faith and loyalty unto him; Say yea: and King *Edward* ſaid yea, and kiſſed the King of *France* in the mouth, as Lord of the Fee. The like Homage alſo he did for the Earldome of *Ponthieu*. But this act of ſubmiſſion left a rancour in King *Edwards* heart, which afterwards brake ſo out, that it had beene good for *France* it had never beene exacted.

This done, King *Edward* returnes home, and there finds a new buſines with *Scotland*, upon this occaſion. *Edward Baylioll*, ſonne to *John Baylioll* (ſometimes King of *Scotland*) two and thirty yeares after his fathers depoſition, beganne now to ſhew himſelfe, attempting the recovery of that Crowne; and comming out of *France*, where he had all that while remained; and getting aide under-hand in *England*, with them he ſuddenly aſſailes thoſe who had the government of *Scotland*, during the Nonage of the young King *David*, (being at that time with the King of *France*) and in a battell overcame them, with the ſlaugher of many Noble men, and thouſands of the common people; and thereupon was immediatly Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But notwithſtanding this great defeat, King *Baylioll* was forced to retire him into *England* to get more aide of King *Edward*: who now ſhewes himſelfe in the action, joynes with *Baylioll* againſt his brother in Law, King *David*, goes in perſon with a ſtrong Army to recover *Berwicke*, which after three moneths ſiege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was taken in; and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the reſcue thereof, at *Hallidowne-hill*, utterly defeated: where were ſlaine ſeven Earles, ninety knights and Bannerets, foure hundred Eſquires, and about two and thirty thouſand common Souldiers, as our Writers report; as theirs, but foureteene thouſand: and with this effuſion of bloud is *Baylioll* returned to his miſerable kingdome, and to hold good correſpondence with the King of *England* hereafter, doth him Homage for his Realme of *Scotland*, and the Ilands adjacent. But though he had a kingdome, yet he had not quietneſſe, for many of the *Scots* aided by the *French*, made warre upon him divers yeares after; during all which time, King *David* with his wife remained in *France*. If any man marvell why King *Edward* would aide *Bailioll* againſt King *David*, who had married his ſiſter; he may conſider that Alliances, how neare ſoever, weigh but light in the Scales of State.

About this time the Ile of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute*, Earle of *Salisbury*; for which ſervice King *Edward* gave him the Title of King of *Man*.

of

Of his Acts after he came of age.

AND now *Robert* of *Arthois* baniſhed out of *France*, comes into *England*, whom King *Edward* makes Earle of *Richmond*, and of his Counſell. This *Robert* perſwades King *Edward* to make warre upon *France*, to which Crowne (he ſaid) he had more right then he that held it; with whoſe perſwaſions, King *Edward* is at laſt reſolved to undertake the enterpriſe: and to furniſh himſelfe of Noble Chiefetaines, he at one time in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the eighth yeare of his Raign, creates ſixe Earles, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* he made Earle *Derby*, *William Montacute* he made Earle of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Audeley* Earle of *Gloceſter*, *William Clinton* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Robert Clifford* or *Ufford* Earle of *Suffolke*; alſo twenty knights, of whom *Thomas de la Moore*, who writ the life of the Kings Father, was one: withall he enters League of amity with many Princes abroad, with the Dukes and Earles of *Gelders*, *Julyers*, *Cleves*, *Heynault*, and *Brabant*, and with the Arch-biſhop of *Colen*, and *Valeran* his brother: as on the other ſide, the King of *France* got to take his part the Biſhop of *Liege*, *John* King of *Bohemia*, Earle of *Luxemburg*, *Henry Count Palatine*, *Aubert* Biſhop of *Mets*, *Otho* Duke of *Auſtria*, *Ame* Earle of *Geneva*, with many other Princes and Captaines out of *Germany*, *Spaine*, and other Countries. King *Edward* thus reſolved in himſelfe, and furniſhed with friends abroad, goes over into *Flanders* with his Queene and children, makes his reſidence at *Antwerp*, where by perſwaſion of the *Flemings* he takes upon him the Stile, Title, and Armes of the King of *France*; for by this they accounted themſelves diſobliged of the Bond of twenty hundred thouſand crownes, which they had entred into, never to beare Armes againſt the King of *France*, and hereupon the League was eſtabliſhed betweene them and King *Edward*. And now King *Edward* for a beginning to put his claime in execution, ſets upon *Cambray*, and enters *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierach*; on the other ſide King *Philip* ſeiſeth on the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and ſends thither the *Conte d' Eu*, Conſtable of *France*, with the Earles of *Foix* and *Armigniack*. At laſt both Armies came ſo neare together, that a fight was appointed the Friday after; but upon better conſideration, the *Engliſh* thought it no diſcretion to give battell to an Army ſo much greater then their owne, if they could avoid it; and the *French* thought it as little diſcretion for them to hazard the perſon of their Prince within his owne kingdome; and perhaps were not a little moved with the warning given them by *Robert* King of *Sicilie*, a great Aſtronomer, that he fore-ſaw by the Starres, ſome great misfortune to threaten the *French*, if they ſhould that day fight with the *Engliſh*, King *Edward* being preſent: and thus both Armies having their ſeverall reaſons to decline the battell, they parted without doing any thing; onely an accident happened ſcarce worth remembring, yet muſt be remembred. A Hare ſtarting out before the head of the *French* Army, cauſed a great ſhout to be made; whereupon, they who ſaw not the Hare, but onely heard the ſhout, ſuppoſing it to be the onſet to the battell, diſpoſed themſelves to fight, and foureteene Gentlemen for encouragements ſake, as the cuſtome is, were knighted; called afterward in merriment, knights of the Hare.

But now King *Edward* muſt a little looke home, and therefore leaving the Queen in *Brabant*, he paſſeth himſelfe into *England* about *Candlemas*, having beene in *Brabant* about a yeare; and landing at the Tower about midnight, and finding it unguarded, was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he preſently ſends for the Major of *London*, commanding him to bring before him the Chancellour and Treaſurer, with Sir *John* Saint *Paul*, *Michael Watch*, *Philp Thorpe*, *Henry Stratford*, Clergy men, (who it ſeemes were Officers for his Receipts) and *John Stoner* Juſtice of the Bench; all which, except the Chancellour, were apprehended and committed to priſon; as were afterward in like manner divers Officers of Juſtice, and Accomptants, upon inquiry made of their unjuſt proceeding. During the Kings abode in *England*, *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Ufford* Earle of *Suffolke*, left in *Flanders* to oppoſe the *French*, having performed divers great exploits, were at laſt

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in an encounter about *Liſle*, ſo overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken, and ſent priſoners to *Paris*. Beſides, about this time two accidents happened that were thought would be great rubs in King *Edwards* proceeding; one, that his Wives Father, *William* Earle of *Haynault*, dying, and leaving his ſonne to ſucceed, this ſon left his brother King *Edward*, and fell to take part with the King of *France*: the other, that the Duke of *Normandy*, thinking himſelfe as ſtrong as ever *William* Duke of *Normandy* was that conquered *England*, he ſaw no reaſon but he might conquer it as well as that *William*; and thereupon makes preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the enterpriſe: but theſe were but vapours that never came to be winds, at leaſt brought no ſtormes: for *John* Earle of *Haynault* had quickly enough of the King of *France*, and was ſoone after reconciled to his brother King *Edward*; and the Duke of *Normandy* went no further then preparations: for indeed King *Edward* proſecuted his courſes againſt *France* with ſuch heate, that all the neighbouring Princes ſeeing a fire kindled ſo neare their owne borders, were glad to looke to themſelves at home. But now to impeach the King of *Englands* returne into *France*, King *Philip* had provided a mighty Navie in the Haven of *Sluce*, conſiſting of two hundred ſaile of Ships (beſides many Gallies) and two thouſand armed men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his landing: whereof King *Edward* being adverti-ſed, prepares the like number of Ships, and ſets out to Sea upon *Midſommer* Eve, is met the morrow after with a Navy likewiſe from the North parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and encounters his enemy who lay to intercept him with ſuch force and courage, and ſuch advantage of Wind and Sun, that he utterly defeated their whole Navy, took and ſunke all their Ships, ſlew thirty thouſand men, and landed with great glory, as ſuch a victory (the greateſt that ever before was gotten by the *Engliſh* at Sea) could yeeld, though King *Edward* himſelfe was there wounded with an Arrow in the thigh. Moſt of the *French*, rather then to endure the Arrowes of the *Engliſh*, or be taken, deſperately leapt into the Sea, whereupon the *French* King's Jeſter, ſet on to give him notice of this overthrow, (which being ſo ill newes, none elſe would willingly impart unto him) ſaid, and oftentimes repeated it in the King's hearing; Cowardly *Engliſh* men, Daſtardly *Engliſh* men, faint-hearted *Engliſh* men! the King at length asked him why? for that (ſaid he) they durſt not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, as our brave *French* men did. By which ſpeech the King apprehend a notion of this overthrow: which the *French* attribute to *Nicholas Bo-chet*, one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of baſe condition (content with ſmall pay) and refuſed Gentlemen and ſufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages: And indeed it often happens that the avarice of Commanders is the occaſion of great defeats.

By this victory King *Edward* gained a free entrance into *Flanders*, and preſently went and beſieged *Tournay* with an Army of five and fifty thouſand, but was ſo valiantly encountred by the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earle of *Armigniack*, that they routed his Army, and ſlew foure thouſand upon the place; which ſo enraged King *Edward*, that two dayes after he ſent a Challenge to King *Philip* to meete him in a ſingle combate, or with an hundred againſt as many, before the wals of *Tournay*. King *Philip* anſwers, that his Challenge being made to *Philip de Valois*, without mention of King, he tooke it not to be to him, who was truly King of *France*; but he wiſhed him to remember the Homage he had done him at *Amiens*, and the wrong he did to the Chriſtian world, by his troubleſome courſes to hinder him from his voyage intended to the Holy Land. Beſides this anſwer in writing, he ſends to him by word of mouth, that by his Challenge he hazarded nothing of his owne, but expoſed onely the Dominion of another: which was againſt all reaſon: but if he would ſet his kingdome of *England*, though much meaner, againſt his of *France*, he would then accept the Challenge, and meete him in the field in ſingle combate. But this King *Edward* would not hearken to, for as he was valiant to make the Challenge, ſo he was circumſpect to looke to the conditions. But hereupon he continues his ſiege of *Tournay*, for the reliefe whereof King *Philip* ſends all the forces he could poſſibly make by himſelfe or his friends, and after the ſiege

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had continued three moneths, partly by mediation of *Robert* King of *Sicilie*, but chiefely by the Lady *Jane* of *Valois*, sister to King *Philip*, and mother of King *Edwards* wife (who had vowed her selfe a Nunne; but to doe this good office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a yeare, and both their Armies are dissolved.

After this, K. *Edward* returning into *England*, was advertised how the *Scots* after many other places gained, had besieged the Castle of *Stirveling*; for reliefe whereof, the King makes all the haste he can; and yet before he could come, it was by force of battery, compelled to render it selfe upon conditions. Then King *Edward* being at *Berwicke*, passeth to *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, where he staies a moneth waiting for his provision that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other parts by tempest, he makes a Truce with the *Scots* for three or foure moneths; and then returnes home. In the time of this Truce, the *Scots* send to King *David*, to come and governe the kingdome in his owne person, who thereupon taking his leave of the King of *France*, with whom he had remained seven yeares, he with his wife *Joane*, King *Edwards* sister, returnes into *Scotland*, where after he had beene most honourably received by the Prince of Orknay, and the other Lords and Barons of the Kingdome, as soone as the Truce was ended, with a strong Army enters *Northumberland*, passing on to *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, where he plants his Campe. Of this Castle, *John Neville* was left governour by King *Edward*, who sending out certaine companies, tooke the Earle *Murray* prisoner, and with the slaughter of divers of his men, and rich booties, returned backe to his Castle; which so incensed King *David*, that he assaulted the Castle as a man enraged, but finding it too strong for his taking, he then passed into the Province of *Durham*, where he used all kinds of cruelty, first upon the Countrey, and then upon the City, killing men, women and children, Clergy, and others, burning and destroying houses and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he passeth on to the Castle of *Salisbury*, which Castle belonged to *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury* in right of his wife; but himselfe being then prisoner in *France*, onely his Countesse, and one *William Mountacute* a Cousin of his, was in the Castle. This *William* perceiving the *Scottish* horse to be so over-charged with pillage, that they were scarce able to goe, issues out of the Castle with forty horse, lets upon them, kils two hundred, and takes fixe score, whom he brings with their rich pillage, into the Castle. King *David* soone after with his whole Army arrived, but hearing of King *Edwards* comming (who certified of these things, made all the haste he could) he retires himselfe from thence; and King *Edward* finding him gone before he came, yet would needs goe in and visit the Countesse: of whom, as soone as he saw her, he was so enamoured, that he laid more battery to her chastity, then King *David* had done to her Castle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a day and a night he left it, and followed after the *Scots*, with whom for three dayes together he had many skirmishes, till at last a Truce was concluded for two yeares; and amongst other conditions, *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, prisoner with the King of *France*, was set at liberty in exchange for the Earle *Murray*, prisoner with the King of *England*.

About this time another difference fell out betweene the Kings of *France* and *England*. *John* Earle of *Montford* laid claime to the Dutchy of *Britaine*, but in the quarrell was taken prisoner by the King of *France*: his Lady sends to King *Edward* for succour; which King *Edward* grants upon condition that a marriage be made betweene his daughter *Mary* and the Earle of *Montfords* sonne, which being agreed on, he sends over to her aide, first, *Walter de Manny* a valiant knight, and afterward *Robert d' Arthois*: but whilest his Army was preparing, King *Edward* was informed by *Edward Baylioll*, the pretended King of *Scotland*, and Governour of *Berwicke*, that the *Scots* had not kept the conditions of the Truce; whereupon King *Edward* drawes a great Army to *Berwicke*, with a purpose to doe great matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was againe concluded for two yeares. By this time *Robert d' Arthois* had made ready his Army, and taking with him the Countesse of *Montford*, the Earles of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolke*, and many other Barons;

after great tempests and encounters at Sea, lands safely at last neare to *Vannes*, which was held by the *French*, and laying siege to the City, with the assistance of *Walter de Manny*, who came unto him, after many assaults, at last he tooke it, to the great joy of the Countesse of *Montford*, though she held it not long; for certaine resolute *French* knights assaulted it soone after, and recovered it from the *English*. In which action many Lords were slaine or wounded, and particularly *Robert de Arthois* himselfe; who passing over into *England*, for the better curing of his wounds, soone after died, and was buried in *Pauls* Church in *London*. And now King *Edward* himselfe with a strong Army passeth over into *Britaine*, and plants his Campe before the City of *Vannes*, where was like to have beene a cruell battell, but in the instant, there came from Pope *Clement* the sixth, two Cardinals, the Bishops of *Preneste* and *Thusculum*, who upon certaine conditions concluded a Peace, amongst other conditions, this was one; that the City of *Vannes* should be delivered to King *Philip*, and thereupon *John* Earle of *Montford* should be set at liberty, but yet with this charge, not to goe into *Britaine*; which promise notwithstanding, he kept not, but went presently and besieged a Towne in *Britaine*, though he were forced to retire, and died shortly after. But the Truce cracked thus, as it were, by *Montford*, was afterward absolutely broken by King *Edward*, though he charged the breach of it upon K. *Philip*, and King *Philip* upon him. But howsoever broken it was, and *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earle of *Derby*, with divers other Earles and Barons, is sent into *France*, who won many Townes in *Gascoyne*, and in the Counties of *Perigort* and *Tholouse*, and then went to winter at *Burdeaux*. And afterward, in *May* following, pursuing his victories, he wonne many more Townes, and amongst others, the great Towne of *Reoll*. After this againe, he tooke *Montpesat*, *Mauvere*, *Villefranche*, and many other Townes; and at last the great City of *Angoulesme*, and then came to winter againe at *Burdeaux*.

Of his Acts together with the Prince.

KING *Philip* informed of so many great losses, assembles a mighty Army, no lesse then a hundred thousand men, with which he recovers *Miremont*, and *Villefranche*, and then proceeded to besiege *Angoulesme*, whom the Earle of *Derby* having not forces sufficient to encounter, King *Edward* (leaving for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Percie* and *Nevill*) goeth himselfe in person with an Army (as *Froyssard* saith) of fourescore thousand men at Armes, and ten thousand Archers, besides those out of *Wales* and *Ireland*; taking with him his sonne, the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Guyenne*, being then but of the age of fifteene yeares. It may be thought preposterous in King *Edward*, to put his sonne to be a Souldier before he was come to be a man; but it seemes he had a longing to try his sonnes valour in the bud, and perhaps was loath to omit any thing that might give any countenance to this battell, in which the two kingdomes were laid as it were at stake; but howsoever, taking him along with him, and almost all the Lords of his kingdome, he takes Shipping, and lands at *Normandy*, where at the first setting his foote on ground, he tooke such a fall, that the bloud gushed out at his nose; which the Barons tooke for an ill signe, but the King tooke it for a good: saying, it was a signe that the Land desired to have him: and in deede he presently tooke the Townes of *Harfleur*, *Moulbourg*, *Carenton*, and Saint *Lo*, and afterward the City of *Caen* it selfe; and from thence passed to the County of *Eureux*, saccaged and pillaged it, as also the City of *Gisors*, *Vernon*, *Meulan*, and *Boulebourse* to the City of *Poyssy*. King *Philip* all this while staied about *Paris*, as looking for King *Edward* to give him battell there; and for that purpose had planted his Campe neare to Saint *Germans*, but King *Edward* deceived him: for going from *Poyssy*, he passed into *Picardie* and *Ponthieu*, where he tooke and burned many Townes and Castles: and then passed the River of *Somme*, though not without danger: for King *Philip* had sent thither *Gundemar de Fay* with a thousand horse, and sixe thousand foote, to stop his passage: King *Edward* notwithstanding resolves to passe, or perish, and plungeth foremost

moſt into the River, crying out, They who love me, will follow me: at which voyce, every man ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt, and ſo the ſhoare was preſently gained by the *Engliſh*. *Gualtemar* aſtoniſhed with this bold adventure, aſtoniſheth his people with his fearfull countenance: ſo that the *Engliſh* encountring the *French* all in diſorder, put them to flight. King *Philip* enraged with this diſhonour, reſolves to revenge it, and preſently provokes King *Edward* to a battell. King *Edward* had now encamped in a Village called *Creſſy*, his Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand men, which he divided into three battalions: the firſt was led by the young Prince of *Wales*, with whom were joyned the Earle of *Warwicke*, *Geoffrey* of *Harecourt*, *Thomas Holland*, *Richard Stafford*, *John Chandoys*, *Robert Nevile*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at Armes, two thouſand Archers, and a thouſand *Welſh*. In the ſecond were the Earles of *Northampton* and of *Arundell*, the Lords *Roſſe*, *Baſſet*, and others, to the number of eight hundred men at Armes, and twelve hundred Archers. In the third the King was himſelfe, having about him ſeven hundred men at Armes, and three thouſand Archers. The battels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from ranke to ranke to view them, encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour. The *French* Kings Army was farre greater, conſiſting of above ſixty thouſand fighting men well armed, whereof the chiefe were *Charles* Duke of *Alanſon* the Kings brother, *John* of *Luxemburg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Blois* the Kings Nephew, Duke of *Lorraine*, the Earles of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, *Sancerre*, of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thouſand. The Vauntguard he commits to his brother the *Count de Alanſon*, the Reere to the Earle of *Savoy*, the maine battell he leads himſelfe; his heate out of confidence of victory was ſo great, that it ſcarce permitted time for a little counſell what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* adviſed that the Army ſhould take ſome repaſt, and that the Infantry conſiſting of *Genoueſes* (which were above fifteene thouſand Croſſebowes, and fiue times) ſhould make the firſt Front, and the Cavallery to follow; which was agreed on. But the Count of *Alanſon*, contrary to this order, tooke it ill that the *Genoueſe* were in the firſt ranke, and in fury cauſed them to change place; which bred that diſcontentment, that it irritated them more againſt the Leader, then the enemy; beſides there fell at the inſtant, ſuch a ſhowre of raine, as diſſolved their ſtrings and made their Bowes of little uſe; and at the breaking up of the ſhowre, the Sun ſhone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their ſight) and on the backe of the *Engliſh*, as if all made for them. K. *Edward* who had gotten to a Windmill, beholding as from a Sentinell, the countenance of the Enemy, and diſcovering the diſturbance made by the change of place, inſtantly ſends to charge that part, without giving them time to re-accommodate themſelves; whereupon the diſcontented *Genoueſe* recoyle, which the *Count de Alanſon* perceiving, he comes on with the horſe, and in great rage cries out, On, on, Let us make way upon the bellies of theſe *Genoueſes*, who doe but hinder us: and inſtantly pricks on with a full careere through the midſt of them, followed by the Earles of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, and never ſtaies till he came up to the *Engliſh* battell, where the Prince was, the fight grew hot and doubtfull, inſomuch as the Commanders about the Prince ſend to King *Edward* to come up with his power to aide him. The King askes the meſſengers whether his ſon were ſlaine or hurt: who anſwering, no; but that he was like to be over-laid: Well then (ſaid the King) returne, and tell them who ſent you, that ſo long as my ſonne is alive, they ſend no more to me what ever happen; for I will that the honour of this day be his. And ſo being left to try for themſelves, they wrought it out with the Sword; the rather by reaſon the *French* King having his horſe ſlaine under him, and in danger to be trodden to death, had he not been recovered by the Lord *Beaumont*, was to the great diſcouragement of his people, withdrawne out of the field: whereof notice being once taken by the *Engliſh*, the day was ſoone after theirs, and the greateſt victory they ever had yet againſt the *French*, and ſo bloudy, as there is no mention made of any one priſoner taken in the battell, but all ſlaine outright, onely ſome few troopes that held together, ſaved themſelves by retiring to places

neare adjoyning. The *French* King himselfe with a small company, got to *Bray* in the night, and approaching the walls, and the Guard asking him who goes there? he answered, the Fortune of *France*. By his voyce he was knowne, and thereupon received into the Towne, with the teares and lamentations of his people. The number of the slaine are certified to be thirty thousand; the chiefe whereof were *Charles de Alanson*, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Ralph* Earle of *Lorraine*, *Lewis* Earle of *Flanders*, *Jaques Dauphin de Vienneis*, Sonne to *Imbert*, (who after gave *Dauphin* to the Crowne of *France*) the Earles of *Sancerre*, *Harcourt*, and many other Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of fifteene hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after *Bartholomew* day, in the yeare 1346. The next day, earely in the morning, being Sunday, he sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers, to discover what was become of the Enemy, who found great Troopes comming from *Abbeville*, Saint *Remies*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoyes*, (ignorant of what had happened) led by the Arch-Bishop of *Roan*, and the Priour of *France*: whom they likewise defeated, and slew seven thousand.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King *Edward* that yeare, there was another of no lesse importance gotten in *England*, by the Queene and his people at home against the *Scots*, who being set on by the *French* to divert the warre there, entred upon this kingdome with threescore thousand men, (as our Writers report) assuring himselfe of successe, in regard (as he supposed) the maine strength thereof was now gone into *France*, but he found it otherwise. For the Lords of the North, as *Gylbert de Umfreville*, the Earle of *Angus*, *Henry Percy*, *Ralph Nevile*, *William Deyncourt*, with the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great Forces, and so well ordered them, by the animation of the Queene, (who was there in person) as fighting a great Battaile at *Nevils* Crosse in the Bishopricke of *Durham*, they utterly defeated this great Army, tooke *David* their King Prisoner, with the Earles of *Fife*, *Menteth*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Arch-bishop of Saint *Andrewes*, and others; and put to the sword fifteene thousand *Scots*. This Victory also fell upon a Saturday, sixe weekes after that of *Cressy*. He that tooke King *David* Prisoner, was one *John Copland*, an Esquire of *Northumberland*, whom King *Edward* rewarded with five hundred pounds land a yeare, and made him a Banneret. And as if all concurred to make this yeare Triumphant, the Aides sent to the Countesse of *Montford* in *Britaine*, led by *Thomas Dagworth* a Valiant knight, overthrew and tooke Prisoner, *Charles de Bloit*, Pretender to that Dutchy, and with him *Mounsieur la Vall*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyre*, *Loiacque*, with many other Barons, Knights, and Esquires: Where were slaine the Lord *De la Vall*, father to him that was taken, Vilcount *Rohan*, *Mounsieur de Chasteau Bryan*, *de Malestroit*, *de Quinpin*, *de Dyrevall*, besides many other knights and Esquires, to the number of seven hundred. And now King *Edward* without medling with the great Cities of *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, marcheth on directly and sits downe before *Callice*, a Town of more importance for *England*, and the Gate to all the rest: Wherein *John de Vienne* Marshall of *France*, and the Lord *de Andreghen*, (a great man in his time) commanded.

All that Winter King *Edward* lay without any molestation by the *French* King, who was busied at home in his owne State about raising of money: wherewith supplyed at last, he raiseth an Army and approacheth *Callice*, but findes no way open to come to relieve it. The King of *England* was both Master of the Haven, and posseth all other wayes that were passable, and the *Flemings* his friends had besieged *Aire*, to oppose whom, *John* Duke of *Normandy* is sent for out of *Guyenne*: who departing leaves *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earle of *Derby*, Master of the Field, and he having an Army consisting of twelve hundred men at Armes, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other Foot, takes in most of the Townes of *Xaintoigne*, and *Poitou*, and in the end besieged and sacked *Poityers*, and then returnes to *Bordeaux*, with more pillage then his people could well beare: Thus the

English

English prosperity where and the French suffer. During this siege of Callice (in which some think King Edward first used Gunnes) the Flemings send to King Edward to make a marriage betweene his Daughter Isabell and their Lord the young Earle Lewis, to which the King consented; but the Duke of Brabant gets the King of France to make the match for a Daughter of his. The Flemings presse their Lord with the match of England; but he absolutely refuseth it, saying, he would never marry a Daughter of him that had killed his Father, though he would give him halfe his kingdome. This answer so incensed the Flemings, that they put their Lord in Prison, till with long durance he so last consented; and there-upon King Edward and his Queene, with their Daughter Isabell, come over to Dunkirke, and there the young Earle is affianced to her; but returning afterwards into England, and home as he found opportunity, he went to King Philip, and left his betrothed Lady unmarried, and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of Brabant. Whilst this while the siege of Callice was continued, and King Philip not being able to come to relieve it, sollicits King Edward to appoint some place of enuile and he would meete him. But King Edward returnes answer, that if he would take his owne way, to come thither to him, there he should finde him, but from thence he would not part, having laine there so long to his great labour and charges, and being now so neare the point of gaining the place. Two Cardinals are sent from the Pope, to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing, so as the French King was forced to breake up his Army and retire to Paris, leaving Callice to the mercy of the Besieged: which when the Towne understood, they sent to desire Parle, and it granted, and therein received this finall answer, that sixe of the chiefe Burgesses should be sent to the King, bare-headed, bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their neckes, the keyes of the Towne and Castle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will, the rest he was content to take to mercy. This seemed a hard condition, and much difficulty who should be those sixe: but mounting up, and out of love to his Country offering himselfe to be one, the sixe were soone made up, for now by his example every one strove to be of the number: who presenting themselves before the King, he commanded them instantly to be put to death. Great supplication was made by his Lords for their lives, but the King would not be drawne to alter his sentence, till the Queene, great with child, fell on her knees, and with teares obtained pardon for them; which done, he commands them to be cloathed, and besides a good repast, gives to every one of them sixe Nobles a peece. But though the King in this sentence shewed severity, yet in Act before he had shewed mercy; For when Victuals began to faile in the Towne, and all unusefull persons, as old men, women, and children, were put out of the Gates; he forced them not backe againe as he might have done, thereby the sooner to consume their store, but suffered them to passe through his Army, gave them to eate, and two pence a piece to all of them. And thus was that strong Towne of Callice gotten, the third day of August, in the yeare 1347. after eleven months siege, and continued afterward in possession of the English two hundred and ten yeares. All the Inhabitants are turned out, but onely one Priest, and two old men, to informe of the Orders of the Towne: and a Colony of English, amongst which seven and thirty good Families out of London is sent to inhabit it. The King and Queene enter the Towne triumphantly, and make their abode there, till the Queene was brought a bed of her Daughter Margaret. The King made Governor of the Town Aymery of Pavia a Lumbard, whom he had brought up from his Infancy, and then with his Queene returnes into England, at which time the Princes Electours send to signifie that they had chosen him King of the Romans, but the King refuseth to accept it, as being an honour out of his way, and scarce compatible with his Estate at home.

After this Truces were made by mediation, from one time to another, for the space of two yeares, in which time, Geoffrey de Charny Captaine of Saint Omer, a-gainst the Aymery of Pavia, whom King Edward had left Governour of Callice, to render up for twenty thousand Crownes: which King Edward hearing of, sent to

Aymery

Aymery, and charged him with this perfidiousnesse, whereupon *Aymery* comes to the King, and humbly desiring pardon, promiseth to handle the matter so as shall be to the Kings advantage, and thereupon is sent backe to *Callice*. The King, the night before the time of agreement, arrives with three hundred men at Armes, and five hundred Archers: *Monsieur de Charny* sets out likewise the same night from Saint *Omers* with his Forces, and sent a hundred men before with the Crownes to *Aymery*: the men are let in at a Posterne Gate, the crownes received, and assured to be all weight: which done, the Gates of the Towne are opened, and out marches the King before day, to encounter *Monsieur de Charny*, who perceiving himselfe betrayed, defended himselfe the best he could, and put King *Edward* to a hard bickering, who for that he would not be knowne there in person, put himselfe and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten downe on his knees by *Monsieur de Ribamont*, a hardy knight, (with whom he fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end tooke *Ribamont* prisoner. *Charny* was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King *Edward* the night after (which was the first of the New-yeare) feasted with the Prisoners, and gave *Ribamont* in honour of his valour, a rich Chaplet of Pearle, which himselfe wore on his head, (for a New-yeares gift) forgave him his ransome, and set him at liberty. But the *English* not long after, in the like practise, had better successe, and got the Castle of *Guysnes*, (a piece of great importance neare *Callice*,) for a summe of money, given to one *Beaucroy* a *French* man. Of which Castle, when the *French* King demanded restitution in regard of the Truce, King *Edward* returnes answer, that for things bought and sold betweene their people, there was no exception, and so held it.

About this time *Philip* King of *France* dyed, leaving his Sonne *John* to succeed him, in the beginning of whose Raigne, *Humbert* Prince of *Dauphin*, dying without issue, made him his Heire, and thereupon *Charles* King *Johns* Sonne, was created the first *Dauphin* of *France*: from whence it grew to be a Custome, that the King of *France* his Heire should alwayes be called *Dauphin* of *France*. About this time also the Duke of *Lancaster* was to performe a combat, upon a challenge, with a Prince of *Bohemia*, but when they were entred the Lists, and had taken their Oathes, King *John* interposed, and made them Friends. And now when after many meanes of mediation, no Peace could be concluded betweene the two Kings; the Prince of *Wales* being now growne a man, is appointed by Parliament, to goe into *Gascoyne* with a thousand men at Armes, two thousand Archers, and a great number of *Welshmen*, and in *June* following he sets forth with three hundred Saile, attended with the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*, the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *James Audeley*, Sir *Robert Knolles*, Sir *Francis Hall*, with many others. About *Michaelmas* following, the King himselfe passeth over to *Callice*, with another Army, taking with him two of his Sonnes, *Lionell* of *Antwerpe*, now Earle of *Ulster* in Right of his Wife, and *John* of *Gant*, Earle of *Richmond*. There met him at *Callice* of mercenaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*, a thousand men at Armes, so that his Army consisted of three thousand men at Armes, and two thousand Archers on horse-backe, besides Archers on foot. The City of *London* sent three hundred men at Armes, and five hundred Archers, all in one livery, at their owne charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that time, by reason the King of *France* would not be drawne to any Encounter, and had so disfurnished the Country of all provisions, that the King of *England* was forced to returne. King *Edward* solicited by the King of *Navarre* to aide him against the King of *France*, sends over the Duke of *Lancaster* with foure thousand men at Armes, who winnes many Townes, and the Prince enters *Guyenne*, passeth over *Languedoc* to *Tholouse*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any Encounter, sackes, spoyles and destroyes where he goes, and loaden with booties returnes to *Burdeaux*. The *French* King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers all the power he possibly could, and first makes against his Enemies in *Normandy*, recovers many of his lost Townes, and was likely to have there prevailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppose this

this freſh Invader, the Prince of *Wales*, who was come up into *Touraine*, againſt whom he brings his whole Army, conſiſting of above threeſcore thouſand: whereupon the Prince, whoſe Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being five for one) was adviſed to retire againe to *Burdeaux*. But the *French* King, to prevent this courſe, followes, and within two leagues of *Poyctiers*, hath him at a great advantage: at which inſtant, two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the *French* King ſuppoſing he had his enemy now in his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the Prince ſhould deliver him foure Hoſtages, and as vanquiſhed, render himſelfe and his Army to his diſcretion. The Prince was content to reſtore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he ſaid he ſtood accomptable to his Father, and to his Country. But the *French* King would abate nothing of his demands, as making himſelfe ſure of victory, and thereupon was inſtantly ready to ſet upon the Prince: who ſeeing himſelfe reduced to this ſtraight, takes what advantage he could of the ground, and providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Buſhes, on that part he was like to be aſſailed, to impeſter and intangle the *French* horſe, which he ſaw were to come furiouſly upon him. The ſucceſſe anſwered his expectation, for the Cavallery of his enemies upon their firſt aſſault were ſo wrapt and encombred amongſt the Vines, that his Archers galled and annoyed them at their pleaſure. For the *French* King, to give the honour of the day to his Cavallery, imployed them onely without his Infantery; ſo as they being diſordered and put to rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this battell were taken priſoners, King *John* himſelfe, with his youngeſt ſonne *Philip*, by *Dennis de Morbecque* a knight of *Arthois*; *Jaques de Bourbon*, *Conte de Ponthieu*, the Arch-biſhop of *Sens*, *John de Arthois*, *Conte de Eu*, *Charles de Arthois*, his brother *Count de Longueville*, *John de Melun*, *Count de Tankarvile*, the *Counts* of *Vendoſme*, *Vaudemont*, *Eſtampes*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin* and *La Roche*, alſo *John de Ceintre*, accounted (as *Froiſſard* ſaith) the beſt knight of *France*, with many other Lords, beſides two thouſand Knights and Gentlemen, in ſo much, as the Conquerours holding it not ſafe to retaine ſo many, let many of them goe. The *French*, who can give beſt account of their owne loſſes, report there died in the battell, a thouſand ſeven hundred Gentlemen, amongſt which were fifty two Bannerets: the moſt eminent, *Peter de Bourbon*, the Duke of *Athens* Conſtable of *France*, *Jehan de Clermont* Marſhall, *Geoffrey de Charny*, High Chamberlaine, the Biſhop of *Chalons*, the Lords of *Landas*, of *Pons*, and of *Chamble*. There eſcaped from this battell, three of the *French* Kings ſons, (for he brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince *Dauphin*, *Lowys* after Duke of *Anjou*, and *John* Duke of *Berry*, all great actours in the time following. The ſpecial great men of the *Engliſh* in this fight, were the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Saliſbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*, the Lords, *Cobham*, *Spenſer*, *Barkeley*, *Baſſet*, of *Gaſcoynes*, *Le Capital de Beuff*, the Lords, *Powyer*, *Chaumont*, and others. The Lord *James Audeley* wonne honour both by his valour, and his bounty; for having vowed to be foremoſt in this fight, he performed his word, and ſealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred Markes Fee-ſimple in *England*, he preſently gave it to foure of his Eſquires, whereupon the Prince demanding whether he accepted not his gift? he anſwered, that theſe men had deſerved the ſame as well as himſelfe, and had more neede of it: with which reply the Prince was ſo well pleaſed, that he gave him five hundred Markes more in the ſame kinde. A rare example, where deſert in the Subject, and reward in the Prince, ſtrive which ſhould be the greater.

And now, though King *John* had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, yet he had the happineſſe to fall into the hands of a Noble enemy; for Prince *Edw.* uſed him with ſuch reſpect and obſervance, that he could not find much difference betweene his captivity and liberty. After the battell, which was fought the nineteenth day of *September*, in the yeare 1357. Prince *Edward* leads King *John* and the captive Lords to *Burdeaux*, where he retaines them till the ſpring following, but ſends preſent newes of his victory to his Father: who thereupon cauſeth a generall

nerall Thanksgiving all *England* over eight dayes together: and in *May* following, King *John* rather comming over with the Prince, then brought over by him, is lodged at the *Savoy*, a Palace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the fairest at that time about *London*. And King *Edward*, as though he thought it honour enough to have one King his prisoner at once, at the suite of his sister Queene *Joane*, he sets her Husband *David* King of *Scots* at liberty, after he had beene prisoner in *England* eleven yeares, but not without paying a Ransome, which was a hundthousand Markes, to be paid in ten yeares.

After this, by mediation of Cardinals sent by the Pope, a Truce for two yeares is concluded betweene the two kingdomes of *France* and *England*, and in the time of this Truce, Articles of Peace betweene the two Kings are propounded: King *Edward* requires the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, the Counties of *Poictou*, *Touraine*, *Mayne*, and *Anjou*, with all their appurtenances as large as King *Richard* the first held them, and many other Provinces besides, and to hold them all without Homage or any other service; to which Articles, King *John* (weary of imprisonment) assents and seales, but the *Daulphin* and Councell of *France* utterly reject it: whereupon King *Edward* in great displeasure resolves to make an end of this worke with the sword, and to take possession of the kingdome of *France*, and leaving his younger sonne *Thomas* Governour of his kingdome at home, with a Fleet of eleven hundred saile, and taking all the great Lords of the Realme with him, he passeth over to *Callice*, dividing his Army into three battels, whereof one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leads himselfe: and first marching through *Picardy*, where he takes in many Townes, he plants his siege afterward before *Rhemes*, but having spent there sixe or seven weekes without effecting any thing, he passeth thence, and takes in the Cities of *Sens* & *Nevers*; the Dutchy of *Burgoyne* redeemes it self from spoil with paying two hundred thousand *Florens* of gold: then he marcheth up to *Paris*, and plants his Camp within two small Leagues of the Towne, where he honoured 400. Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of knighthood: but when Sir *Walter de Manny* had made a Bravado before the Gates of the City, and the King saw that the *Daulphin* would by no provocations be drawne out to battell, he raiseth his siege, and returnes into *Britaine* to refresh his Army; from thence he marcheth towards *Chartres* with a purpose to besiege that City, and though great offers were made him by the *French*, and Commissioners from the Pope solicited him with all earnestnesse to accept them, yet neither they, nor the *Duke of Lancasters* perswasions could prevaile with him, till a terrible storme of haile with thunder and lightning fell upon his Army, which so terrified him, being a warning as it were from Heauen, that he presently vowed to make Peace with the *French* King upon any reasonable conditions, as shortly after he did at a Treaty of *Bretigny* neare to *Chartres*, upon these Articles: that the Fiefs of *Thouars* and *Belleville*, the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, comprising *Gascoyne*, *Poictou*, *Santogne*, *Limosin*, *Perigort*, *Quercie*, *Rhodes*, *Angoulesme*, and *Rochell*, together with the Counties of *Guysnes* and *Callice*, and some other places, with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories should be to the King of *England*, who besides was to have three Millions of crownes of gold, whereof sixe hundred thousand in hand, foure hundred thousand the yeare following, and the rest in two yeares after: and for this the King of *England*, and his sonne the Prince of *Wales*, for them and their successours for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of *France*, the Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Countries of *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Mayne*, the Homage and Soveraignty of *Britaine*, and the Earledome of *Flanders*, and within three weekes King *John* to be rendred at *Callice* at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expenses of his house. For assurance of which accord, should be given into his hand five and twenty of the greatest Dukes and Lords of *France* for Hostages. The *Scots* not to be aided by the *French* King, nor the *Flemmings* by the *English*. This accord and finall Peace signed by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sonnes, *Edward* and *Charles*, and sworne unto by the Nobility of both kingdomes. The Hostages are delivered to King *Edward*, who

brought

brought them into *England*; and thereupon King *John* is honourably conducted to *Callice*, after he had remained prisoner in *England* neare about five yeares: but being come to *Callice*, he was detained there above three moneths, till the money which he was to pay in hand, could be provided; and for providing the rest he was put to hard shifts, being faine to give the *Jewes* leave to dwell in *France* for twenty yeares, paying twelve Florins a man at the entry, and sixe every yeare after. At this time the Prince by dispensation marries the Countesse of *Kent*, daughter to *Edmund*, brother to *Edward* the second, and his Father investing him with the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, he was now Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester* and *Kent*: and not long after, with the Princesse his wife, he passeth over into *France*, and keepes his Court at *Burdeaux*.

This was now the yeare 1362. and the fiftieth yeare of King *Edwards* age, wherein for a *Jubilee*, he shewes himselfe extraordinarily gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking exiles; with many other expressions of his love and bounty. The yeare following was famous for three Kings comming into *England*: *John* King of *France*, *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, and *David* King of *Scots*. The King of *Cyprus* came to solicite King *Edward* to joyne with other Princes in the Holy Warre, but receives onely royall entertainment and excuses. The King of *Scots* came for businesse and visitation; but why the King of *France* came, is not so certaine, whether it were about taking order for his Hostages, or to satisfie King *Edward* for breach of some Articles, or else for love to the Countesse of *Salisbury*; or perhaps out of a desire to let *England* see his Majesty, being at liberty, which had beene darkened before by the cloud of captivity; but whatsoever the cause of his comming was, the cause of his staying (at least, of longer staying then he meant) was a mortall sickenesse, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the *Savoy*) in *March* or *Aprill* following, he died; and his body convaied over into *France*, was buried at Saint *Denis* with his Ancestours. The Prince of *Wales* was now growne famous all the Christian world over, and the man to whom all wronged Princes seemed to appeale, and to flie for succour: for which end there came at this time to his Court, *James* King of *Majorque*, and happened to come at a time when the Princesse lay in; and thereupon he and *Richard* King of *Navarre* were taken to be Godfathers to his sonne *Richard*. For the like assistance also, there came at the same time to him, *Peter* King of *Castile*, driven out of his kingdome by the *French*, in favour to *Peter* King of *Aragon*: and Prince *Edward*, partly out of charity, to succour a distressed Prince, and partly out of policy, to keepe his Souldiers in exercise; undertakes the enterprise, and was so prosperous in it, that with one battell, (having but thirty thousand against a hundred thousand) hee put King *Peter* in possession of his kingdome, though he was ill rewarded for his labour: for the ungratefull King would not so much as pay his Souldiers. An unfortunate journey for the Prince, for though he came back with victory, yet he brought backe with him such an indisposition of body, that he was never throughly well after: not perhaps by poyson, nor given him by his brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, though both were suspected; but there were causes of distempering him enough besides, the Countrey, the season, the action it selfe; and it may be more marvelled that his Souldiers came home so well, then that he came so ill; but howsoever, being now returned, there was presently to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of minde: for not having meanes to pay his Souldiers, which forced him to winke at that which he could not chuse but see, and seeing, grieve at, how they preyed upon the Countrey, and thereupon how the Countrey murmured against him: and now to stop this murmuring, his Chancellour, the Bishop of *Rhodes*, devised a new Imposition, of leavying a Frank for every Chimney, and this to continue for five yeares, to pay the Princes debts: but this Imposition made the murmuring the more; for though some part of his Dominions, as the *Poictouins*, *Xaingtonois*, and *Lymousins* in a sort consented to it, yet the Count of *Armigniack*, the Count of *Commynges*, the Viscount of *Carmayn*, and many others so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of *France*, as to their

Supreme Lord; who upon examination finding their complaint to be juſt, he thereupon, by adviſe of his Councell, Summons Prince *Edward* to appeare in perſon, to anſwer the complaint: whereunto Prince *Edw.* made anſwere, that if he muſt needs appeare, he would bring threeſcore thouſand men in Armes to appeare with him; and had certainely brought his Army that Summer againſt *Paris*, if he had not fallen into Symptomes of a Dropſie, which (*Walſingham* ſaith) was wrought by Enchantments. But upon this anſwer of the Prince, King *Charles* ſends defiance to King *Edward*, who thereupon prepares Armes both by Sea and Land to oppoſe him. The *French* enter upon the Territories of the Prince, and defeate divers of his Troopes; in revenge whereof, *John Chandos* the Princes Lieutenant, aſſaults *Terrieres* in the Province of *Tholouſe*, and takes it. The Count of *Perigourd* aſſaults *Royanville*, in *Quercy*, and puts all the *Engliſh* to the ſword; in revenge whereof, *James Audeley* Seneſchall of *Poictou*, aſſaults the City of *Broſſe*, and takes it. In the meane time *Robert Knols*, by ſome called *Robin*, and by others, *Arnould*, or *Reynold Knoll*, had drawne *Perducas de Albert* to the party of the *Engliſh*; and thereupon went and encumped before the Fort of *Darcuell* in *Quercy*, which *John Chandos* underſtanding, went alſo and joyned with him in the Siege; but finding they could doe no good there, they removed, and Beſieged the City of *Damme*: and when they could doe no good there neither, they marched forward, tooke the Fort of *Froyns*, *Rochevaudour*, and *Villefranche*; and that done, returned to the Prince at *Angouleſme*. At the ſame time, the Earles of *Cambridge*, and *Pembroke*, having ſpent nine weekes at the Siege of *Bordeille*, at laſt tooke it; but other Captaines of the *Engliſh* did yet more, for they ſcaled *Belleperche* in the Province of *Bourbon*, where the Mother of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and of the Queene of *France* was, and take her priſoner.

About this time, *Philippa* Queene of *England*, King *Edwards* Wife died, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*; but this hindred not the proceeding of the *Engliſh* in *France*; the Earle of *Pembroke* enters *Anjou*, where he takes many Townes: the Duke of *Lancaſter* doth the like about *Callice*, and marching forward, plants his Campe before *Harfleur*, with a purpoſe to burne the King of *France* his Navy, but being watched by the Count Saint *Poll*, was forced to forbeare that deſigne; and ſo paſſing other wayes, and ſpoyling all the places where he paſſed, he returned to *Callice*. Winter now was drawing on, and *John Chandos*, deſiring to recover the Abby of Saint *Silvin* in *Poictou*, which not long before had beene betraied to the *French*; was in the enterpriſe diſcovered, and being aſſaulted by greater forces, was ſlaine in the place, to the great griefe of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the *Engliſh* Lords: but dying without iſſue, his eſtate, which amounted to foure hundred thouſand Franks, came to the Prince. At this time, the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, with two great Armies enter upon the Territories of the Prince of *Wales*; whereof the Prince advertiſed, aſſembles Forces to oppoſe them: but when the newes was brought him of the taking of *Limouges*, he was ſo much troubled at it, by reaſon of the Biſhop of that place was his Goſſip, and one in whom he ſpecially had affiance; that he reſolved to recover it at any price, and not to ſpare a man that had any hand in the rendring it up: and thereupon taking it by force, he commanded to ſacke and pillage it, and would not be ſtaied by the cries of the people, caſting themſelves downe at his feete; till paſſing through the Towne, he perceived three *French* Captaines, who themſelves alone had withſtood the aſſault of his victorious Army, and moved with the conſideration of their valour, he then abated his anger; and for their ſakes, granted mercy to all the Inhabitants. So much is vertue even in an enemy, reſpected by generous minds. In the meane time, *David* King of *Scots* died without iſſue; and *Robert Stuart* his Nephew ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and was Crowned at *Scone*. At this time *Robert Knolls* with a great Army is ſent into *France*, where making many attempts, with valour enough, but with little ſucceſſe; he was comming home, though with no gaine, yet with no loſſe: till *Bertrand de Gueſchlyn* aſſaulting him, ſlew the moſt part of his men; and ſo this great Army on a ſudden came to nothing. It ſeemes *Knolls* his action was the leſſe ſucceſſfull,

fully, by reason some young Lords that were with him, scorning to be under his command, as being but a new man, and risen from a low estate, were refractory to his directions. And indeed what can a Generall do, if he have not as well reputation of person, as of place?

And now the Prince of *Wales*, his eldest sonne *Edward* dying in *Burdeaux*, the Prince with his wife, and his other sonne *Richard*, come over into *England*; at which time the valiant knight *Walter de Manny* died at *London*, and was buried in the Monastery of the Chartreux which he had builded, leaving one onely daughter, married to *John* Earle of *Pembroke*. This Earle of *Pembroke* was soone after sent Governour into *Aquitaine*, but set upon by the way by *Spaniards* in favour of the *French*, was by them taken prisoner, and carried with other into *Spaine*: who being chained together, as the manner is, one *Evans* a *Welsh* Fugitive, who gave himselfe out for the right Heire of *Wales*, came unto him foolishly playing upon him with scornfull language, as though to insult over another mans misery, could finde for a cordiall to mitigate his owne. And now upon the taking of this Earle, the Princes Dominions in *France* are either taken away, or fall away faster then they were gotten; *Guesclyn* enters *Poictou*, and takes *Montmorillon*, *Chawvigny*, *Lussack*, and *Moncontour*: straight after followes the Countrey of *Aulnys*, of *Xainctoigne*, and the rest of *Poictou*, then Saint *Maxent*, *Neele*, *Aulnay*, then *Benaon*, *Maran*, *Surgeres*, *Fontney*, and at last they came to *Thouars*, where the most part of the Lords of *Poictou*, that held with the Prince, were assembled, at which time King *Edward* with the Prince, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and all the great Lords of *England*, set forward to their succour, but being driven backe by tempest, never came to give them assistance, so as *Thouars* yeelded upon composition. Yet did this preparation of the King stand him in nine thousand Markes, that it may be truly said, it cost him more now to lose Townes, then it had cost him before to win them so great oddes there is betweene the Spring and Fall of Fortune. After this, the Duke of *Lancaster* is sent over with another great Army, who passed up into many parts of the Country, but King *Charles* resolved to hazard no battell, saying, They were but clouds, and would soone passe away, yet so watched him, that what with light skirmishes, and what with skarcity of victuals, his forces were so diminished, that of thirty thousand which went out of *Callice*, there scarce returned six thousand home: which made King *Edward* say of this King *Charles*, that he did him more mischiefe sitting still, then his Predecessours had done with all their stirring. And now by this time all *Poictou* is lost, and all *Aquitaine* also, but onely *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*: when the Arch-bishop of *Roan* and others, are sent from Pope *Gregory* the eleventh, to mediate a Peace betweene the two Kings; but each of them standing upon high termes of conditions, nothing could be effected but Truce upon Truce, for two or three yeares together. In which time *Edward* Prince of *Wales* died, and with him we may say, the Fortune of *England*; being a Prince so full of vertues, that he left no place for any vice, and if he had lived in the Heroicke times, might well have beene numbred amongst the nine Worthies. His body was buried at *Canterbury*, where his Monument standeth. King *Edward* in his seven and fortieth yeare calleth a Parliament at *Westminster*, which lasted but eight dayes, and to which were Summoned by Writ, of Clergy men onely foure Bishops, and five Abbots.

Of King Edwards *Acts after the death of the Prince.*

IN the time of the Princes sicknesse, King *Edward* cals a Parliament at *Westminster*, in which, when demands were made for supply of the King, demands were presently made for redresse of grievances for the subjects. It was required that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latymer* then Lord Chamberlaine, Dame *Alice Pierse* the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Stury* might be removed from Court. And this was so vehemently urged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter la Moore*, that the King, rather then not to be supplied, gave way unto it, and thereupon all these persons are presently put from Court: but the Prince soone after dying, they are

are all recalled to Court againe, and restored to their former places.

About this time exemplary justice was done upon Sir *John Minsterworth* knight, who was drawne, hanged, and quartered at *Tiburne*, for Treason, by him committed, in defrauding Souldiers of their wages.

This was now the fiftieth yeare of King *Edwards* Raigne, and he for another *Jubilee*, grants another generall pardon to his subjects, onely *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster*, fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the good Parliament, though it wrought ill effects, for Sir *Peter de la Mare*, at the suite of *Alice Pierce*, is committed to perpetuall imprisonment at *Nottingham*, though within two years after, by importunate suite of friends, he regained his liberty. This *Alice Pierce* presuming upon the Kings favour, grew so insolent, that she entermedled with Courts of Justice, and other Offices, where she herselfe would sit, to countenance her Causes. And now the Duke of *Lancaster* is come to have the Regencie, and to manage all the affaires of the kingdome, but King *Edward* to prevent the mischiefes, which by disordering the succession might grow in the kingdome, providently settled the same in Parliament upon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first Earle of *Chester* and *Cornwall*, and then Prince of *Wales*, and caused all the Lords of the Realme to take an Oath, to accept him for their King, as his lawfull Heire, when himselfe should be dead. In this meane time a Treaty was had about a marriage betweene this Prince *Richard* and *Mary* a daughter of *Charles* King of *France*: and an offer was made to King *Edward*, to leave him foureteene hundred Townes, and three thousand fortresses in *Aquitaine*, upon condition he would render *Calice* and all that he held in *Picardy*; but before any thing could be concluded, King *Edward* died.

Of his Taxations.

IN the eighth yeare of his Raigne, in a Parliament holden at *London*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporalty, a twentieth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth yeare, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted a tenth penny of Cities and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy. Also all such treasure as was committed to Churches through *England* for the Holy Warre, is taken out for the Kings use, towards his warres with *France*. The next yeare after, all the goods of three orders of Monks, *Lombards*, *Cluniakes*, and *Cistercians*, are likewise seised into the Kings hands: and the like Subsidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. In his twelfth yeare (and as some write, in absence of the King) in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted by the Laity, one halfe of their Woolls, but of the Clergy the whole. The next yeare after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Woolls by the Commonalty. In his foureteenth yeare, in a Parliament at *London*, is granted him for Custome of every sacke of Woolls forty shillings, for every three hundred Woolls Fells forty shil. for every Last of Leather forty shillings, and of other Merchandises according to the rate: the same to endure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve moneth after. Besides, there was granted of Citizens and Burgesses, a ninth part of goods, of forraine Merchants and others, a fifteenth, of Husbandmen, the ninth Sheafe, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two years, also another tenth of the Clergy: and for his present supply, he had Loanes of divers persons; and the City of *London* lent twenty thouland Markes. For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his Pardon to divers kinds of offendours) remits all Amerciaments for transgressions in his Forests, Reliefs and Scuage, to the first time of his going into *Flanders*, besides all tides for the marriage of his sonnes and daughters during his Raigne; pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrerages, both of his Fermors and others, till the tenth yeare of his Raigne; and likewise confirmes the great Charter of *Magna Charta*. In his eighteenth yeare, in a Parliament at *London*, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity. Besides a Commission

miſſion is ſent into every Shire to inquire of mens abilities, and all of five pounds to tenne of Lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Archer on horſebacke; of twenty five, a Demilaunce; and ſo ratably above. There had formerly been made a certaine coyne of Gold called the *Floren*, of baſe alloy, for the Kings benefit, towards his warres in *France*, but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer metall coyned, to the great contentment of the people. In his nine and twentieth yeare, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty ſhillings upon every ſack of Wooll, for ſix years next enſuing; by which Impoſition, it was thought, the King might diſpend a thouſand Markes Sterling a day, the vent of Wooll was ſo great in that time. But that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Ranſome he had in his foure and thirtieth yeare, of the King of *France*, three millions of crownes of Gold. In his twelveth yeare, he had taken from the Priors Aliens, their houſes, lands, and tenements, for the maintenance of his *French* warres, which he kept twenty yeares in his hands, and then reſtored them againe. In his ſix and thirtieth year was greater twenty ſixe ſhillings eight pence, for tranſportation of every ſacke of Wooll for three yeares. In the five and fortieth yeare of his Raigne, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the Clergy granted him fifty thouſand pounds to be paid the ſame yeare, and the Laity as much; which was levied by ſetting a certaine rate of five pounds fifteene ſhillings upon every Pariſh, which were found in the 37. Shires to be eight thouſand and five hundred; and ſo came in the whole to fifty thouſand one hundred eighty one pounds and eight pence: but the 181. l. was abated to the Shires of *Suffolke* and *Devonſhire*, in regard of their poverty. In his eight and fortieth yeare, in a Parliament, is granted him a tenth of the Clergy, & a fifteenth of the Laity. In his fiftieth year, a Subſidy of a new nature was demanded by the young Prince *Richard*, whom (being but eleven yeares of age) the Duke of *Lancaſter* had brought into the Parliament of purpoſe to make the demand, to have two tenths to be paid in one yeare, or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandiſes ſold, for one yeare, and one pound of ſilver for every knights Fee, and of every Fire-houſe, one penny: but inſtead of this Subſidy, after much altercation, there was granted another of as new a nature as this; that every perſon, man and woman, within the kingdome, above the age of foureteene yeares, ſhould pay foure pence, (thoſe who lived of Almes onely excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve pence of every Parſon Beneficed, and of all other religious perſons foure pence; a mighty aide, and ſuch as was never granted to any King of *England* before.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

HE inſtituted the Order of the Garter, upon what cauſe is not certaine; the common opinion is, that a Garter of his owne queene, or (as ſome ſay) of the Lady *Joane* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, ſlipping off in a Dance, King *Edward* ſtooped and tooke it up; whereat ſome of his Lords that were preſent, ſmiling, as at an amorous action; he ſeriouſly ſaid, it ſhould not be long ere Soveraigne honour ſhould be done to that Garter; whereupon he afterward added the *French* Motto, *Honi ſoit qui maly penſe*; therein checking his Lords ſiniſter ſuſpition. Some conjecture that he inſtituted the Order of the Garter, for that in a battell wherein he was victorious, he had given the word Garter, for the word or ſigne: and ſome againe are of opinion, that the inſtitution of this Order is more ancient, and begunne by King *Richard* the firſt, but that this King *Edward* adorned it, and brought it into ſplendour. The number of the knights of this Order is twenty ſixe, whereof the King himſelfe is alwayes one, and preſident, and their Feaſt yearely celebrated at *Windſor* on Saint *Georges* day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The lawes of the Order are many, whereof there is a booke of purpoſe. In the five and thirtieth yeare of his Raigne, he was earneſtly Petitioned by a Parliament then holden, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Foreſts might be duly obſerved, and that the great Officers of the kingdome ſhould (as in former times) be elected by Parliament: to which Petition, though the King at firſt ſtood ſtiffe upon

upon his owne Election and Prerogative; yet at last (in regard to have his present turne served, (as himselfe after confessed) he yeelded, that such Officers should receive an Oath in Parliament, to doe justice to all men in their Offices: and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seale, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects, which notwithstanding were for the most part shortly after revoked.

This King also causeth all Pleas, which were before in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the Subject might understand the course of the Law. Also in his time an Act was passed for Purveyours, that nothing should be taken up but for ready money, upon strict punishment. In the next Parliament holden the seven and thirtieth yeare of his Raigne, certaine Sumptuary Lawes were ordained, both for apparell and diet, appointing every degree of men, the stuffe and habits they should weare, prohibiting the wearing of gold and silver, silkes and rich furres to all, but eminent persons. The labourer and husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what meates he should eate. Also in his time, at the instance of the *Londoners*, an Act was made that no common Whore should weare any Hood, except striped with divers colours, nor Furres, but Garments reversed the wrong side outward. This King also was the first that created Dukes, of whom *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke*, Earle of *Lancaster*, created Duke of *Lancaster*, in the seven and twentieth yeare of his Raigne, was the first. But afterward he erected *Cornwall* also into a Dukedy, and conferred it upon the Prince: after which time, the Kings eldest sonne used alwayes to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*. This King altered monies, and abated them in weight, & yet made them to passe according to the former value. Before his time, there were no other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the small peeces of Silver, called Sterlings; but new Groats of foure pence, and halfe Groats of two pence, equivalent to the Sterling money, are coyned; which inhaunsed the prises of things, that rise or fall, according to the plenty or scarcity of coyne, which made Servants and Labourers to raise their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the former rate. Also an Act was made in this Kings time, that all Weares, Mils, and other stoppages of Rivers, hindering the passage of Boats, Lighters, and other Vessels, should be removed; which though it were most commodious to the kingdome, yet it tooke little effect, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men, who regarded more their owne private, then the publike benefit. In a Parliament holden the tenth yeare of his Raigne, it was enacted that no Wooll growing within the Realme should be transported, but that it should be made in Cloath in *England*. *Peter*-pence are forbidden by the King, to be paid any more to *Rome*. The custome of washing poore mens feete on *Maundy-Thursday*, thought to have beene first brought in by this King.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

KING *Edward* upon some displeasure had imprisoned divers Clergy men; whereupon *John Stratford* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* writes him a Letter, charging him with violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the breach of *Magna Charta*, and after much good counsell given him, threatens, that if he amend not these disorders, he must and will exercise his Ecclesiasticall authoritie, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himselfe, Queen, or children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of *London*, charging the Arch-bishop to be the cause of all this disturbance, having beene the man that first set him upon the warre with *France*, assuring him he should want no money, and now had beene the hinderance, that monies given him by Parliament, were not duly levied: and after many remonstrances to such purpose, concludes, that if he desisted not from his rebellious obstinacie, he would use his Temporall authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebell. But this difference betweene them was not long after, upon the Arch-bishops submission, reconciled.

And

And indeed the great account which this King made of Clergy men, may appeare by his imploying almost none but Clergy men in all his Offices of account, *Simon Langham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, was Chancellour of *England*; *William Wickam* Arch-deacon of *Lincolne*, keeper of the Privy Seale; *David Wilde* Parson of *Somerford*, Master of the Rolles; ten Beneficed Priests, Civilians, Masters of the Chancery; *William Muske* Deane of Saint *Martins le Grand*, chiefe Chamberlaine of the Exchequer, Receiver and keeper of the Kings Treasure and Jewels; *William Ashby* Arch-deacon of *Northampton*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, *William Dighton* Prebendary of Saint *Martins*, Clerke of the Privy Seale, *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of Saint *Stephens*, Treasurer of the Kings house; *Henry Snath* Parson of *Ouindell*, Master of the Kings Wardrobe; *John Newnham* Parson of *Fenny-stanton*, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer; *John Ruseby* Parson of *Harwicke*, Surveyor and Comptroller of the Kings workes; *Thomas Brimingham* Parson of *Arby*, Treasurer to the King for the parts of *Guisnes*, and the Marches of *Calice*, *John Treys* a Priest, Treasurer of *Ireland*.

In the seventeenth yeare of his Raigne, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, complaint is made of the great inconvenience that came by the Popes Collation of Benefices in *England*, conferring them upon Strangers who understood not the Language, and therefore not fit to be Pastours over a Flocke they could not feed: and hereupon Sir *John Shordith* is sent to Pope *Clement* the sixth, to require him to forbeare such Collations, and to signifie his consent therein: but this Message was unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came backe, unheard, at least unanswered; and this King taking his silence for consent, or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no; proceeded to a Prohibition of all such Collations within his Realme, on paine of Imprisonment, or death, to whomsoever should in time to come, present or admit any such person, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings Prerogative. These were disturbances in matter of Discipline: but towards the end of his Raigne, there fell a disturbance in matter of Doctrine, for a certaine Divine, named *John Wickliffe*, inveighed in his Sermons, and other Acts in the Schooles, against the abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other religious Orders; and had by his Doctrine wonne many Disciples unto him, (who after were called Lollards) professing poverty, going bare-foot, and poorely clad in Russet; amongst other his Doctrines, he taught that neither King nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in perpetuity unto Church-men; and that Temporall Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the Goods of Religious Persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the example of *William Rufus*, and others. This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Percy* Marshall, much favour and cherish, extolling him for his learning and integrity of life; which made him so farre to presume, that daily in one Church or other, he published his Opinions; whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Arch-bishop, the Bishop of *London* and others in *Paules*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord Marshall goe to conduct him; when they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops sitting downe, *John Wickliffe* was by the Lord Marshall willed to sit downe, in regard (he said) the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient seat. The Bishop of *London* told him, It was against all Law and Reason, that he who was there cited before his Ordinary should sit. Hereupon contumelious words arose betweene the Lord Marshall and the Bishop; the Duke takes the Marshals part, and sharpely reprehended the Bishop; the Bishop returnes the like to the Duke, who in a great rage swore he would pull downe the pride of him, and of all the Bishops of *England*, and whispering in his eare, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the haire of the head, then to suffer such indignities, which words, the *Londoners* over-hearing, swore with a loud voyce, they would rather lose their lives then suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used. Their fury was the more against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was President) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a

Major

Major of *London*, but a Captaine appointed for the Government of the City, and that the Lord Marshall of *England* should arrest Offenders within the Liberties, as in other places. The morrow after the Citizens assembling to consult of this businesse, it happened the Lord *Fits-water*, and *Guido Bryan*, came into the City; which the People seeing, furiously ranne upon them, and were like to beare them downe for comming at that time. The Lord *Fits-water* protested, he came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance their Standard bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to himselfe; and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Armes, assaile the Marshals Inne, breake open the Gates, brought forth a Prisoner in his Gives, and set him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marshall, who with the Duke, was that day to dine with one *John de Vere*. Then this furious multitude ranne to assaile the *Savoy*; which a knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Lord dined, and acquaints him with this uproare in the City. The Duke upon hearing it, leapes from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his shinnes on the fowrme; and with Sir *Henry Percy* alone takes Boate, and goes to *Kennington* neare *Lambeth*, where the Princesse with the young Prince lay: to whom he complaines of this Riot, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the *Savoy*, a Priest inquisitive to know the businesse, was answered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marshall, and compell them to deliver Sir *Peter de la Mare*, unjustly kept in Prison. The Priest replyed, that Sir *Peter* was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged. At which words they all cryed out, This is *Percy*, This is the Traytor of *England*, his speech bewrayes him, though his Apparell be disguised, and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death. The Bishop of *London* hearing of this outrage, leaves his dinner, hastes to the *Savoy*, admonisheth them of the holy time being Lent; assuring them all should be fairely ended for the good of the City: with whose perswasions they were somewhat pacified; but yet they tooke the Dukes Armes, and hung them up reversed, in signe of Treason, in all the principall streets of the City. Upon the Princesses advice, the chiefe Citizens send to the sicke King, to excuse this tumult, saying, it was not in their power to suppresse it, the Commonalty being in commotion, upon an information that their Liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but he rather desired to enlarge them. But this affront of the Citizens would not downe with the Duke, till he had pulled downe some of the Principall of them; for he caused the Major and Aldermen to be displaced, and other put in their roomes: a revenge he had better beene without, for he never had the love of the City after: and to want their love is a kind of banishment. *Wickliffe* himselfe, censured by the Bishops to abjure his Opinions, chose rather to leave his Country then his Doctrine, and going over into *Bohemia*, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath beene more since he dyed; at least a great part of his Doctrine continues in veneration amongst that people to this day.

Workes of piety done by him, or by others in his time.

HIs workes of Piety were great and many, as the Founding of East Minster, an Abbey (of the Cisteaux Order) neare the Tower. An Abbey for Nunnes at *Dertford* in *Kent*. The Kings Hall in *Cambridge* for poore Schollers. An Hospitall for the poore at *Callice*. He conferred upon the University of *Oxford*, where he had himselfe beene trained up, under the learned *Walter Burley*, the chiefe rule of the City, subordinating the Major and Citizens to the Chancellour of the University. He Built Saint *Stephens* Chappel at *Westminster*, with the endowment of 300. pound *per annum*. He augmented the Chappell at *Windsore*, and made provisions there for Church-men, and foure and twenty poore knights. These were his publicke workes; But besides these, his private Buildings were, the Castle of *Windsore*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle at *Quinborough*, Fortifications at

Callice

Calice and other places. His Queen *Philippa* founded Queens Colledge in *Oxford*: and *Mary* Countesse of *Pembroke*, the Colledge called *Pembroke* Hall in *Cambridge*. In this Kings time Sir *John Poultney* Major of *London*, built the Colledge in *London* called Saint *Laurence Poultney*, and little *Alhollowes*, a Parish Church in *Thames* street, and also the Carmelite Friers Church in *Coventry*. *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster* and *Leycester*, founded the new Hospitall by the Castle of *Leycester*, wherein a hundred poore impotent people were provided for with all things necessary. *William Elsing* Mercer of *London*, made a new Hospitall of an old house of Nunnes by *Cripplegate*, and placing Chanons Regular there, he became the first Prior thereof. *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter*, Founded *Exeter* Colledge, and *Hart* Hall in *Oxford*. *William Bateman* Bishop of *Norwich*, builded *Trinity* Hall in *Cambridge*. *Simon Islip* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, Founded *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*. *William Edendon* Treasurer of *England*, Founded the Monastery of *Edendon*; the religious brethren whereof were called *Bonhommes*. Sir *Walter de Manny*, borne in *Cambray*, purchased a piece of ground called *Spittle Croft*, containing thirteene Acres, without the barres of West *Smithfield*, and caused the same to be enclosed, where he built a Chappell, and after Founded the same to be a house of Charter-house Monkes. *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*, re-edified the *Augustine* Friers Church in *London*, and was buried in the Quire there. In the two and thirtieth yeare of this Kings Raigne, *John Stody* Major of *London*, gave unto the Vintners of *London* all the Quadrant where the Vintners Hall now standeth, with the Tenements round about, from the lane to this day called Studis lane, where are Founded thirteene houses for thirteene poore people, which are there kept of charity. Also in this Kings time Sir *John Cobham* Founded the Colledge of *Cobham* in *Kent*. *John Lovekin* foure times Major of *London*, builded at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, where he was borne, a Chappell called *Magdalens*, to the which he joyned an Hospitall, wherein was a Master, two Priests, and certaine poore men: and for that the Parish Church of Saint *Michael* by Crooked-lane, where he dwelled, was a very homely thing, and the ground thereabout a filthy plot, by reason of the Butchers in East-cheape, who made the same their lay-stall; he on the same ground builded the faire new Parish Church of Saint *Michael* now standing, and was buried there in the middle of the Quire, under a faire Tombe of stone. He also Founded a Colledge to the same Church, neare thereunto adjoyning. *John Barnes* Major of *London*, gave a Chest with three locks, and a thousand Markes to be lent to young men, upon security, so that it passed not one hundred Markes; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned, to say at his pleasure, *De Profundis*, for the soule of *John Barnes*; if he were not learned, to say *Pater Noster*: but howsoever the money is lent, the Chest at this day standeth in the Chamber of *London*, without money or pledges. *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, the youngest sonne of King *Edward*, Founded a Colledge at *Playse* in *Essex*, where in his life he had provided a sumptuous Tombe, where he was first laid, but translated afterward to *Westminster*.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the the two and twentieth yeare of his Raigne, a contagious Pestilence arose in the East and South parts of the world, and spread it selfe over all Christendome; and comming at last into *England*, it so wasted the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts was left alive. There died in *London* (some say in *Norwich*) betweene the first of *January*, and the first of *July*, 57374. persons. In *Yarmouth*, in one yeare, 7052. men and women: before which time, the Parsonage there was worth 700. Markes a yeare, and afterwards was scarce worth forty pounds a yeare. This Plague beganne in *London* about *Alhallontide*, in the yeare 1348. and continued till the yeare 1357. Where it was observed, that those who were borne after the beginning of this mortality, had but twenty eight teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelveth yeare of his Raigne, a sudden Inundation of water, at *New-castle* upon *Tyne*, bare downe a piece of the Towne

wall,

wall, and sixe pearches in length, neare to a place called *Walkerew*, where a hundred and twenty men and women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth yeare of his Raigne, another Pestilence happened in *England*, which was called the second Pestilence, in which died *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, also *Reginold* Lord *Cobham*, and *Walter Fitz-warren*, two famous men; and five Bishops, of *Worcester*, of *London*, of *Ely*, of *Lincolne*, and of *Chichester*. In this Kings time, a Frost lasted from the midst of *September*, to the moneth of *Aprill*. In the fourth yeare of his Raigne, a solemne Justing or Turnament was holden at *London* in *Cheepside*, betwixt the great Crosse and the great Conduit, nigh *Soper-lane*, which lasted three dayes, where the Queen *Philippa*, with many Ladies, fell from a Stage, set up for them to behold the Justing; and though they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatned to punish the Carpenters for their negligence, till the Queene intreated pardon for them upon her knees: as indeed she was alwayes ready to doe all good offices of mercie to all people. In the eleventh yeare of his Raigne was so great plenty, that a quarter of Wheate was sold at *London* for two shillings, a fat Oxe for a Noble, a fat Sheepe for sixe pence, and sixe Pigeons for a penny, a fat Goose for two pence, and a Pigge for a penny, and other things after that rate.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Philippa*, the daughter of *William* Earle of *Haynalt* at *Yorke*, a match made up in haste by Queene *Isabell* his mother, for her owne ends, although a better could never have beene made upon deliberation for King *Edwards* ends: for though her Parentage were not great, and her portion lesse, yet she made amends for both, in vertue; for never King had a better Wife. By her King *Edward* had seven sonnes and five daughters: his eldest sonne *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and commonly called the Blacke Prince, (but why so called uncertaine for to say, of his dreadfull acts, as *Speede* saith, hath little probability) was borne at *Woodstocke*, in the third yeare of his Fathers Raigne; he married *Joane*, the daughter of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, brother by the Fathers side to King *Edward* the second. She had beene twice married before; first to the valiant Earle of *Salisbury*, from whom she was divorced: next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*, after whose decease, this Prince passionatly loving her, married her: by her he had issue two sonnes, *Edward* the eldest, borne at *Angoulesme*, who died at seven yeares of age; and *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, who after his Father, was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather King of *England*. This Prince had also naturall issue, Sir *John Saunder*, and *Roger Clarendon* Knights; the latter being attainted in the Raigne of King *Henry* the fourth, is thought to have beene Ancestour to the house of *Smiths* in *Essex*. He died at *Canterbury*, in the sixe and fortieth yeare of his age, and of his Fathers Raigne, the nine and fortieth, and was buried at Christs Church there. His second sonne *William* was borne at *Hatfield*, in *Hertfordshire*, who deceased in his childhood, and was buried at *Yorke*. His third sonne *Lyonell* was borne at *Antwerpe*, in the twelveth yeare of his Fathers Raigne; he married first *Elizabeth*, the daughter and Heire of *William Burgh*, Earle of *Ulster* in *Ireland*; in whose Right he was first created Earle of *Ulster*: and because he had with her the honour of *Clare*, in the County of *Tommond*, he was in a Parliament, created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Countrey about the Towne and Honour of *Clare*, from which Dutchy, the name of *Clarentieux* (being the title of the King of Armes, for the South parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had issue by her one onely daughter, named *Philippa*, afterward wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, mother of Earle *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countesse of *Cambridge*, the mother of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth. The second marriage of this Duke was at *Millaine* in *Lombardy*, with the Lady *Violanta*, daughter of *Galeacie* the second Duke thereof; but through intemperance he lived not long after. King *Edwards* fourth sonne named *John*, was borne at *Gaunt*, in the foureteenth yeare of his Fathers Raigne; he had three wives, the first was *Blanch*, daughter and Coheire, and in the end the sole

Heire

Heire of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, sonne of *Edmund*, sirnamed Crouch back; by whom he had issue, *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Earle of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry* the fourth, who first placed the Crowne in the house of *Lancaster*. By her also *John* of *Gaunt* had two daughters, *Philip* wife of *John* the first, King of *Portugall*; and *Elizabeth* married first to *John Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, and after him, to Sir *John Cornwall*, Baron of *Fanhope*. *John* of *Gaunts* second wife was *Constance*, the eldest daughter of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, in whose Right, for the time he intitled himselfe King of both those Realmes: by her he had issue one onely daughter named *Katherine*, married to *Henry* the third, sonne of King *John*, in possession before, and in her Right after King of both the said Realmes. *John* of *Gaunts* third wife was *Katherine*, the Widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a knight of *Lincolnshire*, eldest daughter and Coheire of *Payn Roet*, a *Gascoyne*, called Guien King of Armes for that Countrey; his younger daughter being married to Sir *Geoffrey Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue born before matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament, in the twentieth yeare of King *Richard* the second; *John* Earle of *Somerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Cardinall*, and *Joane* (who was first married to *Robert Ferrers* Baron of *Wemme*, and *Ourfley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwicke*) and secondly, to *Ralph Nevill*, the first Earle of *Westmerland*. She and all her brethren were sirnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France*, where they were all borne; and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Castle for the Cognisance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth yeare of his Nephew King *Richard* was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, but in his sixteenth yeare he was called home, and this title re-called; and the third yeare after, in the sixtieth of his age, he died at *Elis* house in *Holbourne*, and lieth honourably Entombed in the Quire of Saint *Paul*. King *Edwards* fifth sonne *Edmund*, sirnamed of *Langley*, was first in the yeare 1361. created Earle of *Cambridge*, and afterward in the yeare 1386. made Duke of *Yorke*; he married *Isabell*, daughter and Coheire to *Peter*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*: his sonne *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, tooke to wife *Anne Mortimer*, Heire of the foresaid *Lyonell*, elder brother to *Edmund* of *Langley*. King *Edwards* sixth sonne *William*, sirnamed of *Windsor*, where he was borne, died young, and is buried at *Westminster*. King *Edwards* youngest sonne *Thomas*, sirnamed of *Woodstocke*, where he was borne, was first Earle of *Buckingham*, and after made Duke of *Gloucester* by his Nephew King *Richard* the second. He was a man of valour and wisdome, but the King surmizing him to be a too severe observer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolke*, how to make him away: whom *Mowbray* unawares surprising, convaied secretly to *Calice*, where he was strangled the twentieth yeare of King *Richards* Raigne. He had issue one sonne, *Humphrey* Earle of *Buckingham*, who died at *Chester* of the Pestilence, in the yeare 1400. and two daughters, *Anne* married first to *Edmund* Earle of *Stafford*, by whom she had *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*; secondly to *William Bourchier* Earle of *Ewe*, by whom she had *Henry* Earle of *Essex*, and *Joane* married to *Gylbert* Lord *Talbot*, and had issue by him a daughter, who died young. Of King *Edwards* daughters, the eldest named *Isabell*, was married at *Windsor* to *Ingelram* of *Guysnes*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earle of *Soysons*, and after Arch-duke of *Austria*; created also by King *Edward*, Earle of *Bedford*: by whom she was mother of two daughters; *Mary* married to *Henry* Duke of *Barre*, and *Philip* married to *Robert de Vere* Earle of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquesse of *Dublyn*. This *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsooke his Lady *Philip*, and married one *Lancerona* a Joyners daughter (as was said) which came with King *Richard* the seconds wife out of *Bohemia*; and being for abusing the Kings eare, driven out of the Land by the Lords, he died at *Louane* in extreame poverty in the yeare 1392. *Isabell* his wives mother, was buried in the Church of Friers Minorites neare *Aldgate* in *London*. King *Edwards* second daughter *Joane* was married by Proxie to *Alphonsus*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*, but passing into *Spaine*, died by the way, and King *Alphonsus* met her, instead of consummating his Espousall, solemnise her Funerall. His third daughter *Blanch* died

died young. His fourth named *Mary*, was married to *John Montford* Duke of *Britaine*. His youngeſt named *Margaret*, borne in *Callice*, was the firſt wife of *John de Haſtings*, Earle of *Pembroke*, but died without iſſue.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of ſtature indifferent tall, of ſparkling eyes, of a comely and manly countenance, in his later time ſomething bald; and concerning his conditions, no man was more gentle, where there was ſubmiſſion; where oppoſition, no man more ſterne. He was a Prince no leſſe of his paſſions, then of his people; for he was never ſo loving, as to be fond; nor ever ſo angry, as to be inexorable: but this muſt be underſtood of the time while he was a man, for in his old age, when he came to be a childe againe, he was Prince of neither. He was no leſſe fortunate then valiant; and his fortunatenes was the greater by a kind of *Antiperiſtaſis*, as comming betweene two unfortunate Princes; Succeſſour to one, and Predeceſſour to another. He was of ſo warlike a diſpoſition, that his very ſports were warlike; for no delights were ſo frequent with him as Juſts and Tournaments. To ſhew his devotion, one example may be ſufficient, for when neither Cardinals nor Counſellours could move him to make peace with *France*, a tempeſt from Heaven did it; to which may be added, that he never wanne great battell, of which he wanne many, but he preſently gave the glory of it to God by publike Thankſgiving. He out-lived the beſt wife, and the beſt ſonne that ever King had; and to ſay the truth, he out-lived the beſt of himſelfe, for his later years were not anſwerable to his former.

Of his Death and Buriall.

KING *Edward* beſides his being old, and worne with the labours of warre, had other cauſes that haſtened his end: his griefe for the loſſe of ſo worthy a ſonne, dead but tenne moneths before; his griefe for the loſſe of all benefit of his conqueſts in *France*, of all which he had little now left, but onely *Callice:* and oppreſſed thus in body and minde, he was drawing his laſt breath, when his Concubine *Alice Pierce* packing away what ſhe could catch, even to the Rings of his fingers, left him; and by her example, other of his attendants, ſeaſing on what they could come by, ſhift away; and all his Counſellours and others forſooke him, when he moſt needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty; which a poore Prieſt in the houſe ſeeing, he approaches to the Kings Bed-ſide, and finding him yet breathing, cals upon him to remember his Saviour, and to aske mercie for his offences, which none about him before would doe: but now moved by the voyce of this Prieſt, he ſhewes all ſignes of contrition, and at his laſt breath expreſſes the name of Jeſus. Thus died this victorious King at his Manor at *Sheene*, (now *Richmond*) the one and twentieth day of *June*, in the yeare 1377. in the ſixty fourth yeare of his age, having Raigned fifty yeares, foure moneths, and odde dayes. His body was conveyed from *Sheene* by his foure ſonnes and other Lords, and ſolemnly interred within *Weſtminſter* Church, where he hath his Monument, and whereit is ſaid, the ſword he uſed in battell, is yet to be ſeene, being eight pound in weight, and ſeven foote in length.

Of Men of Note in his time.

MArtiall men were never more plentifull then in this Kings Raigne: whether it were that the Starres have an influence to produce ſuch men at one time more then another: or whether it were that *Regis ad exemplum*, the Kings example made his ſubjects like himſelfe: or laſtly, that his continuall exerciſe of Armes put them as it were into a mould of fortitude. The firſt of this kinde, is worthily *Edward* the Blacke Prince, and ſo worthily the firſt, that *Longe erit à primo quiſque ſecundus erit.* Next him is *Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter*, the Princes right hand, in all his great atchieve-

ievements: then *William* the valiant Earle of *Salisbury*, then *John Eure*, Anceſtor to e Lord *Eures* that now liveth; then follow the Lord *John Chandos*, Sir *James Aude-*, Sir *Walter de Manny*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, then Sir *John Hawkewood* born in *Eſſex*; who ough not much honoured at home, having been a Taylour, yet in forrain parts, and ecially in *Italy* ſo famous, that his Statue was erected in publike, for a Monument teſtifie his valour to poſterity. And here muſt not be forgotten, *Robert Venile* ight, a *Norfolke* man; who when the *Scots* and *Engliſh* were ready to give battell, certaine ſtout Champion of great ſtature, commonly called *Tournboll*, comming t of the *Scots* Army, and challenging any *Engliſh* man to meete him in a ſingle ombate; this *Robert Venile* accepteth the challenge, and marching towards the Champion, and meeting by the way a certaine blacke Maſtiffe Dogge which wai-ed on the Champion, he ſuddenly with his ſword cut him off at the loynes, and afterwards did more to the Champion himſelfe, cutting his head from off his ſhoul-ders. And as there was this great plenty of Martiall men, ſo there was no leſſe plenty of learned men; *John Baconthorpe* borne in *Norfolke*, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes in Divinity; *Nicholas Trivet* born alſo in *Norfolk*: a blackFrier, who wrote two Hiſtories, and a book of Annals: *Richard Stradley*, born in the Marches of *Wales*, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes of the Scriptures: *William Herbert* a *Welſhman*, and a Frier *Minor*, who wrote many good Treatiſes in Divinity: *Tho. Walleis* a DominicanFrier, and a writer of many excellent books: *John Everſden* a Monk of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Walter Burley* a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in *Martin* Colledge in *Oxford*, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes in Naturall and Morall Philoſophy, which remaine in eſtimati-on to this day; and who for the great fame of his learning, had the honour to be one of the Inſtructours of *Edward* the blacke Prince: *Roger* of *Cheſter*, a Monke of that City, and an Hiſtoriographer: *John Burgh* a Monke, who wrote a Hiſtory, and alſo divers Homilies: *Richard Aungervill* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Lord Chancel-lour of *England*, borne in *Suffolke*: *Walter Heminford*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Richard Chicheſter* a Monke of *Weſtminſter*, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the yeare 449. to the yeare 1348. *Richard Rolle, alias Hampole*, who writ many excellent Treatiſes in Divinity: *Robert Holcot* a blacke Frier, borne in *Northampton*, a lear-ned Schooleman, and wrote many bookes in Arguments of Divinity: *Thomas Brad-wardin*, borne neare *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and who wrote againſt the *Pelagians*, and for his depth of learning, had the Title of *Doctor Pro-fundus*: *Richard Fits Ralph*, Arch-biſhop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, a learned writer: *William Gryſant*, named *Anglicus*, a notable Phyſitian, whoſe ſon came to be Pope, and was called *Urbane* the fifth: *John Killingworth* an excellent Philoſopher, Aſtro-nomer, and Phyſitian: *Ranulph Higden* a Monke of *Cheſter*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Bar-tholomew Glanvile*, deſcended of thoſe *Glanviles* that were ſometimes Earles of *Suf-folke*: *Simon Iſlip* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Founder of *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*, who wrote many Treatiſes: *Matthew Weſtmonaſterienſis*, who wrote the booke called *Flores Hiſtoriarum*: *William Fleete* an Hermit, who wrote ſundry Trea-tiſes, exhorting *England* to repentance: *Henry Knighton*, who wrote a Hiſtory Inti-tuled *De geſtis Anglorum*: and laſtly two other, worthy perhaps to have beene pla-ced firſt; *John Mandevill* the great Travellour, a Doctor of Phyſicke, and a knight, who died at *Liege*, in the yeare 1372. and Sir *Geoffrey Chawcer*, the *Homer* of our Na-tion; and who found as ſweete a Muſe in the Groves of *Woodſtocke*, as the Antients did upon the banks of *Helicon*.

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THE REIGNE OF KING RICHARD THE SECOND.

RICHARD, called of *Burdeaux*, becauſe born there, the onely Sonne of *Edward* the black Prince, was by his Grandfather in his life-time declared to be his Heire and lawfull Succeſſour; and accordingly after his death was crowned King of *England*, at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixteenth day of *July*, in the yerre 1377. by *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: And for the more ſolemnity of his Coronation, he then made nine Knights, and created foure Earles: *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, King *Edward* the Thirds youngeſt Sonne, was created Earle of *Buckingham* and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger brother of *John* L. *Mowbray*, Earle of *Nottingham*; *Gifford Angouleſme* a *Gaſcoigne*, was made Earle of *Huntington*; and *Henry Percy* ſonne of *Henry* L. *Percy*, was created Earle of *Northumberland*. At the time of the Coronation, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, by the name of *John* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and Duke of *Lancaſter*, put in his claim as Earle of *Leiceſter*, to have the place of Earle Marſhall of England; as Duke of *Lancaſter*, to carry the ſword called *Curtana*; as Earle of *Lincolne*, to be Carver that day; all which to be executed by himſelfe, or by his ſufficient Deputy; which, with the fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him. As likewiſe, divers others made their claimes: *Robert de Veere*, Earle of *Oxford*, to have the office of Chamberlaine, and to powre out water for the King to waſh: *John Wiltſhire* Citizen of *London*, by reaſon of a Moyitie of the Manour of *Heydon*, holden in Sergeantie, claimed to hold a Towell for the King to wipe with when he went to meat: *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwick*, to beare the third Sword before the King, and alſo to exerciſe the office of Pantler: Sir *John Argentine*, by reaſon of his Manour of *Wimondley* in the County of *Hartford*, to ſerve the King at his Cup: *William* L. *Furnivall*, for his Manour of *Fetnham*, to ſupport the Kings right arme when he held the Royall Scepter: *Anne* late wife of *John de Haſtings* Earle of *Pembrooke*, for his Manour of *Aſhele* in *Norfolke*, to have the Office of Naperer; which ſhe was admitted to doe by her Deputy Sr. *Thomas Blunt*: *Richard* Earle of *Arundell*, for his Manour of *B.* in *Kent*, was admitted to be chiefe Butler: The L. Major of *London*, to attend in his owne perſon, as chiefe Cup-waiter: Sir *John Dimmock*, for his Manour of *Scrivelbie*; and Sir *Baldwin Frevile*, for his Caſtle of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwick*, contended for the Office of being the Kings Champion; but adjudged to *Dimmock*: *William de Latimer*, and *John* the ſonne and heire of *John Mowbray* of *Axholme*, joyntly petitioned to have the Office of Almoner; but adjudged to *Latimer*: *Richard Lion*, as Tenant of the Manour of *L.* held by the ſervice of making wafers for the King at his Coronation, was thereunto admitted: The Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to beare the Kings Canopy, upon foure ſtaves of ſilver, over the Kings head; and alſo to ſit at a meat in the Hall, at the higheſt Table on the Kings right hand: *John Fitz-John*, by reaſon of his Manour of *S.* in *Norfolk*, was admitted to be chiefe Larderer: *Richard Herring*, for the Manour of *C.* in the County of *Surry*, claimed to be Uſher of the Kings Chamber; but becauſe that claim did no way concern the Coronation, he was left to purſue his Right ſome other time.

The Coronation it ſelfe was performed with great ſolemnity: After a Sermon, the King tooke his Oath; and then the Archbiſhop bleſſed the King; which done, he tore off his garments, and ſtrippped him into his ſhirt; then he annoynted his hands, head, breaſt, ſhoulders, and the joynts of his armes, with the ſacred Oyle; and after certaine Prayers, he then cladde him, firſt with the Coat of S. *Edward*, and after with his Mantle: after which, the Archbiſhop delivered him the Sword, ſaying, *Accipe Gladium*; with which two Earles gyrded him: Then he gave him Bracelets, ſaying, *Accipe Armillas*: After this, he put upon him an upper veſture called a Pall, ſaying, *Accipe Pallium*: In the meane time, while the Archbiſhop bleſſed the Crowne, he to whoſe Office it pertained, put ſpurres on his heeles; after the Crown was bleſſed, the Archbiſhop ſet it on his Head, ſaying, *Coronet te Deus*: then he delivered him a Ring, ſaying, *Accipe Annulum*: Immediately herewith came the L. *Furnivall*, by virtue of his Office, offering him a red Glove; which the Arch B. bleſſed, and putting it on his hand, gave him the Scepter, ſaying, *Accipe Sceptrum*: and after that, in his other hand, delivered him a Rod, on the top whereof ſtood a Dove, ſaying, *Accipe Virgam Virtutis*; and then bleſſed the King, ſaying, *Benedicat te Deus*: which done, the King kiſſed the Biſhops and Abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his ſeat: and ſo ended the ſolemnity.

The tender yeares of the King, being but eleven yeeres of age, required a Protector: but being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that Authority to one only one, who might rather ſeeke to get it for himſelfe, then to keep it for another, It was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Edmund* Earle of *Cambridge*, the Kings Unkles; with ſome other Lords and Biſhops, were joyned in Commiſſion to manage the State; and *Guiſhard de Angoulesme* appointed to be his Schoole-maſter. And now the Kings Minority made forreigne Princes conceive, that this would be a time of advantage for any that had quarrell to *England*: which the *French* and *Scots* tooke preſently hold of; For, the *French* came now, and burnt the Town of *Rye*; and ſoone after, entring the Iſle of *Wight*, burnt divers Townes there; and though they were repelled from the Caſtle by the valiant Sir *Hugh Tyrrell* Captaine thereof, yet they conſtrained the men of the Iſle to give them a thouſand Markes, to ſpare the reſidue of their houſes and goods: and departing thence, they ſet on land where they ſaw advantage, burning ſundry Townes neere to the ſhoare; as *Portſmouth*, *Dertmouth*, and *Plimmouth*: and then ſayling towards *Dover*, they burnt *Haſtings*, aſſaulted *Winchelſey*; but being valiantly defended by the Abbot of *Battell*, were forced to retire: After this, they landed not far from the Abby of *Lewis*, at a place called *Rottington*; where the Prior of *Lewis*, with Sir *Thomas Cheyny*, and Sir *John Falleſly*, encountring them, were overthrowne, and taken Priſoners. And no leſſe then the *French*, were the *Scots* alſo now buſie; for comming one morning by ſtealth, they wonne the Caſtle of *Barwick*; but ſhortly after, upon knowledge thereof had, they were driven out againe by the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*; and all the *Scots* they found in it, except *Alexander Ramſey* their Captaine, put to the ſword. About *Michaelmas*, a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein *Alice Pierce*, the late Kings Concubine, was baniſhed the Realms, and all her goods confiſcate; and two Tenths of the Clergie, and two Fifteenths of the Temporalty were granted; but ſo, as that two Citizens of *London*, *William Walworth*, and *John Philpot*, ſhould receive and keepe it, to ſee it beſtowed for defence of the Realme. In this time, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Deputy of *Calis*, burnt ſix and twenty *French* ſhips in the Haven of *Bulloigne*: and at the ſame time a great Navy is ſet out, under the guiding of the Earle of *Buckingham*, the Duke of *Britaine*, the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Robert Knolls* and others, with a purpoſe to intercept the *Spaniſh* Fleet; but through Tempeſt were twice driven back: when in the mean time, one *Mercer* a *Scottiſh* Pyrate, came to *Scarborough*, tooke there divers ſhips, and committed many outrages: and no order being taken to repell him, a Citizen of *London* named *John Philpot*, at his own charges ſet forth a Fleet, and in his own perſon encountring them, tooke the ſaid *Mercer*, and all his ſhips: and returning home, in ſtead of being rewarded for his ſervice, he was called in queſtion

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for presuming to raise a Navy, without advice of the Kings Councell: but he gave such reasons for that he had done, that not onely he came off then with credit, but lives in reputation for it to this day. Indeed Reasons of State, though they may secretly be censured, yet they must not openly be controlled, for this were to bring Authority into contempt, and in stead of Errors to bring in Confusion; but yet when wrongs be offered that are publick, every particular person seemes to have an interest in taking revenge; and though it may be no manners not to stay the States leisure, yet it can be no offence to doe their worke for them. Many actions passed at this time with the *French* and *Scots*, some prosperous, and some adverse: The *Scots* burne *Roxborough*; this was adverse: but the Earle of *Northumberland* entring *Scotland* with ten thousand men, spoyleth the Lands of the Earle of *March*, the chief Incendiary; this was prosperous: but when the Northern men would needs make a Road into *Scotland*, and were encountred by the Scots, and put to flight, this was adverse. Anon after Midsomer, the Duke of *Lancaster*, with the Earles of *Buckingham*, *Warwick*, *Stafford*, and others of the Nobility, with a strong Power tooke the Sea, and landing in *Britaine*, besieged the Towne of S^t. *Malo*, but finding strong opposition, is forced to raise his Siege, and returne home: this was adverse. And now againe, the *Scots* by night entred secretly into the Castle of *Berwick*, and slew Sir *Robert Baynton*, that was Constable there: this also was adverse: But when the Earle of *Northumberland*, being advertised thereof, came with a Power, assaulted the Castle, and after two dayes defence recovered it againe; this was prosperous. *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Callis*, forrageth the Country round about, and furnisheth *Callis* with Booties of French cattell: Sir *Hugh Calverley* and Sir *Thomas Percy* made Admiralls, put to Sea, and take divers ships laden with merchandise, and one ship of warre: Sir *John Hunleston*, Captaine of *Chierbourg* in *France*, issuing forth, assaults a Fortresse of the *French*, which was the storehouse of their Provision, and with much valour takes it: these were prosperous: But when Sir *John Clerke*, lying in Garrison in a Castle in *Britaine*, where lay many English ships in the Haven, had these ships set upon by the *French*, where though he shewed incredible valour in the action, yet the ships were taken, and himselfe slaine: this was adverse. Also in the third yeere of this Kings Reigne, Sir *John Arundell*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *Thomas Percie*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Banister*, and many other Knights, went to Sea, with a purpose to passe over into *Britaine*; but were so beaten back with Tempest, that divers of their ships were cast away; and Sir *John Arundell*, Sir *Thomas Banister*, Sir *Nicolas Trumpington*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and above a thousand others were all drowned; onely Sir *Thomas Percie*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Elmham*, and certaine others escaped. It may not be impertinent to note here the sumptuousnesse of those times; for this Sir *John Arundell* was then said in his Furniture to have two and fifty new sutes of apparell of cloath of Gold and Tissue, all lost at Sea. This yeere also, there being found inconvenience in having many Governors of the King and Kingdome, it was by Parliament decreed, That the Lord *Thomas Beauchampe*, Earle of *Warwick*, should himself alone hold the place of Protector. About this time Sir *John Annesley* Knight accused *Thomas Katrington* Esquire, for betraying the Fortresse of St. *Saviour* to the *French*: which *Katrington* denying, at the suit of *Annesly* a solemne combat is permitted to be between them; at which combat the King and all the great Lords were present: the Esquire *Katrington* was a man of a mighty stature, the Knight *Annesley* a little man; yet through the justnesse of his cause, after a long fight, the Knight prevailed, and *Katrington*, the day after the combat dyed. In the beginning of the fourth yeere of this King, *Thomas* of *Woodstock* Earle of *Buckingham*, the Kings Unkle, with divers Earles and Lords, and an Army of seven or eight thousand, was sent into *France*, to aide the Duke of *Britaine*; but the King of *France* at that time dying, the Duke of *Britain* grew to have peace with the new King, whereupon the Earle of *Buckingham* came home againe, without doing much, but making of Knights, and forraging the Country. In this time the French and Spanish Gallies did much mischiefe on the Coast of *England*: they burnt *Rye*, *Hastings*, and *Portsmouth*:

Portſmouth; and at laſt, entring the River of *Thames*, they came up to *Graveſend*, where they burnt moſt part of the Towne, and taking many Priſoners and Booties returned into *France*. At this time alſo, there fell out an Accident of great diſturbance to the Realme; for the Commons roſe in divers parts, beginning at *Deptford* in *Kent*: and the cauſe of their Riſing grew (as was thought) through the rude behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-money, who comming into the houſe of one *John Tyler*, and demanding Pollmony of his wife for a daughter of hers, and ſhe ſaying that her daughter was not of that age to pay, the rude fellow ſaid, he would preſently ſee whether that were ſo, or no, and thereupon forceably turned up her cloathes; whereat the mother making an outcry, her huſband being at work hard by, and hearing the noyſe, came in with his lathing-ſtaffe in his hand, with which he gave the Collector ſuch a blow on the head, that his braines flew out, and he preſently dyed. Upon this, at the complaint of *Tyler* amongſt his neighbours, and withall, a factious Clergie-man, one *John Ball*, taking occaſion hereat to rip up the ground of this Miſgovernment, and telling the people, that this differeuce of mens Eſtates, where ſome are Potentates, and ſome are Bondmen, was againſt Chriſtian liberty, taking for his Theame, *When* Adam *delv'd and* Eve *ſpan, who was then a Gentleman?* he ſo incenſed them, that the Commons in divers parts drew together; and whether beginning in *Kent*, or otherwiſe in *Eſſex*, they drew at laſt into their faction the Commons of *Suſſex*, *Hartfordſhire*, *Cambridgſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and other Shires; and arreſting all ſuch as paſſed, made them ſweare to be true to K. *Richard*, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that ſhould be called *John*; which they did for the envy they bore to *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*. Thus their number ſtill increaſed, that by that time they were come as farre as *Black-heath*, they were eſteemed to be a Hundred Thouſand. The firſt thing they did when they came to *London*, was to ſend for one *Richard Lyon*, a grave Citizen, who had been *Tylers* Maſter, and his head they ſtruck off, and carried it upon a pole, in Triumph before them: The next day they goe to the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaſters* houſe, which they ſet on fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all his Plate and Jewels, and throwing them into the Thames, ſaying, They were men of juſtice, and would not like Robbers enrich themſelves with any mans goods: and when one of their fellowes was eſpyed to thruſt a faire ſilver piece into his boſome, they tooke him, and caſt both him and the piece into the fire: Two and thirty of them were got into the Dukes Wine-Cellar, where they ſtayed drinking ſo long, till the rafters of the houſe, on fire, fell upon them, and ſo covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry ſeven dayes after, and then periſhed. From the *Savoy* they went to the *Temple*, where they burnt the Lawyers lodgings, with their bookes and writings, and all they could lay hand on: Alſo the Houſe of St. *Johns* by *Smithfield* they ſet on fire, ſo that it burned for the ſpace of ſeven dayes together. After this they came to the *Tower*, where the King was then lodged; and though he had at that time ſixe hundred armed men, and as many Archers about him, yet he durſt not but ſuffer them to enter; where they abuſed the Kings mother, offering to kiſſe her, in ſuch rude manner, that ſhe fell into a ſwound: and finding in the place *Simon Thybold* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Lord Chancellour; and Sr. *Robert Hales* alſo Lord Treaſurer; they led them to the Towerhill, and there in moſt cruell manner ſtruck off their heads, as alſo of divers others: Neither ſpared they ſacred places; for breaking into the Church of the Auguſtine Fryers, they drew forth thirteene *Flemmings*, and beheaded them in the open ſtreets; as alſo ſeventeen other, out of other Churches. Yet after all theſe outrages, the King proclaimed Pardon to all ſuch as would lay down Armes, and goe quietly home; which the *Eſſex*-men did, but the *Kentiſh*-men continued ſtill, with their Captaine *Wat Tyler*: to whom when the King ſent Sir *John Newton* to underſtand what his meaning was; *Wat Tyler*, offended becauſe he came on horſe-back, told him, it became him to light from his horſe in his preſence; and therewith drew out his dagger to ſtrike him: the King perceiving his Knight to be in danger, bade him alight from his horſe: but when this would not pacifie him, the Major of *London*, *William Walworth*, by the Kings appointment

pointment rode to him and arreſted him, and gave him ſuch a blow on the head, that he aſtonied him; and then other of the Kings ſervants drew their ſwords, and thruſt him through in divers parts of his body, ſo as he died there in the place. When the Commons ſaw this, they cryed out, Our Captain is ſlain, let us revenge it. Here the King, though very young, not above fifteen yeeres of age, yet had the courage to ride unto them, telling them, that now their Leader was dead, he would be their Leader himſelfe; and if they would follow him into the fields, they ſhould have whatſoever they deſired. In the meane time, the Lord Major *Walworth* had gone into the City, and raiſed a Thouſand armed men, and meeting Sir *Robert Knolls* by chance, got him to be their Leader; who comming into the fields where the Rebels were, ſo daunted them, that throwing downe their weapons, they cryed for mercy: that it was a wonderfull thing to ſee how ſuddenly Fear overtook Preſumption; for ſcarce their words of Inſolency were out of their mouths, when they fell to words of moſt ſervile ſubmiſſion: And as ſtrange an alterarion in thoſe about the King, to ſee how ſuddenly Boldnes ſurprized Feare; for ſcarce they left trembling at the ſight of the Rebels, when ſuddenly upon ſight of this Ayde their fingers itched to be ſetting upon them, but that the King would not ſuffer it, becauſe ſome amongſt them were there by compulſion, and to ſet upon them thus mingled, might as well be the death of the innocent, as of the guilty. But to pacifie them the more, the King cauſed his Charter of Manumiſſion to be ſent unto them; which yet ſtayed them not from committing outrages at S^t. *Albans*, and cancelling the antient Charters of the Abbots and Monks there. Beſides, the Sedition was more generall, then that the appeaſing it in one place could be finall; for at the ſame time there were gathered together in *Suffolk* to the number of Fifty thouſand, by the ſetting on of one *John Wraw* a lewd Prieſt: and theſe fell to deſtroying the houſes of Lawyers ſpecially; and Sir *John Cavendiſh* L. Chiefe Juſtice of *England*, they beheaded, and ſet his head upon the Pillory in S^t. *Edmundsbury*. The like commotion of the Commons was at the ſame time alſo in *Cambridgeſhire*, in the Iſle of *Ely*, and in *Norfolke*, under the guiding of one *John Litteſter* a Dyer: and to countenance their proceeding the more, they had a purpoſe to have brought *William Ufford* Earle of Suffolke into their fellowſhip; but he, advertiſed of their intention, ſuddenly roſe from ſupper, and got him away: but many other Lords and Knights they compelled to be ſworne to them, and to ride with them; as the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Morley*, Sir *John Brewis*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, & S^r. *Robert Salle*, who not enduring their inſolencies, had his braines daſht out by a Country Clowne that was his Bondman: The reſt terrified by this example, were glad to carry themſelves ſubmiſſively to their Chieftaine *John Litteſter*, who named himſelfe King of the Commons, and counted it a preferment for any to ſerve him at his Table, in taking the aſſay of his meates and drinkes, with kneeling humbly before him, as he ſate at meat. And now theſe fellowes, upon a conſultation, ſend two choycemen, namely, the L. *Morley* and Sir *John Brewis*, with three of their chiefe Commons, to the King, for their Charter of Manumiſſion and Enfranchiſing: who being on their way, at *Itchingham* not farre from *Newmarket*, they met with *Henry Spenſer* Biſhop of *Norwich*; and he examining them if there were any of the Rebels in their company, and hearing that three of the chiefe were there preſent, he preſently cauſed their heads to be ſtruck off; and then purſuing on towards *Northwalſham* in *Norfolke*, where the Commons ſtayed for Anſwer from the King; by that time he came thither, where he had at firſt but eight Launces, and a ſmall number of Archers in his company, his number was ſo increaſed, that it came to be a compleat Army, with which he ſet upon the Rebels, diſcomfited them, and tooke *John Litteſter* and their other Chieftains, whom he cauſed all to be executed; and by this meanes the Country was quieted. After this, the Major of *London* ſate in Judgment upon Offenders; where many were found culpable, and loſt their heads; amongſt other, *Jack Straw*, *John Kirkeby*, *Alane Tredder*, and *John Sterling*, who gloried that he was the man had ſlaine the Archbiſhop. Alſo Sir *Robert Treſilian* Chiefe Juſtice, was appointed to ſit in Judgement againſt the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty, and in ſundry places put to death:

death: amongst others, *John Ball* Priest, their Incendiary; of whom it is not impertinent to relate a letter he wrote to the Rebell-rabble of *Essex*; by which we may see how fit an Oratour he was for such an Auditory, and what strength of perswasion there was in Non-sence:

John Sheepe St. *Mary* Priest of *Torke*, and now of *Colchester*, greeteth well *John Namelesse*, and *John* the Miller, and *John Carter*; and biddeth them that they beware of guile in Borough, and stand together in Gods name: and biddeth *Piers Plowman* goe to his work, and chastise well *Hob* the robber, and take with you *John Trewman* and all his fellowes, and no moe. *John* the miller ye ground small, small, small; the Kings Sonne of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe: Know your friend from your foe: Have enough, and say Ho; and doe well and better: Flee sinne, and seeke peace, and hold you therein: and so biddeth *John Trewman* and all his fellowes.

Neither is it impertinent to declare the Confession of *Jack Straw* at his execution: "When we were assembled (said he) upon *Blackheath*, and had sent to the K. to come "to us, our purpose was to have slaine all Knights and Gentlemen that should be a-"bout him: and as for the King, we would have kept him amongst us, to the end "the people might more boldly have repaired to us; and when we had gotten pow-"er enough, we would have slaine all Noblemen, and specially the Knights of the "Rhodes; and lastly we would have killed the King, and all men of possessions, with "Bishops, Monkes, Parsons of Churches; onely Friers Mendicants we would have "spared, for administration of the Sacraments: Then we would have devised Laws "according to which the people should have lived; for we would have created "Kings, as *Wat Tyler* in *Kent*, and other in other Countries: and the same evening "that *Wat Tyler* was killed, we were determined to set fire in foure corners of the "City, and to have divided the spoyle amongst us: and this was our purpose, as "God may helpe me now at my last end." For his service done in this seditious businesse, the King knighted the Major *William Walworth*, and gave him a hundred pounds a yeere in Fee; also he knighted five Aldermen his brethren, girding them about the waste with the girdle of knighthood, which was the manner of Graduating in those dayes: And to doe the City it selfe honour, he granted there should be a Dagger added to the Armes of the City; for till this time the City bore onely the Crosse without the Dagger.

And now all parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked and made void his former Charters of Infranchising the Bondmen of the Realme; and that they should stand in the same condition they were before. In the time of this sedition, the Duke of *Lancaster* had been sent into *Scotland*, to keep the *Scots* quiet; who so carried the matter, that before the *Scots* heard of the Sedition, a Truce was concluded for two or three yeeres. But the Duke comming back to *Berwick*, was denied by the Captaine Sir *Matthew Redman*, to enter the Towne, because of a Commandement given him by the Earle of *Northumberland*, L. Warden of the Marches, not to suffer any person to enter the same; which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of *Lancaster* that was then in *Scotland*: but howsoever, this bred such a spleen in the Duke against the Earle, that at his comming home, he laid many things to the Earles charge, and the Earle as stoutly answered his objections: and so farre it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great numbers of Armed men, and themselves in Armour, to the great terrour of the people: but the King, wisely taking the matter into his owne hands, made them friends. At which time, the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperour *Winceslaus*, and affianced wife to the King, was come to *Calis*; whereupon the Parliament was Prorogued: the Lady was brought to *London*, joyned in mariage to the King, and Crowned Queene at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with great solemnity. After the Mariage, the Parliament began againe; in which *William Ufford* Earle of *Suffolke* being chosen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver in behalfe of the Commonwealth certaine matters concerning the same, the very day and houre in which he should have done the businesse, as he went up the

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staires towards the upper House, he suddenly fell down and dyed, having been merry and well before, to all mens judgements. About this time the Lord *Scroope* was deposed from the Chancellourship, for refusing to seale some Grants which the King had made: and the King receiving the great Seale at his hands, kept it a certaine time, and sealed with it such Grants and Writings as he pleased; till at length it was delivered to *Robert Braybrooke* Bishop of *London*, who was made Lord Chancellour.

Henry Spenser Bishop of *Norwich*, had lately with the Kings leave raised an Army, and was gone into *France*, in behalfe of Pope *Urban*, against the Anti-pope *Clement*; and entring first into *Flanders*, he tooke and sacked many Townes; at last besieged *Ypres*; till by an Army of *French* (greater then was thought could have been raised in *France*) he was forced to raise his siege: and then passing divers places, he came to *Gravelling*; from whence he writ to King *Richard*, that if ever he meant to try battell with the *French*, now was the time. The King was at that time at *Daventrie* in *Northamptonshire*; and being at supper when the word was brought him, he instandy rose from the Table, got to horse-back, and rode in Post with such speed that he came to S^t. *Albans* about midnight; where making no stay, but while he borrowed the Abbots Gelding, he hasted forth till he came to *Westminster*, as though he had meant never to rest till he had given battell to the *French-men*: but after he had taken councell of his pillow, his minde was altered, and he thought it better to imploy some other, then to goe himselfe: so the Duke of *Lancaster* is thought the fittest man; but he protracted the time so long in making preparation, that before he could be gone, the Bishop was come away: And this indeed is the condition of many, to spend so much time in preparing, that they utterly lose all opportunity of acting; like to men that are putting on their cloathes so long, till it be time to put them off againe. Shortly after, a Truce was concluded between *France* and *England*, to endure till the Feast of S^t. *Michael*, which should be in the yeere 1384.

Of Acts done after He came of Age.

THe *Scots* in this meane time had made Roades into *England*, and taken and burnt divers Townes upon the Borders: whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster*, with his Brother the Earle of *Buckingham*, is sent with a mighty Army to represse them; but having entred *Scotland*, and not able to draw the *Scots* to a Battell, they onely burnt certaine Townes, and then returned.

About this time an *Irish* Frier, of the Order of the Carmelites, charged the Duke of *Lancaster* with heynous crimes; as that he intended to destroy the King, and usurpe the Crowne; shewing the time, the place, and other circumstances of the whole plot. But the Duke called to his Answer, so cleered himselfe, at least gave such colours of cleering, that the Accuser was committed to the custody of *John Holland* the kings halfe-brother, till a day appointed for further tryall: The night before which day, the said Lord *Holland* and Sir *Henry Greene* are said to have come to this Frier, and putting a cord about his neck, tyed the other end about his privy members; and after hanging him up from the ground, laid a stone upon his belly, with the weight whereof his very back-bone burst asunder; thereby putting him to a most tormenting death: An act not more inhumane then unadvised; for though it took away the Accuser, yet it made the Accusation more suspitious.

At this time, though a Truce had been made with the *Scots*, yet they would not be quiet, but entred and wonne the Castle of *Barwick*, whereof the Earle of *Northumberland* was Captaine, but had committed the keeping of it to another; for which being blamed, he went against them with an Army, but took an easier course, for with the summe of two thousand markes he bought them out, and had the Castle surrendred into his hands againe. The king upon some new displeasure, being now incensed against the Duke of *Lancaster*, had a purpose to have him arrested, and arraigned of certaine points of Treason, before Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chiefe Justice, though

though he ought to be tryed by his Peeres: but the Duke having intimation he rod
got him to his Caſtle of *Pomfret*, and ſtood upon his guard; till the Kings mother
(notwithſtanding her indiſpoſition of body, by reaſon of her corpulency) riding to
and fro betwixt them, pacified the King, and made them friends.

In the ninth yeere of *K. Richards* Reigne, the *French*-king ſent the Admirall of
France into *Scotland*, with a Thouſand men of Armes, beſides Croſſe-bowes and o-
thers, to ayde the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*; with which ayde the *Scots* encouraged
enter the *Engliſh* Borders: whereof *K. Richard* advertiſed, himſelfe with a mighty
Army enters *Scotland*; and comming to *Edingborough*, and finding all the people fled
he ſet fire on the houſes, burnt the Church of S. *Giles*, onely *Holy-Rood-houſe* was
ſpared at the Duke of *Lancaſters* ſuit, in remembrance of friendſhip he had formerly
received in that houſe. The *Scots* by no meanes could be drawn to any Battell; but
to divert the Kings Army, they entred *Cumberland*, and beſieged *Carlile*, where by
the valour of Sir *Lewis Clifford* and Sir *Thomas Muſgrave* they were repelled; and
hearing of the Kings Army comming towards them, and fearing to be incloſed, they
drew back into *Scotland*, and the King returned into *England*. But in this meane
while, the *Engliſh* of *Calis* tooke many prizes of French ſhips at Sea, and many Boo-
ties alſo by land; at one time foure thouſand ſheep, and three hundred head of great
Cattell. This yeere the King called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where he created
two Dukes, one Marqueſſe, and five Earles: *Edmund* of *Langly* Earle of *Cambridge*,
the Kings Unkle, was created Duke of *Yorke*: *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Earle of *Buck-
ingham*, his other Unkle, Duke of *Gloceſter*: *Robert Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, was made
Marqueſſe of *Dublin*: *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* ſonne of *John* of *Gaunt*, was created
Earle of *Derby*: *Edward Plantagenet* ſonne to the Duke of *Yorke*, was made Earle of
Rutland: *Michael de la Poole* Chancellour of *England*, was created Earle of *Suffolke*:
and *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, was made Earle Marſhall. Alſo by au-
thority of this Parliament, *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, ſonne and heire of *Ed-
mund Mortimer*, and of the Lady *Philip* eldeſt daughter and heire to *Lionell* Duke of
Clarence third ſonne to king *Edward* the Third, was eſtabliſhed heire apparent to the
Crowne of the Realme, and ſhortly after ſo Proclaimed: but going into *Ireland*
to his Lordſhip of *Ulſter*, was there by the wilde *Iriſh* ſlaine. This *Roger* Earle of
March had iſſue, *Edmund*, *Roger*, *Anne*, *Alice*, and *Eleanor*; which *Eleanor* was made
a Nun: The two ſonnes dyed without iſſue: *Anne* his eldeſt daughter, was maried
to *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, ſonne to *Edmund* of *Langley*; which *Richard* had iſſue
by the ſaid *Anne*, a ſonne called *Richard*, that was after Duke of *York*, and father to
king *Edward* the Fourth; alſo a daughter named *Iſabel*, maried to the Lord *Bourchier*.
Alſo this yeere *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Earle of *Derby*, maried the daughter and heire
of *Humfry Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*; in whoſe Right he was after made Duke of
Hereford.

This yeere alſo *K. Richard* holding his Chriſtmas at *Eltham*, *Leo* king of *Armenia*
came thither to him; who in feare to have his kingdome conquered by the *Turke*,
was come into Chriſtendome to ſeeke for ayde: but his chiefe Errand into *England*
was, to have procured a Peace betweene the two kings of *England* and *France*; but
their ſpleenes were ſo great againſt one another, that it was not in the phyſick of his
Power to cure them.

At this time, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, taking with him his wife the Lady *Conſtance*,
and a daughter he had by her named *Katherine*, and two other daughters which he
had by his former wife, ſailed into *Spaine*: he was attended in his journy with the
Lord *Lucie*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Baſſet*, *Willoughby*, *Fitzwater*, *Poynings*, *Brat-
ſton*, and many other Lords and knights, to the number of fifteen hundred men of
Armes; whereof a thouſand at the leaſt were knights and Eſquires. The king at his
taking leave gave him a Crowne of Gold, and commanded he ſhould be called king
of *Spaine*: and the Queen likewiſe gave another Crown of Gold to the Dutcheſſe.
He landed firſt at *Breſt*, and freed that Caſtle from the *French*: from thence he ſai-
led, and arrived at the *Groyne* in *Spaine*, where he remained a moneth; and then went
to *Compoſtella*, where he ſtayed a while: In which time, his Conſtable Sir *John*

Holland

Holland wonne divers Townes. At *Monson*, the king of *Portingale*, and the Duke of *Lancaster* met; where a mariage was concluded between the said king of *Portingale* and the Lady *Philip* daughter to the Duke; which mariage shortly after was consummated, and the Lady sent into *Portingale* honorably accompanied. The Duke continued at *Compostella* all the winter: At *March* the king of *Portingale* and he entred the Confines of *Castile*, where they tooke many Townes; and passing over the River of *Dure*, entred into the Country *De Campos*: But the *Spaniards* not willing to come to a Battell, but meaning to weary them out with delayes; the *English* not used to such hot aire, fell daily into many diseases: which the Duke seeing, accorded to a Truce. There dyed in this action, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Richard Burley* a knight of the Garter, the Lord *Poynings*, and Sir *Henry Percy* Cosin-german to the Earle of *Northumberland*, also the Lord *Talbot*; and in all, twelve great Lords fourscore knights, two hundred Esquires, and of the meaner sort above five hundred. When the Army was broken up, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Dutchesse his wife went into *Portingale*; and after some stay there, they sailed to *Bayon*, in the Marches of *Gascoigne*, where he rested a long time after: In which meane while, there were offers made for a Mariage to be had, betweene the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French* king, and the Lady *Katherine*, daughter to the Duke of *Lancaster*: which the king of *Spaine* understanding, he began to doube, least if that mariage went forward, it might turne to his disadvantage; and thereupon by earnest suit, at length concluded a peace with the Duke of *Lancaster*, on this wise, That his eldest sonne *Henry* should marry the the Lady *Katherine*, the Duke of *Lancasters* daughter, and be intituled Prince of *Austurgus*; and in consideration of this mariage, and that all claimes should cease, which the Duke in right of his wife might challenge or pretend; It was agreed, that the said Duke should receive yeerely the summe of Ten thousand marks, during the lives of him and his Dutchesse; and to have in hand the summe of two hundred thousand Nobles.

At this time, the *French* had a purpose to invade *England*, with no lesse a hope then to make a Conquest: and to that end, they prepared a mighty Navy; so as in the moneth of September, there were numbred about *Sluis*, *Dam*, and *Blankerke*, 1287 ships, besides those which were rigged in *Britaine*, by the Constable, who had caused an inclosure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in *England*, they might therewith inclose their field; and so lodge at more surety: but it so fortuned, that the Lord *William Beauchampe* Captaine of *Calis*, tooke two of their ships, whereof one was laden with a piece of the said Inclosure; and after that, another ship, laden with Guns, Gunpowder, and other Instruments of warre; and after that againe, two ships more, laden with parcels of the said Inclosure, which K. *Richard* caused to be reared and set up about *Winchelsey* Towne: at last the foresaid Army came into *Flanders*, and arrived at *Sluis*; where, after some stay, they were so distressed for victuals, that in the end of November, they were glad to be gone, and returne into *France*.

At this time, in a Parliament, *Robert Veere* Earle of *Oxford* and Marques of *Dublin*, was created Duke of *Ireland*; and *Michael de la Poole*, a Merchants son, had lately before been created E. of *Suffolk*, and made Chancellor of *England*. And now begins K. *Richard* to enter, I may say, upon the confines of his Destiny: His gracing of undeserving men, and disgracing of men deserving, if they were not the causes, they were at least the occasions of his owne disgracing, and destruction in the end. He was now come to be of full age to doe all himselfe; which was indeed to be of full age to undoe himselfe: for the faults of his younger yeeres might have the excuse to be but Errors; but the faults of the age he was now at, were peremptory against him, and admitted no defence. And to hasten the pace of his destiny the faster, the ill Counsell which before was but whispered in his eare, was now scarce forborne to be given him aloud: It is told him, that he is under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controll'd, as in former times he had been; That to be croft of his will by his subjects, was to be their subject; It is no Soveraignty, if it be not absolute. At the instigation of which Counsell, the king in a Parliament now assembled, fell

to expostulate with his Lords, asking them what yeeres they thought him to be of: who answering, that he was somewhat more then one and twenty; Well, then (saith he) I am out of Wardship, and therefore looke to injoy my kingdome as freely, as your selves at the like yeeres enjoy your Patrimonies. But his flattering Favorite should have remembred, that though the king may not be controlled, where he can command; yet he may be opposed, where he can but demand; as now indeed he was: for when he came to demand a Subsidy towards his warres, he was answered, That he needed no subsidie from his Subjects, if he would but call in the debts which the Chancellour owed him: and if he were so tender of him, that he could not finde in his heart to doe it himselfe, they would doe that work for him: and thereupon charged him with such crimes, that all his goods were confiscate, and himselfe adjudged to dye, if the king so pleased: though some write, his sentence was onely to pay a Fine of twenty thousand markes, and a thousand pounds yeerly beside. Upon this provocation, the opposite side seek present revenge: It is devised, that the Duke of *Gloucester* as principall, and other Lords that crossed the kings course, should be invited to a Supper in *London*, and there be murthered. In the execution of which plot, the former Lord Major, Sir *Nicolas Brember*, had a speciall hand: but the present Major *Richard Exton*, moved to it by the king, would by no means consent; and thereupon the plot proceeded not. But for all these harsh straines, and many such other that passed this Parliament, a Subsidie was at length granted to the king, of halfe a Tenth, and halfe a Fifteenth; but with condition, that it should not be issued but by order from the Lords, and the Earle of *Arundell* was appointed to receive it. But before this time, both Houses had directly agreed, that unlesse the Chancellour were removed, they would meddle no further in the Parliament. The king advertised hereof, sent to the Commons, that they should send unto *Eltham* (where he then lay) forty of their House, to declare their mindes unto him: but upon conference of both Houses, it was agreed, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, and *Thomas Arundell* Bishop of *Ely*, should in the name of the Parliament goe unto him: who comming to the king, declared, That by an old Statute, the king once a yeere might lawfully summon his Court of Parliament, for reformation of all corruptions and enormities within the Realme: and further declared, That by an old Ordinance also it was Enacted, That if the king should absent himself 40 dayes, not being sick, the Houses might lawfully break up, and returne home. At this the king is said to say, Well, we perceive our people goe about to rise against us, and therefore we thinke we cannot doe better then to aske ayd of our Cosin the king of *France*, and rather submit us to him then to our own Subjects. To which the Lords answered, They wondred at this opinion of his Majesty, seeing the French king was the antient Enemy of the kingdome; and he might remember what mischiefes were brought upon the Realme in king *Johns* time, by such a course. By these and the like perswasions, the king was induced to come to the Parliament: and soon after, *John Fortham* Bishop of *Durham* is discharged of his Office of Lord Treasurer; and in his place was appointed *John Gilbert* Bishop of *Hereford*, a Frier of the order of Preachers: also *Michael de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, is discharged of his Office of Chancellour; and *Thomas Arundell* Bishop of *Ely*, by consent of Parliament, placed in his roome. Also by Order of Parliament, thirteen Lords were chosen to have oversight, under the king, of the whole government of the Realme: of which thirteen, there were three of the New-Officers named; as the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellour, the Bishop of *Hereford* Lord Treasurer, and *Nicolas* Abbot of *Waltham* Lord keeper of the Privy Seale: The other ten were, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander* Archbishop of *York*, *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloucester*, *William* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Richard* Earle of *Arundell*, *Richard* Lord *Scroope*, and *John* Lord *Devereux*. But this participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Also in this Parliament, it was granted, that *Robert de Veere*, lately created Duke of *Ireland*, should have & receive to his own use 30000. markes, which the French-men were to give for the heires of the Lord *Charles de Bloys*: but it was granted upon this condition,

condition, That before the next Easter he should passe over into *Ireland*, to recover such lands as the King had there given him: so desirous the Lords and Commons were to have him removed from the Kings presence. But though the King gave way to this torrent of the Parliament for the present, yet as soone as the Parliament was dissolved, he dissolved also all that had been done, either against the Lord Chancellour, or against the Duke of *Ireland*, or against *Alexander Nevil* Archbishop of *York*; and received them into more favour then ever he had done before.

In his Tenth yeere, about the Beginning of March, *Richard* Earle of *Arundell* appointed Admirall, and *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, the Earle of *Devonshire*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, went to Sea, with a warlike power of men and armes, to watch for the Fleet of *Flanders*, that was ready to come from *Rochell* with wines; and meeting with them, they set upon them: and tooke of them, to the number of a hundred Vessels, all fraught with wines; so as wine grew so plentifull, that it was sold for thirteen shillings foure pence the Tonne; and the best and choysest for twenty shillings. Besides this, they landed in *Flanders*, where they relieved and fortified *Brest*, and demolished two Forts which the Enemy had built against it. But this happy service of the Earle of *Arundell*; the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Simon Burley*, and Sir *Richard Sturrey*, who continued still about the King, seemed rather to envy, then to commend; insomuch that when the Earle of *Nottingham*, that had ever been the Kings playfellow, and of equall age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcome, nor by the King with any good countenance: and therefore indeed, not by the King with any good Countenance, because not by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good Welcome.

About this time, the Duke of *Ireland* sought to be divorced from his lawfull wife, daughter to the Lady *Isabel*, one of king *Edward* the third's daughters; and took to wife one *Lancerona* a Vintners daughter of *Bohemia*, one of the Quenes maids: at which indignity, the Duke of *Gloucester*, that was unkle to the Lady thus forsaken, tooke great displeasure; which the Duke of *Ireland* understanding, studied how by some meanes he might dispatch the Duke of *Gloucester* out of the way. Easter was now past, the time appointed for the D. of *Irelands* going over into *Ireland*; when the King, with a shew to bring him to the waters side, went with him into *Wales*, and in his company, *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolke*, *Robert Tresilian* L. Chief Justice, and divers others; who there consulted how they might dispatch the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Darby*, *Nottingham*, with divers others of that Faction: but when the King had remained in those parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of *Ireland* with him; and so his voyage into *Ireland* was cleane forgotten. About the same time, *Robert Tresilian* Chiefe Justice came to *Coventry*, where he Indicted two thousand persons. The King and the Queene came to *Groby*; and thither came by his Commandement the Justices of the Realme, *Robert Belknap* Lord Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorpe*, and *William Borough*, knights: to whom it was propounded, to answer to these Questions following:

First, Whether the New Statute and Commission made in the last Parliament, were against the kings Prerogative, or no? To which they all answered, It was.

Secondly, How they ought to be punished, that procured the said Statute and Commission to be made? They answered with one assent, that they deserved death, except the king would pardon them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be punished who moved the King to consent to the making of the said Statute and Commission? They answered, They ought to lose their lives, unlesse the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be punished, that compelled the king to the making of that Statute? They answered, They ought to suffer as Traitours.

Fiftly, Whether the king might cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they proceeded to any other? They answered, That in this the king should over-rule; and if any presumed to doe contrary, he was to be punished as a Traitour.

Sixthly, Whether the king might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart? They all answered, He might.

Seventhly, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the kings will, impeach Officers and Justices upon their offences, in Parliament, or no? It was answered, They might not; and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitour?

Eightly, How he is to be punished, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein *Edward* the Second was indicted in Parliament, might be sent for; by inspection of which Statute, the present Statute was devised? It was answered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the House, were to be punished as Traitours?

Ninthly, Whether the Judgement given in Parliament against *Michael de la Pole* were erronious and revocable? They answered, It was erronious and revocable: and that if the Judgement were now to be given, the Justices would not give the same.

In witnesse of the Premises, the Justices aforesaid, to these Presents have set their Seales; in the presence of *Alexander* Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Robert* Archbishop of *Dublin*, *John* Bishop of *Durham*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Chester*, *John* Bishop of *Bangor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earle of *Suffolk*, *John Ripon* Clerk, and *John Blake*.

At this time the *Londoners* incurred much obloquie; For, having before beene pardoned by the king of some crimes laid to their charge, they were now ready to comply with the king in his desires; and thereupon being impannelled, they indicted some Lords of many crimes informed against them. But not onely the Justices aforesaid, but all other Justices and Sheriffes of the Realme were called at this time to *Nottingham*: the chiefe cause was, to understand what power of men they could assure the king of, to serve him against the Lords: and further, that where he meant shortly to call a Parliament, they should so use the matter, that no knight or Burgesse should be chosen, but such as the King and his Councell should name. To which the Sheriffes made answer, that it lay not in their power to assemble any force against the Lords, who were so well beloved: And as for choosing knights and Burgesses, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their antient liberties, and could not be hindered. But yet the king and the Duke of *Ireland* sent into all parts of the Realme, to raise men in this quarrell against the Lords: Whereof the Duke of *Gloucester* being advertised, he came secretly to Conference with the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*; who upon consultation, determined to talke with the king, with their Forces about them: and the king, on the other part, tooke advice how he might apprehend them apart; and thereupon, sent the Earle of *Northumberland* and others to the Castle of *Rygate*, to take the Earle of *Arundell*, who lay there at that time: but howsoever it fortuned, they failed of their purpose. After this, he sent others to apprehend him: but he being warned by a messenger from the Duke of *Gloucester*, conveyed himselfe away by night; and by morning was come to *Haringey*-Parke, where he found the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Earle of *Warwick*, with a great power of men about them. The king hearing of this Assembly at *Haringey*-Parke, called his Councell, to heare their opinions what was fit to be done: Some were of opinion, that the king should assemble his friends, and joyning them with the *Londoners*, give them battell; the chiefest of this minde was the Archbishop of *York*: Others thought best, the king should seeke to appease the Lords with faire promises, till a fitter opportunity to suppresse them. But the king not yet resolved what course to take, caused onely order to be taken, that no Citizen of *London* should sell to the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earle of *Arundell*, or to any other of the Lords, any armour or furniture of warre, under a great paine. But for all this, the Lords proceeded in their course, and sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *John Lovell*, the Lord *Cobham*, and the Lord *John Devereux*, requiring to have delivered to them such as were about the king, that were Traitours and Seducers

both

both of him and the Realme: and further to declare, that their Assembling was for the honour and wealth both of him and the kingdome. The Duke of *Ireland*, the Earle of *Suffolk*, and two or three other about the king, perswaded him to offer *Calis* to the king of *France*, to have his assistance against the Lords. Withall, the king sent to the Major of *London*, requiring to know how many able men the City could make? To which the Major answered, that he thought it could make Fifty thousand men at an houres warning. Well then (said the king) goe and prove what will be done. But when the Major went about it, he was answered, They would never fight against the kings friends, and defenders of the Realme. At the same time, the Earle of *Northumberland* said to the king: Sir, there is no doubt but these Lords have alwaies been, and still are your true and faithfull subjects; though now distemper'd by certaine persons about you, that seeke to oppresse them: therefore my advice is, that you send to them, to come before your presence in some publick place; and I verily believe, they will shew such reasons of their doings, that you will hold them excused. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellour, and other of the Bishops there present, approved all of the Earles advice: whereupon the king sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to *Westminster*, on Sunday then next following: which, upon oath given by the Archbishop and the Chancellour, that no fraud nor evill practice should be used against them, they were content to doe. But when the Lords were ready to come at the day appointed, they heard of an Ambush laid to intrap them at the *Mewes*, and thereupon stayed, so as they came not at the time appointed: Whereupon, the king asking why they came not according to their promise? It was answered, because hee kept not his promise, there being an Ambush of a Thousand armed men laid to surprize them at the *Mewes*. The king hearing this was astonied, and swore he knew of no such thing, and commanded presently the place should be searched, but it was true; an ambush was laid, but not at the *Mewes*, but in a place about *Westminster*, where Sir *Thomas Tryvet* and Sir *Nicholas Brember* had assembled them. This one action might have made the king sensible of his favorites abusing his authority; but that where affection makes the construction, all things are taken in a good sense; or was it perhaps they had a Warrant dormant, to prosecute the kings ends without the kings knowledge? Yet the Lords after this, receiving a safe conduct from the king, came to *Westminster*; of whose comming when the king heard, hee apparelled himselfe in his royall Robes, and with his Scepter in his hand, came into the great Hall; before whom, the Lords upon their knees presented themselves, the king bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand; Then the lord Chancellor making a speech, wherein he blamed them for raysing of Armes, and requiring to know the cause; they answered, They had done it for the good of the King and kingdome, and to take away the Traitors about the King. Upon this the king himself spake, asking him whether they thought to compel him by strong hand? have not I (saith he) sufficient men to beat you down? truly in this behalf I make no more account of you then of the baseft skullion in my kytchin; yet after these great words, he lift up the Duke of *Glocester*, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the rest also to rise, and then led them courteously to his chamber, where they sate and dranke together: And finally it was concluded they should all meete againe, as well these Lords, as those they accused, at the next Parliament; which the king promised to call speedily, and each party to receive there according to Justice, and in the meane time all parties to be in the kings protection. But when the Favorite Lords heard this, they told the king plainly, they neither durst nor would put themselves to the hazard of such a meeting, and therfore the Duke of *Ireland* and the rest of that faction left the Court to bee out of the way: But the king not enduring their absence, appointed *Thomas Mollineux* Constable of the castle of *Chester*, to rayse an Army, and to safe-conduct the duke of *Ireland* to him; But they being come as far as *Radcost*-bridge, were encountred by the Earle of *Darby*; and the Duke of *Ireland*, not daring to joyne battell with him, fled; and being to passe a River, cast away his gantlets and sword (to bee the more nimble)

nimble) and giving his horſe the ſpur, leapt into the river, and ſo eſcaped; that when theſe things were afterwards found, it was verily thought hee had been drowned, till news came he was got into *Holland*, where being no very welcome gueſt, hee went from thence into the Biſhoprick of *Utricht*, and after two or three yeeres ſcambling about in manner of a fugitive, at *Louaine* in *Brabant* he ended his life. A man of many good parts, and worthy enough of his Princes favor, if with that favor he had not grown proud, and in that pride, injurious and inſulting over others no leſſe deſerving then himſelfe. Hee was valiant enough againſt any man but the Earle of *Darby*, and of him indeede both the Genius of the Duke of *Ireland*, and of King *Richard* himſelfe ſeemed to ſtand in feare, for neither of them durſt meet him in the field, though encouraged to it by thoſe about them.

About this time the Duke of *Suffolke* doubting ſome plots laid to ſurprize him, fled over to *Calis* in diſguiſe, ſhaving his beard, and counterfeiting himſelfe a Poulterer, to ſell certain foule which hee had gotten; but being come to *Callis*, was by the Lord *William Beauchampe*, Deputy of the Town, ſent back into *England*, whom the King notwithſtanding permited to goe at large, to make it be thought hee was more afraid then hurt, more ſuſpicious then he needed. By this time the Lords had gotten matter enough againſt the King, at leaſt to juſtifie their Armes, and thereupon with an Army of forty thouſand men, they came to *London*, where after ſome debate, they were received; and then the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earles of *Darby* and *Nottingham* went to the King in the Tower; to whom, after humble ſalutations, they ſhewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of *Ireland*, to levy an Army for their deſtruction: likewiſe the Letters which the French King had written to him, conteining a ſafe conduct for him to come into *France*, there to doe Acts to his own diſhonor and the kingdoms.

This done, upon the Kings promiſe that he would come the next day to *Weſtminſter* to treate further of theſe matters, the Lords departed, only the Earles of *Nottingham* and *Darby*, at the Kings inſtance, ſtayed all night; but before the King went to bed, his minde was cleane altered for keeping his promiſe to meete the Lords the next day at *Weſtminſter*: which the Lords underſtanding, they ſent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his promiſe, they would chooſe another king, that ſhould hearken to the faithfull Counſell of his Lords. This touched the king ſo to the quick, that the next morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him, how much it concerned the good of the kingdome, that thoſe Traitours ſo often ſpoken of, ſhould be removed from the Court: To which, the king, though much againſt his will, yet at laſt condiſcended. And thereupon preſently *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Thomas Ruſhoke* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Confeſſour to the king, were expelled the Court; who not willing to come to after-reckonings, fled no man knew whither. They expelled alſo *John Fourdham* Biſhop of *Durham*, Lord Treaſurer; the Lord *Zouch* of *Haringworth*, the Lord *Burvell*, the Lord *Beaumont*, *Albery de Veere*, *Baldwin de Bereford*, *Richard Adderbury*, *John Worth*, *Thomas Clifford*, and *John Lovel*, knights: but conſtreined to put in Sureties to appeare at the next Parliament. Alſo certaine Ladies were expelled the Court; as the Lady *Poynings*, the Lady *Mouling*, and others; bound to appeare at the next Parliament. There were alſo arreſted, and committed to ſeverall Priſons, Sir *Symon Burley*, *William Elmham*, *John Beauchamp* Steward of the kings houſe, Sir *John Salisbery*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *James Berneys*, Sir *Nicolas Dagworth*, and Sir *Nicolas Brember*, knights. Alſo *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincolne*, *Richard Mitford*, the kings Chaplains; *Nicolas Sclake* Deane of the kings Chappell, and *John Blake* a Lawyer.

Shortly after, the Parliament began, (called afterward, The Parliament that wrought wonders:) On the firſt day whereof, were arreſted as they ſate in their places, all the Juſtices (but onely Sir *William Skipwith*:) as Sir *Roger Fulthorpe*, Sir *Robert Belknappe*, Sir *John Cary*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Brooke*, and *John Allebon* the kings Serjeant at Law; and were all ſent to the Tower, for doing contrary to an Agreement made the laſt Parliament. Alſo in the beginning of this Parliament, *Robert Veere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevill* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de la*

Poole

Poole Earle of *Suffolke*, and Sir *Robert Treſilian* Lord Chiefe Juſtice of *England*, were openly called to anſwer *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Duke of *Glocester*, *Richard* Earle of *Arundell*, *Henry* Earle of *Darby*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Nottingham*, upon certaine Articles of high Treaſon: and becauſe none of them appeared, It was ordained by whole conſent of Parliament, they ſhould be baniſhed for ever, and all their lands and goods ſeized into the Kings hands (their intrailed lands onely excepted.) Shortly after, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Robert Treſilian*, was found in an Apothecaries houſe in *Weſtminſter*; where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of *Glocester*, who cauſed him the ſame day to be had to the Tower, and from thence drawne to Tyburne, and there hanged. On the morrow after, Sir *Nicolas Brember* was brought to his Anſwer; who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Axe which himſelfe had cauſed to be made for beheading of others. After this, Sir *John Salisbery*, and Sir *James Berneys*, luſty young men, were drawne and hanged; as alſo *John Beauchamp* L. Steward of the Kings houſe, *John Blake* Eſquire: and laſtly, Sir *Symon Burley*, ſonne to the great Sir *John Burley* Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on Tower-hill; whoſe death the King tooke more heavily and more heynouſly then all the reſt. Alſo all the Juſtices were condemned to dye; but by the Queenes interceſſion, they were onely baniſhed the Realme, and all their lands and goods confiſcate, onely a ſmall portion of money was aſſigned them for their ſuſtentation. Finally, in this Parliament, an Oath was required and obteined of the King, that he ſhould ſtand unto, and abide ſuch Rule and Order as the Lords ſhould take: and this Oath was required alſo of all the Inhabitants of the Realme.

In the later end of the Kings eleventh yeere, the Earle of *Arundell* was ſent to Sea, with a great Navy of ſhips and men of warre; with whom went the Earles of *Nottingham* and *Devonſhire*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Camois*, Sir *William Elmham*, and divers other Knights, to ayde the Duke of *Britaine* againſt the king of *France*: but before they came, the Duke of *Britaine* was reconciled to the king of *France*; and ſo needing not their ayde, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a yeere of doing nothing, unleſſe we reckon ſome petty Inroades of the *Scots*: and that Sir *Thomas Tryvet* dyed with a fall off his horſe: and that Sir *John Holland*, the Kings brother by the mother, was made Earle of *Huntington*: and that there was Contention in *Oxford*, between the Northerne and the Southerne Scholars; which was pacified by the Duke of *Glocester*.

In his twelveth yeere, Commiſſioners were appointed to meet at *Balingham*, betwixt *Calis* and *Bulloigne*, to treat of a Peace betweene the Realmes of *England*, *Fraunce*, and *Scotland*: and after long debating, a Truce was at laſt concluded, to begin at Midſomer next, and to laſt three yeeres. But now the king, to ſhew his plenary authority of being at full age, removed the Archbiſhop of *York* from being Lord Chancellor, and put in his place *William Wickham* Biſhop of *Winchester*: alſo he removed the Biſhop of *Hereford* from being Treaſurer, and put another in his place: The Earle of *Arundell* likewiſe, unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committed, and the Admiralty of the Sea; was removed, and the Earle of *Huntington* put in his roome.

About this time, the Lord *John Haſtings* Earle of *Pembrooke*, as he was practiſing to learne to Juſt, was ſtricken about the Privy parts, by a knight called Sir *John St-John*, of which hurt he ſoone after dyed. In whoſe Family, it is memorable, that for many Generations together, no ſonne ever ſaw his father, (the father being alwaies dead, before the ſonne was borne.) The Originall of this Family was from *Haſtings* the *Dane*, who in the Reigne of *K. Alured*, long before the Conqueſt, about the yeere 890. came with *Rollo* into *England*. But howſoever, in this *John Haſtings* ended the then Honorable Titles of the *Haſtings*; for this man dying without iſſue, his Inheritances were diſperſed to divers perſons: The Honour of *Pembrooke* came to *France*, at Court, by the kings Gift: the Baronies of *Haſtings* and *Welford* came to *Reynold Gray* of *Ruthin*: the Barony of *Aburgavenny* was granted to *William Beauchamp* of *Bedford*.

About this time, *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, receiving

ving at the Kings hands the Rod and the Cap, as Inveſtitures of that Dutchy. Alſo the Duke of *Yorke* ſonne and heire was created Earle of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth yeere, a Royall Juſts was Proclaimed to be holden within *Smithfield* in *London*, to begin on Sunday next after the Feaſt of S. *Michael*: which being publiſhed, not onely in *England*, but in *Scotland*, in *Almaigne*, in *Flanders*, in *Brabant*, and in *France*; many ſtrangers came hither; amongſt others, *Valeran* Earle of S. *Poll*, that had maried king *Richards* Siſter; and *William* the young Earle of *Oſtervant*, ſonne to *Albert de Bavyere* Earl of *Hollond* and *Heynoult*. At the day appointed there iſſued forth of the Tower, about three a clock in the afternoone, ſixty Courſers apparrelled for the Juſts; and upon every one an Eſquire of Honour, riding a ſoft pace: After them, came forth foure and thirty Ladies of Honour, (*Froyſſard* ſaith, threeſcore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady led a knight with a chaine of Gold: Theſe knights being on the Kings part, had their armour and apparell garniſhed with white Hearts, and Crownes of Gold about their necks; and ſo they came riding through the ſtreets of *London*, unto *Smithfield*: The Juſts laſted divers dayes; all which time the King and Queen lay at the Biſhops Palace by *Pauls* Church, and kept open houſe for all Commers.

In his Fifteenth yeere, the Duke of *Lancaſter* went into *France*, having in his traine a thouſand horſe; and met the king of *France* at *Amiens*, to treat of a Peace between the two kingdomes: but after long debate, a Truce onely was concluded for a yeere.

About this time alſo, the King required the *Londoners* to lend him a Thouſand pounds: which they refuſed to doe; and not onely ſo, but they abuſed an *Italian* Merchant, for offering to lend it. This moved the King to ſome indignation: to which was added the complaint of a Ryot committed by the Citizens, againſt the ſervants of the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* L. Treaſurer; for that, where one of the Biſhops ſervants, named *Walter Roman*, had taken a horſe-loafe out a Bakers baſket, as he paſſed in the ſtreets, and ran with it into his Lords houſe; the Citizens thereupon aſſaulted the houſe, and would not be quieted, till the Major and Aldermen were faine to come, and with much adoe appeaſed them. Upon complaint hereof, urged againſt the Citizens, by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* L. Treaſurer, and *Thomas Arundell* Archbiſhop of *York* L. Chancellour, the Major and Aldermen, and divers other ſubſtantiall Citizens are arreſted: the Major is committed to the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and the other to other Caſtles; the liberties of the City are ſeized into the Kings hands, and the authority of the Major utterly ceaſed; the king appointing a Warden to governe the City, firſt Sir *Edmund Derligrug*, and afterward Sir *Baldwin Radington*; till at length, by ſpeciall ſuit of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the king was contented to come to *London*, to ſo great joy of the Citizens, that they received him with foure hundred on horſe-back, clad all in one livery, and preſented the king and Queene with many rich gifts: yet all gave not ſatisfaction, to have their liberties reſtored, till they afterwards paid Ten thouſand pounds. This it is to provoke a Lyon: It may be fortune enough to us, if by any meanes we can but keepe him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his paw upon us, it will be hard getting from him, and not be torne in pieces.

In his Sixteenth yeere, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* are once againe ſent into *France*, to treat of a Peace: but when they could not agree with the French Commiſſioners upon Articles propounded, there was onely a Truce concluded for foure yeeres, though perhaps a further Agreement had then been made, but that the king of *France* fell newly againe into his old fit of Frenſie, which called away the *French* Commiſſioners from further Treaty.

In his Eighteenth yeere, a Proclamation was ſet forth, That all *Iriſh* men ſhould avoyd this Realme, and returne home: The occaſion was, becauſe ſo many *Iriſh* were come over, that *Ireland* in a manner was left unpeopled: in ſo much, that where *K. Edward* the Third had received from thence yeerely the ſumme of Thirty thouſand pounds, the king now laid forth as much to repell Rebels. Whereupon at Michaelmas *K. Richard* went himſelf into *Ireland*, attended with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the

the Earles of *March*, *Nottingham*, and *Rutland*, the Lord *Thomas Percy* L. Steward, and divers others of the *Engliſh* Nobility; to whom came in the Great *Oneale* king of *Meth*, *Bryan* of *Thomond* king of *Thomond*, *Arthur Macmur* king of *Leymſter*, and *Conhur* king of *Cheveney* and *Darpe*: and there *K. Richard* ſtayed all that winter, and after Chriſtmas called a Parliament; at which time alſo, the Duke of *Torke* Lord Warden of *England*, in the Kings name called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*: to the which was ſent forth of *Ireland* the Duke of *Glocester*, that he might declare to the Commons the Kings great occaſions for ſupply of money: whoſe words ſo farre prevailed, that a whole Tenth was granted by the Clergie, and a Fifteenth by the Laytie.

In his Twentieth yeere was the famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*: There was ſet up for *K. Richard* a rich Pavilion, a little beyond *Guyſnes*, within the *Engliſh* pale; and another the like for the *French* King, on this ſide *Arde*: The diſtance betwixt the two Tents was beſet on either ſide with Knights armed with their ſwords in their hands, foure hundred *French* on one ſide, and foure hundred *Engliſh* on the other: The two Kings before their meeting, took a ſolemne Oath, for aſſurance of their faithfull and true meaning, to obſerve the ſacred Lawes of Amity one toward another, in this Enterview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the ſame place where they met, there ſhould be builded at both their coſts, a Chappell, for a perpetuall memory, which ſhould be called, The Chappell of our Lady of Peace. On *Simon* and *Judes* day, the kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath, upon the holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve and keepe them. This done, the *French* king brought his daughter *Iſabel*, and delivered her to *K. Richard*, who ſhortly after at *Calis* maried her, and upon the 17. of January following, ſhe was Crowned Queen at *Weſtminſter*. A Match of great honour, but of little conveniency, and leſſe profit; for the Lady being but eight yeeres of age, there could be no hope of iſſue a long time, which was *K. Richards* greateſt want; and as little ſupply of his wants otherwiſe, her Portion perhaps ſcarce paying the charges of his journey to fetch her, which coſt him three hundred thouſand markes.

The Duke of *Lancaſter*, in the thirteenth yeere of *K. Richards* Reigne, had been created Duke of *Aquitaine*: but when the *Gaſcoigners* would not receive him, ſhewing reaſons why that Dukedome ought not to be ſeparated from the Crown of *England*, his Grant was revoked, and ſo it remained ſtill in Demeſne of the Crown.

At this time, in a Parliament, the Duke of *Lancaſter* cauſed to be legitimated, the iſſue he had by *Katherine Swinford*, before he maried her; of whom, *Thomas Beaufort* was created Earle of *Sommerſet*.

This yeere alſo, the king receiving the money back, which had been lent to the Duke of *Britaine*, upon *Breſt*, delivered up the Towne unto him; and thereupon, the Engliſh ſouldiers that were there in Garriſon, were all diſcharged and ſent home; who, at a Feaſt which the king kept at *Weſtminſter*, comming in companies together into the Hall; as ſoone as the king had dined, and was entring into his Chamber, the Duke of *Glocester* aſked him, if he did marke thoſe men that ſtood in ſuch troops in the Hall: Yes marry (ſaid the king) who were they? They were (ſaid the Duke) thoſe ſouldiers, who by your rendring up of *Breſt* have been ſent home, and now muſt either ſtarve or ſteale; and therewithall, very unadviſedly in words, taxed the king with unadviſednes of his deed: To whom the king in great anger reply'd, Why Unkle, doe you thinke me either a Merchant, or a Foole, to ſell my land? By S. *John Baptiſt*, no: But could I refuſe to render the Town, when tender was made of the money lent upon it? Indeed nothing could more diſcover the Duke of *Glocesters*, either weakneſſe, if he knew not that *Breſt* was but onely a Morgage; or injuſtice, if knowing it, he would have had the king, though the money were tendred, to have kept it ſtill: but ſuch is the courſe of many, to take part with the Politicks againſt the Ethicks; work their ends by doing unjuſtly, when doing juſtly ought to be their chiefeſt end. How-ever it was, the multiplying of words about

this matter, kindled in the King such a displeasure against the Duke, that it could never afterward be quenched, but by his blood. And first he complained to his other two Unkles, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, of his undutifull behaviour towards him; who told the King, Their brother perhaps might let fall some unadvised words, but they knew his heart to be true and faithfull. Yet doubting how far the King might presse upon them to answer for their brothers faithfulnes, they retired from Court: which gave the Dukes enemies time to incense the King further against him. It happened, that the Duke of *Gloucester* had with him one day at his house, the Abbot of S. *Albans*, that was his Godfather, and the Prior of *Westminster*: and after dinner falling in talke with them, amongst other communications the Duke required the Prior to tell truth, whether he had any Vision the night before? To which the Prior was loath, at first, to make a direct Answer; but at last, being earnestly requested, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confessed that he had a Vision indeed, which was, that the Realme of *England* should be destroyed through the Misgovernance of *K. Richard*. By the Virgin *Mary* (said the Abbot) I had the very same Vision. Whereupon the Duke presently disclosed to them all the secrets of his minde, and by their devices contrived an assembly of divers great Lords of the Realme, to meet at *Arundell*-Castle that day Fortnight, at which time he appointed to be there himselfe, with the Earles of *Derby*, *Arundell*, *Marshall*, and *Warwick*; also the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of S. *Albans*, the Prior of *Westminster*, with divers others: And accordingly all these met at *Arundell* Castle, at the day appointed: where receiving first the Sacrament, by the hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to be assistant each to other, in all such matters as they should determine; They resolved to seize upon *K. Richard*, and upon the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, and commit them to Prison; and all the other Lords of the Kings Councell, they determined should be drawne and hanged. But the Earle Marshall, that was Deputy of *Calis*, and had maried the Earle of *Arundels* daughter, discovered all their Counsell to the King; who thereupon, by a plot devised by his Councell, tooke his brother the Earle of *Huntington* with him, and rising from supper, rode that night to the Duke of *Glocesters* house at *Plashey* in *Essex*. When the King came thither, the Duke was a-bed; but informed of it, cast his cloake about his shoulders, and came down, bidding the Kings Grace, with all reverence, welcome. The King courteously requested him to goe and make him ready, for that he must needs ride with him a little way, to conferre of some busines. The Duke presently made him ready and came downe; and as soone as the King and his Company was gone a little way from the house, and the Duke with him, the Earle Marshall arrested the Duke, as he had been appointed to doe by the King; who immediately was sent to *Calis*, where, after some time, he was dispatched of his life, either strangled, or else smothered with pillowes, as some write. At the very same time was the Earle of *Arundell* apprehended, by the Earles of *Rutland* and *Kent*: the Earle of *Warwick* also, when the King had invited him to dinner, and shewed him very good countenance, was taken and arrested in the place: As likewise at the same time were apprehended, and committed to the Tower, the Lord *John Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyny*. Shortly after, the King procured them to be indicted at *Nottingham*, suborning such as should appeale them in Parliament; namely, *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle Marshall, *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, *John Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, *Thomas Beaufort* Earle of *Somerset*, *John Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Thomas* L. *Spenser*, and the Lord *William Scroope* L. Chamberlaine: and in the meane time, the King sent for a Power of *Cheshire* men, to keep Watch and Ward about his person.

On the 17. of *September*, a Parliament began at *Westminster*; wherein the King complained as well of many things done by the Lords in his Minority, as also of the hard dealing which they had used towards the Queen, who was three houres at one time on her knees, before the Earle of *Arundell*, for one of her Esquires, named *John Calverley*, who nevertheless had his head smitten from his shoulders; and all the answer she could get, was this: Madame, pray for your selfe and your Husband,

and

and let this ſuit alone. Thoſe that ſet forth the Kings grievances in this Parliament, were *John Buſhie*, *William Bagot*, and *Thomas Greene*. The cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament was ſhewed, that the King had called it for reformation of divers tranſgreſſions againſt the Peace of his Land, by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwick*, and others. Then Sir *John Buſhie*, Speaker of the Parliament, made requeſt on behalfe of the Commonalty, that they might be puniſhed according to their deſervings; and ſpecially the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who then ſate next the king, whom he accuſed of high Treaſon. When the Archbiſhop began to anſwer, Sir *John Buſhie* beſought the king that he might not be admitted to anſwer, leſt by his great wit and cunning he might lead men away to believe him. And here Sir *John Buſhie* in all his talke did not attribute to the king Tides of honour due and accuſtomed, but ſuch as were fitter for the Majeſtie of God then for any Earthly Prince. And when the Archbiſhop was conſtrained to keepe ſilence, Sir *John Buſhie* proceeded, requiring on the behalfe of the Commons, that the Charters of Pardon, granted to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwick*, ſhould be revoked. The king for his part proteſted that they were drawne from him by compulſion, and therefore beſought them to deliver their opinions, what they thought thereof: whereupon, the Biſhops firſt gave their ſentence, that the ſaid Pardons were revocable, and might be called in; but pretending a ſcrupuloſity, as if they might not with ſafe conſciences be preſent where Judgement of Blood ſhould paſſe, they appointed a Lay-man to be their Prolocutor for that turne. The Temporall Lords likewiſe gave their ſentence, that the Pardons were revocable: onely the Judges and Lawyers were not of this opinion. But howſoever, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is hereupon condemned to perpetuall Exile, and appointed to avoyd the Realme within ſixe weekes. Alſo the Earle of *Arundell* is by the Duke of *Lancaſter* who ſate that day as High Steward, condemned of Treaſon, and on the Tower-hill beheaded. There went to ſee the execution, divers Lords, amongſt whom was the Earle of *Nottingham*, that had maried his daughter, and the Earle of *Kent*, that was his daughters ſonne: to whom, at the place of his execution he ſaid, Truly it would have beſeemed you rather to bee abſent, then here at this buſineſſe; but the time will come ere long, that as many ſhall marvell at your miſfortune, as they doe now at mine. After his death, a Fame went, that his head was grown to his body againe: whereupon, the tenth day after his buriall, his body, by the kings appointment was taken up, and then found to be a Fable. After this, the Lord *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwick* was brought forth, and charged with the like Treaſons; but by the interceſſion of the Duke of *Lancaſter* and other Lords, after confeſſion of his fault, was only confin'd into the Iſle of *Man*. Likewiſe the lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyny* were onely baniſhed, or (as *Fabian* ſaith) condemned to perpetuall Priſon. The Parliament after this was held at *Shrewsbery*; where, for the love the king bore to the Gentlemen and Commons of the Shire of *Cheſter*, he cauſed it to be Ordained, that from thenceforth it ſhould be called and known by the name of the Principality of *Cheſter*, and herewith intituled himſelfe Prince of *Cheſter*. At this Parliament alſo, called the Great Parliament, He created five Dukes, and a Dutcheſſe; one Marqueſſe, and foure Earles. The Earle of *Darby* was created Duke of *Hereford*, the Earle of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Rutland*, Duke of *Aubemarle*; the Earle of *Kent*, Duke of *Surrey*, the Earle of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exceter*, and the Lady *Margaret Marſhall* Counteſſe of *Norfolke*, was created Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*: The Earle of *Somerſet* was created Marqueſſe *Dorſet*; the Lord *Spenſer* was made Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Nevill*, Earle of *Weſtmerland*; the Lord *Scroope*, Earle of *Wiltſhire*; and the Lord *Thomas Percy* L. Steward of the kings houſe, was made Earle of *Worceſter*: and for the better maintenance of their eſtates, he divided amongſt them a great part of thoſe lands that belonged to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwick*. Alſo in this Parliament, the Judges gave their opinions, That when Articles are propounded by the king to be handled in Parliament, if other Articles be handled before thoſe be firſt determined, that it is Treaſon in them that doe it. And in this Parliament, the king brought it ſo a-

bout, that he obtained the whole power of the Parliament to be conferred upon certaine persons, namely, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, *Edmund* Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*, *John* Duke of *Exceter*, *John* Marquesse *Dorset*, *Roger* Earle of *March*, *John* Earle of *Salisbury*, and divers others; or to any seven or eight of them: and these, by virtue of this Grant, proceeded to conclude upon many things, which concerned generally the knowledge of the whole Parliament, to the great prejudice of the State, and a dangerous example in time to come. A Generall Pardon was also granted for all offences, to all the Kings subjects, but only to Fifty, whose names he would not expresse, but reserved them to his own knowledge, that when any of the Nobility offended him, he might at his pleasure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so keepe them still within his danger. And for the more strengthening the Acts of this Parliament, the King purchased the Popes Buls, containing grievous censures and curses to them that should break them. And now the heads of the opposite Faction having lost their heads, and all things as well setled as could be desired, the King was secure, as thinking himselfe safe; and he had indeed been safe, if Time and Fortune were not Actours in Revenge, as well as men; or rather, if a superiour Power did not interpose, whose wayes are as secret as himselfe is invisible.

It now fell out, (though Writers differ what it was fell out) for some write, that *Thomas Mowbray* accused the Duke of *Hereford*; others, that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* accused *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, for speaking words sounding highly to the Kings dishonour: to which the Duke of *Norfolk* being called to answer, charged the Duke of *Hereford* before the King, that he lyed falsly. Whereupon a Combat was agreed upon between them: The King labored to make them friends; but not prevailing, he gave way to proceed in Combat, and the place to be at *Coventry*: where at the day and houre appointed, the Duke of *Hereford*, mounted on a white Courser, barded with green and blew Velvet, imbroidered sumptuously with Swans and Antelops of Goldsmiths worke, approached the Lists; Of whom the Marshall, being the Duke of *Surry*, demanding who he was? he answered, I am *Henry* of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford*, that am come hither to doe my endeavour against *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, as a Traitour, untrue to God, the King, his Realme, and me: Then incontinently he swore upon the holy Evangelists, that his quarrell was true and just, and thereupon required to enter the Lists, where in a Chaire of green Velvet he sate downe and reposed himselfe. Then came the Duke of *Norfolke*, his horse barded with Crimson velvet, imbroidered richly with Lyons of Silver, and Mulbery trees; and when he had taken his oath before the Constable the Duke of *Aumerle*, that his quarrell was just, he entred the Lists, and sate him down in his Chaire of Crimson velvet, curtained about with white and red Damask. Then the Marshall viewed their speares, to see that they were of equall length; and then the Heralds proclaimed, on the Kings behalfe, they should mount on horseback, and addresse themselves to the Combat. But when they were set forward, and had their Speares in their Rests, the King cast down his Warder, and the Heralds cryed, Stay, Stay. Then the king caused their Speares to be taken from them, and deliberated with his Councell, what was fit to be done in so weighty a cause. After two long houres, it was at last concluded, that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* should within fifteen dayes depart out of the Realme, and not returne before ten yeeres were expired, upon paine of death; And that *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, should likewise avoyd the Realme, and never to returne into *England*, upon the like paine. It is observable, that this Censure was passed against the Duke of *Norfolke*, the very same day Twelve-moneth, in which he had taken order to put the Duke of *Glocester* to death at *Calis*, whereof he was then Governour. When these Judgements were once read, the king called before him both the Dukes, and made them sweare, that the one should never come in place where the other was. After this, the Duke of *Norfolke* went into *Almaine*, and from thence to *Venice*, where after some time he dyed with sorrow. The Duke of *Hereford*, at the taking his leave of the king, had foure yeeres of his Banishment released, and then went to *Calis*, and from thence to

Paris,

Paris, where, of the French king he was so kindly received, that by his favour he had obtained in mariage the onely daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, Unkle to the French king, if King *Richard* by messengers had not hindered him.

It was a Custome in those dayes, to punish the delinquencies of Great men by banishment out of the Realme; a Custome not more grievous to the Subject, then dangerous to the Prince; for by this course, they had meanes to worke so closely in their mines of Revenge, that the Fabrick of a Kingdome was in danger to be blown up, before their working could be perceived. An example whereof was never more plainly seen then at this time, in the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Hereford*: For they in their Banishment meeting often together, and aggravating the Grievances of king *Richards* Government, fell at last to consult by what meanes he might best be removed, seeing there was no hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the time of their consultation about it, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, father to the Duke of *Hereford*, dyed, at *Ely* house in *Holborne*: And as if Fortune herselfe meant to doe their worke for them, Sollicitations came from many parts of *England*, to move the Duke of *Hereford* to come now & take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to assist him. The Duke heated before by the Archbishops instigation, and now set on fire by this sollicitation, gives Fortune no leisure to alter her minde, by delaying the time, but without further deliberation prepares to be going: and taking with him the Archbishop, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramston* Knights; *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt* Esquires, and about some threescore other persons, as many as he could readily get; in three ships which the Duke of *Britaine* lent him, he put to Sea; where hovering about the Coast a while, to marke the countenance of the shores, he landed at last, about the beginning of July, at *Ravenspurre* in *Yorkeshire*; which no sooner was knowne, but there repaired to him, the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Rosse*: *Darcie*, and *Beaumont*; and shortly after, at *Doncaster*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and his sonne Sir *Henry Percy*, with the Earle of *Westmerland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common sort; of whom, though some had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realme upon him, yet he forbore to pretend that for any cause of his comming, but made a solemne Protestation, that he came onely to take possession of the Inheritances descended upon him from his father, which king *Richard* most injustly, and contrary to his promise, had seized into his hands: for this was a Reason had no objection: the other he reserved, till his Power should not need to regard Objections. And indeed, no snow-ball ever gathered greatnesse so fast by rolling, as his Forces increased by marching forward; for by that time he came to *Berkly*, he had got a mighty Army; and within three dayes after, all the Kings Castles in those parts were surrendred to him. The Duke of *Yorke*, left Governour of the Kingdome, used his best meanes to raise Forces to resist him, but found few willing to beare Armes against him: whereupon, and perhaps hearing withall that the Dukes comming was but onely to take possession of his Inheritance, he thought good to goe to *Berkly* to him, to have there some communication about it. At *Berkly*, at that time, was arrested the Bishop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burlis* knights; *Laurence Drew*, and *John Golofer* Esquires. From *Berkly* the two Dukes went forward towards *Bristow*; where in the Castle were the Lord *William Scroope* Earle of *Wiltshire* and Treasurer of *England*, Sir *Henry Greene*, and Sir *Henry Bushye*; who were taken, and brought forth bound before the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the day after arraigned before the Constable and Marshall, found guilty of Treason for misgoverning the King and the Realme, and presently had their heads smitten off. Sir *John Russell* also was taken there; but he feigning himselfe to be out of his wits, escaped for that time.

All this while *K. Richard* was in *Ireland*, where he performed Acts in repressing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him amongst other of the Great Lords, the Duke of *Lancasters* sonne *Henry*, he there for his towardlinesse in service, Knighted him, by which it appeared that he had no great feare of the Father, when he graced the Sonne; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his owne

absence

absence out of *England* had not given him advantage. Six weekes were now past after the Dukes arrivall in *England*; in all which time king *Richard* had no notice of it, by reason the windes were contrary to come forth of *England*: But as soon as he heard it, and in what hostile manner he proceeded, he then determined to return instantly into *England*, and had done it, but that the Duke of *Aumerle* his principall Counsellor (whether out of a good meaning, but grounded upon errors, or out of an ill meaning, but shadowed with colours) by all meanes perswaded him to stay so long till things fitting for his journy might be made ready. It was king *Richards* ill luck to hearken to this Counsell: but yet he presently sent the Earle of *Salisbury* into *England*, to provide him an Army out of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, against his own coming, which he promised faithfully should be within sixe dayes at the most. The Earle landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and had soon gotten to the number of Forty Thousand men: but the sixe dayes passed, and no newes of the King, which made the souldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earle of *Salisburies* perswasion, they were contented to stay for some dayes longer, and when the King came not in that time neither, they then would stay no longer, but departed and went home. At length, about eighteen dayes after that the King had sent away the Earle of *Salisbury*, he tooke shipping, together with the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Exceter*, and *Surrey*, and divers other of the Nobility; with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincolne*, and *Carlile*; and landed at *Barklowly* in *Wales*. He had about him some Cheshire men, and was at first in no great doubt of prevailing: but when he heard that all the Castles from the borders of *Scotland* unto *Bristow*, were delivered to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that the greatest part of the Nobility and Commons tooke part with him, and specially that his principall Counsellors had lost their heads at *Bristow*; then, *solvuntur frigore membra*, he fell so utterly to despaire, that calling his Army together, he licensed every man to be gone, and to shift for himselfe. The souldiers besought him to be of good cheere, swearing they would stand with him to the death: But this encouraged him not at all; so as the next night he stole from his Army, and with the Dukes of *Exceter* and *Surry*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and some halfe a score others, he got him to the Castle of *Conway*, where he found the Earle of *Salisbury*, determining there to stay, till he might see the world at some better stay. Here the Earle of *Worcester* Steward of the Kings house, broke his white staffe, and without delay went to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who understanding that k. *Richard* was returned out of *Ireland*, he left the Duke of *York* at *Bristow*, and came back with his Power to *Berkly*, and from thence the next day came to *Glocester*, then to *Rosse*, after to *Hereford*, where came to him the Bishop of *Hereford* and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*: on the Sunday following he went to *Lymster*, and there the Lord *Charleton* came to him: from thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbery*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert Leigh* and Sir *John Leigh*, and many other, being sent from *Chester*, to offer their service; thither also came to him the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Bardolphe*, forth of *Ireland*: From *Shrewsbery* he went to *Chester*, and from thence sent for his sonne and heire, and likewise for the Duke of *Glocesters* sonne and heire (whom K. *Richard* had left in custody in *Ireland*) with all speed to come into *England*; but the Duke of *Glocesters* son through misfortune perished at Sea, or as some write, dyed of the plague; the sorrow whereof caused, shortly after, his mothers death. After this, the Duke sent the Earle of *Northumberland* to the king; who upon safe-conduct comming to him, declared, that if it might please his Grace to undertake, that there should be a Parliament assembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of *Lancaster* of all things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his knees, and as an humble subject obey him in all dutifull services. Yea upon this conference with the Earle, some say, the king required onely, that himselfe and eight more, whom he would name, might have honorable allowance, with the assurance of a private quiet life, and that then he would religne his Crown; and that upon the Earles Oath that this should be performed, the king agreed to goe with the Earle to meet the Duke: but after foure miles riding, comming to the place

where

where they had laid an Ambush, the King was enclosed, and constrained to goe with the Earle to *Rutland*, where they dined, and from thence to *Flint*, to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but onely the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Lord *Scroope*, Sir *Nicolas Ferebye*, and *James D'Arthois* a Gascoigne, who still wore a white Heart, the Cognisance of his Master *K. Richard*, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawne to leave it off.

The King being in the Castle of *Flint*, and Duke *Henry* with his Army approaching neere the Towne, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Earle of *Worcester*, went before to the King; whom the King spying from the walls where he stood, went downe to meet, and finding they did their due reverence to him on their knees, he tooke them up, and taking the Archbishop aside, talked with him a good while; and as it was reported, the Archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured not to have any hurt as touching his person. After this, the Duke of *Lancaster* came to the Castle himselfe, all-armed; and being within the first gate, he there stayed, till the King, accompanied with the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Earle of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroope*, who bore the sword before him, came forth, and sate down in a place prepared for him. As soone as the Duke saw him, he came towards him, bowing his knee; and comming forward, did so the second time, and the third, till the king tooke him by the hand, and lift him up, saying, Deere Cousin, you are welcome. The Duke humbly thanking him, said: My Soveraigne Lord and king, the cause of my comming at this present, is (your Honour saved) to have restitution of my Person, my Lands and Heritage: Whereto the king answered: Deere Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception. After this, comming forth of the Castle, the king called for wine; and after they had drunke, they mounted on horse-back, and rode to *Chester*, the next day to *Nantwych*, then to *Newcastle*, from thence to *Stafford*, and then to *Lichfield*, and there rested Sunday: after that, they rode forward, and lodged first at *Coventry*, then at *Daintree*, then at *Northampton*, next day at *Dunstable*, then at S. *Albans*, and so came to *London*: In all which journy they suffered not the king to change his apparell, but made him ride still in one suit of raiment, and that but a simple one, though he in his time was exceeding sumptuous in apparell, having one Coate which was valued at Thirty Thousand markes: And in this sort he was brought the next way to *Westminster*, and from thence the next day had to the Tower, and committed to safe Custodie. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of *Lancaster*, but in the name of *K. Richard*, in which many heinous points of Misgovernment were laid to his charge, and were ingrossed up in three and thirty Articles, the chiefe whereof were these:

That he had wastefully spent the Treasure of the Realme.

That without Law or Justice, he had caused the Duke of Gloucester, *and the Earle of* Arundell *to be put to death.*

That he had borrowed great summes of money, and given his Letters Patents to repay the same, and yet not one Penny ever paid.

That he had said, The Laws of the Realme were in his head, and in his breast: by reason of which fantasticall opinion, he destroyed Noble-men, and impoverished the Commons.

That he changed Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament at his pleasure.

That most tyrannously he said, that the lives and goods of all his subjects were in his hands and at his disposition.

That whereas divers Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of matters concerning the state of the Kingdome; they being busied about the same Commission, he went about to appeach them of high Treason.

That by force and threats, he enforced the Judges of the Realme, at Shrewsbery, *to condiscend to his way, for the destruction of divers of the Lords.*

That he caused his fathers own brother, the Duke of Gloucester, *without Law to be attached and sent to* Callis, *and there without reason secretly murthered.*

That notwithstanding the Earle of Arundell *at his Arraignment pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he could not be heard, but was shamefully and suddenly put to death.*

That

That he assembled certaine Lancastire and Cheshire men, to make warre upon his Lords and suffered them to rob and spoyle, without prohibition.

That though he had made Proclamation that the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treason, yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treason to their charge.

That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he enforced divers of the Lords partakers to be againe intolerably Fined, to their utter undoing.

That without the assent of the Peeres, he caried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdom into Ireland.

Upon these, and some other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be deposed from all Kingly Honour, and Princely Government. And thereupon, the King being advised by his owne servants, rather voluntarily to resigne the Crowne, then by compulsion to be forced to it; on the Monday before the nine and twentieth day of *September*, in the yeere 1399. he made a solemne Resignation, before divers Lords and others, sent to him for that purpose: and an Instrument of his Resignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himselfe, and then subscribed it; and withall, made it his suit, that the Duke of *Lancaster* might be his Successor, and King after him; and for a signe of his desire hereof, he tooke his Signet Ring of Gold from his finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Lancasters*; that never man who had used a Kingdome with such violence, gave it over with such patience, or rather such willingnes, that he seemed rather to affect it, then that he was any way forced to it. This Resignation of *K. Richard* being shewed to the Parliament, both Houses gave their assent; and then Commissioners were appointed to pronounce openly the sentence of his deposing, which was done by the Bishop of *Asseph*, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

And now it is easie to be observed, what a wonderfull concurrene of fortunes, in behalfe of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and against *K. Richard*, happened together, whereof if any one had been missing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in such manner as he was: For first, if it had not happened that *K. Richard* had been in *Ireland* at the time when the Duke began his attempt, it had not been possible for him to compasse his designe as he did: And then, if King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, he had not by misfortune of weather been kept sixe weekes from hearing of the Dukes arrivall, he had not given him so large a time for raising of Forces, and so more easily might have resisted him: Or after *K. Richard* heard of the Dukes arrivall, if he had followed the Earle of *Salisbury*, and not stayed so many dayes longer then he promised, he had found an Army ready to receive him, sufficient at least to have given a stop to the Dukes proceedings: Or when at last he came over, and found his Army to faile him, if withall his own courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the hazard of a Battell, as his souldiers themselves would have had him to doe, he could not chuse but have made a better end of his busines then now he did. But when all is done, there is no warding the blowes of Fortune; or to say better, No resisting the Decree of Heaven: but seeing that Decree is an Abyssus to us, and may perhaps but be conditionall; we shall manifestly be Traitors to our selves, if we use not our uttermost endeavours to divert it: That it may truly be said, King *Richard* lost his Crown, more by his own Treason, then by the Treason of any other.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second yeere, in a Parliament held at *Gloucester:* was granted to be paid by the Merchants, upon every sack of wooll a Mark, for this present yeere; and for every pounds-worth of wares, brought from beyond Sea, and sold here, sixe pence of the Buyer. In his Third yeere, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, a Subsidie was granted to be levied of the Great men of the Realm, to the end the Commons might be spared: The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Britain* paid 20 marks; every Earl 6 marks; Bishops and Abbots with Miter, as much: every Monk, three shillings foure pence: also every Justice, Sheriffe, Knight, Esquire, Parson and Vicar, were charged after a certaine rate:

rate; but no Commons of the Layitie. Alſo this yeere, in another Parliament, was granted a Tenth by the Clergie, and a Fifteenth by the Laytie; but with this condition, That from thenceforth, which was in *March*, 1380. till the Feaſt of S. *Michael*, which ſhould be in the yeere 1381: there ſhould be no more Parliaments: but yet was not obſerved. In his Fourth yeere, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, a new kinde of Subſidie was granted; of every Prieſt Secular or Regular, ſixe ſhillings eight pence; and as much of every Nunne; and of every man or woman, maried or not maried, being ſixteen yeeres of age, (beggers onely excepted) foure pence. In his Fifth yeere, a Subſidie was granted by the Merchants, of certaine Cuſtomes of their wools which they bought and ſold, called a Maletot, to endure for foure yeeres. In his Seventh yeere was granted him one Moyity of a Fifteenth by the Laytie; and ſhortly after, a Moyitie of a Tenth by the Clergie. In his Ninth yeere, halfe of a Tenth, and halfe of a Fifteenth by the Laytie. In his Eleventh yeere, there was granted him a Tenth of the Clergie, and a Fifteenth of the Laytie. In his Twelveth yeere, at a Parliament, was granted of every Sack of wooll, forty ſhillings; whereof, ten ſhillings to be applyed preſently to the Kings uſe; the other thirty to remaine in the hands of Treaſurers, towards the charges of warres, if any ſhould happen. Alſo there was a Subſidie granted, of ſixe pence in the pound; whereof, foure pence to the uſe laſt mentioned; the other two pence to be at the kings pleaſure. In his Fifteenth yeere, at a Parliament, was granted a Tenth of the Clergie, and a Fifteenth of the Laytie, towards the charges of *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſent into *France*. In his Eighteenth yeere, a Tenth was granted by the Clergie, and a Fifteenth by the Laytie, towards his own journey into *Ireland*. In his Twentieth yeere, the Clergie granted him a Tenth, to be paid that yeere. In his one and twentieth yeere, upon pretence of having ayded the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwick* againſt him, he cauſed blanke Charters to be made, which he compelled both Citizens and Gentlemen in the Country to ſeale, whereby he might charge them afterward to pay whatſoever he required. In his two and twentieth yeere, a Fifteenth and a halfe was granted; and for the Cuſtomes of wools, fifty ſhillings upon every Sack, of Engliſhmen borne, and three pounds of Strangers.

Of Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

IN his ſecond yeere, in a Parliament at *Gloceſter*, it was enacted, That Merchant-ſtrangers might buy and ſell in Groſſe, or by Retaile, within this Realme. In his Third yeere, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, It was Ordained, that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Abby of *Weſtminſter* ſhould remaine inviolate; but with this Proviſo, againſt thoſe that tooke Sanctuary with purpoſe to defraud their Creditours, That their lands and goods ſhould be lyable to their debts. In his Sixth yeere, a Parliament was holden, in which the Major of *London*, upon ſuggeſtion that the Fiſhmongers uſed great deceit in uttering of their Fiſh, obtained to have it Enacted, That from thenceforth, none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that ſold any proviſion of Victuals, ſhould be admitted Major of the City: but in the Parliament next following, were reſtored to their liberty againe, ſaving that they might not keepe Courts among themſelves, but that all tranſgreſſions of their Cuſtomes ſhould be tryed at the Majors Court. In his Eleventh yeere, *K. Richard* created *John Beauchamp* of *Holt*, Baron of *Kedermiſter*, by his Letters Patents; the firſt that was ſo made; for before this time, Barons were alwayes made by calling them to Parliaments by the Kings Writ.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN the ſecond yeere of this Kings Reigne, there came meſſengers from the new-elected Pope *Urban*, to require the Kings ayd againſt ſuch Cardinals as he named Schiſmaticks, that had elected another Pope, whom they named *Clement*: which

Cardinalls ſent meſſengers likewiſe to crave his ayd for them, but through perſwaſion of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Urbans* requeſt was granted, and *Clement* rejected. In his fourth year, *John Wickliffe* ſet forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, in ſuch ſort, as the Church of *Rome* did then teach. In his ſixth year, *Henry Spencer* Biſhop of *Norwich* received Bulls from Pope *Urban*, to grant all priviledges of the *Cruſado* to all ſuch as would come over and aſſiſt him againſt the Anti-Pope *Clement*; which being debated in Parliament, It was after much oppoſition, agreed that it ſhould go forward; and thereupon, the Biſhop not only gathered much money from ſuch as would contribute to the expedition, but drew many great Captaines to go themſelves in perſon; as namely, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, ſir *William Farington*, the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, ſir *William Elmham*, ſir *Thomas Tryvet*, and diverſ others. The money raiſed by contribution, came to 25000 Franks, and the Army to 3000 Horſe, and 15000 Foot; with which Forces, the Biſhop paſſing over into *Flanders*, wonne the Towns of *Groveling*, *Dunkirke*, and *Newport*; but at laſt encountred by a mighty Army of the *French*, he was put to the worſe, and returned into *England*. In the twelveth yeare of this Kings Reigne, an Act was made that none ſhould paſſe the Seas to purchaſe promotions or proviſions (as they tearmed them) in any Church or Churches. Alſo in this yeare *Thomas* late Earle of *Lancaſter*, by reaſon of miracles reported to be done by him, was Canonized for a Saint. At this time alſo, the *Wickliffs* merveiouſly increaſed, Preaching againſt Pilgrimages and Images, whoſe greateſt oppoſer was the Biſhop of *Norwich*. In his thirteenth yeare, Proclamation was made, that all Beneficed men abiding in the Court of *Rome*, ſhould return into *England* by a certain day, under pain of forfeiting their Benefices; and all other not Beneficed, under a certain pain likewiſe. Alſo about this time a Statute was made, that no Eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould poſſeſſe Manours, Houſes, Lands, Revenues, or Rents whatſoever at the hands of the Feoffee, without the Kings Licence, and the chiefe Lords. In his eighteenth yeare, the *Wickliffs* were perſecuted, and excommunication pronounced againſt them by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In this Schiſme of the two Popes, the French Clergy wrote in behalfe of *Clement* their Pope, and ſent it into *England*; the Clergy of *England* on the contrary, wrote in behalfe of Pope *Urban*, and ſo nothing was agreed.

Works of Piety in his time.

IN the 20th yeare of this Kings Reign, *William Bateman* Biſhop of *Norwich* builded *Trinitie Hall* in *Cambridge*. In the third year of his Reign, *John Philpot* Major of *London*, gave to the Citie certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth yearly to thirteen poore people, to every of them ſeven pence the week for ever; and as any of thoſe thirteen perſons dyeth, the Major appointeth one to ſucceed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth yeare of his Reign, King *Richard* cauſed the great Hall at *Weſtminſter* to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roofe. In his time, *Simon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſlain by the Rebels upon Tower hill, built the Weſt-gate of *Canterbury*, and from thence to the North-gate, commonly called the long wall. *Thomas Fitz-Alan* or *Arundell*, being Biſhop of *Ely*, built the great Gatehouſe of *Ely* houſe in *Holborne*; and being after Biſhop of *Canterbury*, he built a faire ſpire ſteeple at the Weſt-end of his Church there, called to this day, *Arundell* ſteeple, and beſtowed a tuneable ring of five Bells upon the ſame.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his third yeare, ſo great a mortality afflicted the North parts of *England*, that the Country became almoſt deſolate. In his ſixt yeare, on the 24 day of *May*, there happened ſo great an earthquake, or (as ſome write) a waterſhake, that it made Ships in the Havens to beat one againſt the other. In *July*, in the year 1389. whileſt the King was at *Sheene*; there ſwarmed in his Court ſuch multitudes of Flyes and

Gnats,

Gnats, skirmishing with one another; that in the end they were swept away with brooms by heaps, and bushels were filled with them. In his twelveth yeare, in *March*, first there were terrible Windes; afterward followed a great mortality, and after that a great dearth; that a bushell of wheat was sold for thirteen pence, which was then thought a great price; for the years before it was sold for six pence, and Wooll was sold for two shillings a stone. In his fourteenth year, on *Christmas* day, a *Dolphin* was taken at *London-bridge*, being ten foot long, and a monstrous grown fish. Ind his eighteenth year, an Exhalation, in likenesse of fire appeared in the night in many places of *England*; which when a man went alone, went as he went, and stayed as he stayed; sometimes like a wheele, sometimes like a Barrell, sometimes like a timberlogge; but when many went together, it appeared to be far off. Also in a Parliament time, ther was a certain Image of waxe made by *Necromancie* (as was sayd) which at an houre appointed, uttered these words: *The Head shall be cut off; the Head shall be lift up aloft; the feet shall be lift up above the Head*: and then spake no more. This happened in the Parliament, called the *Marvellous* Parliament, not long before the Parliament that *wrought wonders*. In his one and thirtieth yeare, a River not far from *Bedford*, suddenly ceased his course, so as the channell remained dry by the space of three miles; which was judged to signifie, the Revolting of the Subjects from their naturall Prince. In his two and twentieth yeare, almost through all *England*, old Bay-trees withered, and afterwards grew green againe; which was supposed to import some strange event. About the yeare 1380. the making of Gunnes was found by a *Germane*, which may well be reckoned amongst casualties, seeing it was found by casualty; for this *Germane* having beaten Brimstone in a morter to powder, and covered it with a stone; it happened, that as he struck fire, a sparke chanced to fall into the powder; which caused such a flame out of the morter, that it raised the stone a great heigth; which after he perceived, he made a Pipe of iron, and tempered the powder with some other ingredients, and so finished that deadly Engine. The first that used it, were the *Venetians* against the inhabitants of *Geneva*.

admirabilis parliamentum

nota gunpowder

Of his Wives.

KING *Richard* in his time had two Wives; the first was *Anne* Daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth, and Sister to the Emperour *Wenceslaus*; who lived his wife ten years, and dyed without issue at *Sheene* in *Surry*, in the year 1392; whose death King *Richard* tooke so heavily, that he caused the buildings of that Pallace to be thrown down and defaced, as though to revenge himselfe upon the place, could ease his minde, and mitigate his sorrow. His second Wife was *Isabel* Daughter to *Charles* the Sixth King of *France*; She was married to him at eight years of age, and therefore never co-habited. After King *Richards* death she was sent home, and married afterwards to *Charles* Son and heire to the Duke of *Orleance*.

Of his Personage and conditions.

HE was the goodliest personage of all the Kings that had been since the conquest; tall of stature, of streight and strong limbes, faire and amiable of countenance; and such a one as might well be the Son of a most beautifull mother. Concerning his Conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education, than in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good inclinations, which would have grown to be abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt flatterers in his youth. He was of a credulous disposition, apt to believe, and therfore easie to be abused. His greatest transgression was, that he went with his friends *ultra aras*, where he should have gone but *usq; ad aras*. His greatest imbecilitie, that he could not distinguish between a flatterer and a friend. He seemed to have in him both a *French* nature and an *English*; violent at the first apprehension, calm upon deliberation; He never shewed himself more worthy of the Government, than when he was deposed as unworthy to Governe;

for it appeared, that his Regality was not so deare unto him, as a private quiet life; which if he might have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

Of his Death and Buriall.

KIng *Richard*, shortly after his Resignation, was conveyed to the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret*; where the common fame is, that he was served with costly meat, like a King, but not suffered once to touch it, and so dyed of forced famine. But *Thomas Walsingham* referreth it altogether to a voluntary pining of himselfe, through grief of his misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with king *Richards* doings, saith, that king *Henry* sitting one day at his Table, said sighing, Have I no faithfull friend that will deliver me of him who will be my death? This speech was specially noted by one Sir *Piers* of *Exton*; who presently, with eight persons in his company, went to *Pomfret*, commanding the Esquire that tooke the Assay before king *Richard*, to doe so no more, saying, Let him eat now, for he shall not eat long. King *Richard* sitting down to dinner, was served without Assay; whereat marvelling, he demanded of his Esquire, why he did not his duty? Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by Sir *Piers* of *Exton*, who is newly come from king *Henry*. When king *Richard* heard that word, he tooke the Carving knife in his hand, and stroke the Squire on the head, saying, The Devill take *Henry* of *Lancaster* and thee together: And with that word, Sir *Piers* entred the Chamber, with eight armed men, every of them having a Bill in his hand. King *Richard* perceiving this, put the Table from him, and stepping to the foremost man, wrung the bill out of his hands, and slew foure of those that thus came to assaile him; but in conclusion, was felled with a stroke of a Poll-axe, which Sir *Piers* gave him upon the head, with which blow he fell down dead: though it be scarce credible, that a man upon his bare word, and without shewing any warrant, should be admitted to doe such a fact. Sir *Piers* having thus slaine him, wept bitterly: a poore amends for so heynous a trespasse. King *Richard* thus dead, his body was embalmed, and covered with Lead, all save the face, and then brought to *London*, where it lay at *Pauls* three dayes together, that all men might behold it, to see he was dead: The corps was after had to *Langley* in *Buckinghamshire*, and there buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers: but afterward, by k. *Henry* the Fift, it was removed to *Westminster*, and there honorably entombed, with Queen *Anne* his wife; and that beautifull picture of a King, sitting crowned in a Chaire of State, at the upper end of the Quire in S. *Peters* at *Westminster*, is said to be of him: although the *Scots* untruly write, that he escaped out of Prison, and led a solitary and vertuous life in *Scotland*, and there dyed, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black-Friers at *Sterling*. He lived three and thirty yeares, Reigned two and twenty and three moneths.

Men of Note in this Kings time.

MEn of Valour in his time were so many, that to reckon them all, would be a hard taske; and to leave out any, would be an injury: yet to give an instance in one, we may take *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, whose valour was no lesse seen abroad then at home: In *France*, in *Germany*, in *Spaine*; in all which places he left Trophies of his Victories. But of learned men, we may name these: *William Thorne* an Augustine Frier of *Canterbury*, an Historiographer: *Adam Merimouth*, a Canon of *Pauls* Church in *London*, who wrote two Historicall Treatises; one intitled *Chronicon* 40. *annorum*, another, *Chronicon* 60. *annorum*. *William Packington* sometime Secretary to the Black Prince, an excellent Historiographer: *William Badby* a Carmelite Frier, Bishop of *Worcester*, and Confessour to the Duke of *Lancaster*: *John Bourg*, Chancellour of the University of *Cambridge*: *William Sclade*, a Monke of *Buckfast* Abby in *Devonshire*: *John Thoresbye* Archbishop of *Yorke*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, and a Cardinall: *William Berton* Chancellour of *Oxford*, an Adversary

versary to *Wickliffe*: *Philip Repington* Abbot of *Leicester*, a Defender of *Wickliffe*: *Walter Brit*, a Scholar of *Wickliffs*, a writer both in Divinity and other Arguments: *John Sharpe*, a great adversary to *Wickliffe*, who wrote many Treatises: *Peter Pateshall*, a great favourer of *Wickliffe*: *Marcell Ingelno*, an excellent Divine, one of the first Teachers in the University of *Heydelberg*: *Richard Withee* a learned Priest, and an earnest follower of *Wickliffe*: *John Swasham* Bishop of *Bangor*, a great adversary to the *Wickliffs*: *Adam Eston*, a great Linguist, and a Cardinall: *John Trevise*, a Cornish man, and a secular Priest, who translated the Bible, *Bartholmew, De Proprietatibus Rerum*; *Polichronicon* of *Ranulph Higden*, and divers other Treatises: *John Moone*, an English man, but a Student in *Paris*; who compiled in the French tongue, *The Romant of the Rose*; translated into English by *Geoffry Chawcer*, and divers others.

THE

THE REIGNE OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

Of his comming to the Crowne.

AFter the Resignation of King *Richard*, and the sentence of his Deposing openly read in Parliament; *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* riseth up from his seat; and first, making the Signe of the Crosse upon his forehead and breast, he said: *In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost*: I Henry *of* Lancaster *claime the Crown of* England, *as descended by right line from King* Henry *the Third*. And having thus spoken, he sate downe againe. Upon this, the Archbishop conferred with the Lords; and having heard their opinions, he turned to the Commons, asking them, if they would joyne with the Lords, in choosing *Henry* of *Lancaster* for their King: who all with one voyce cryed, Yea, Yea: whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his knee, and taking him by the hand, led him to the Royall seat; and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Booke of the Kings, *cap.* 9. *Vir dominabitur in populo*: wherein he declared what a happinesse it is to a Nation to have a King of wisedome and valour, and shewed the Duke of *Lancaster* to be such a one; and as much the defects in both, of the late king *Richard*. The Sermon ended, the king thanked them all for his Election; and testified unto them, that he meant not to take advantage against any mans estate, as comming in by Conquest; but that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in times of lawfull succession. And now a time was appointed for his Coronation; and accordingly, upon the 13th day of *October* following, the very day wherein the yeere before he had been banished, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Ceremonies accustomed. At his Coronation, he was anoynted with an Oyle which a Religious man had given to *Henry*, the first Duke of *Lancaster*, together with this Prophesie, That the kings anoynted with this oyle, should be the Champions of the Church. This oyle comming to the hands of king *Richard*, as he was looking amongst his Jewels, going then into *Ireland*, he was desirous to be anoynted with it, but that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* told him, it was not lawfull to be anoynted twice: whereupon putting it up againe, at his comming afterwards to *Flint*, the Archbishop got it of him, and kept it till the Coronation of king *Henry*, who was the first king of the Realme that was anoynted with it. The day before the Coronation, the king in the Tower made one and forty, some say but twelve, knights of the Bathe, whereof foure were his owne sonnes, *Henry*, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humfry*, all then alive; and with them, three Earles, and five

Barons.

rons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices, as belonging to their Tenures, which, upon shewing their Right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers: The Earle of *Northumberland* he made Constable of *England*, the Earle of *Westmerland* was made Lord Marshall; Sir *John Serle*, Chancellor; *John Norbery* Esquire, Treasurer; and Sir *Richard Clifford* was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seale: The Lord *Henry* his eldest sonne, being then about thirteen yeers of age, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*, and soone after also Duke of *Aquitaine*: and the Crowne was by Parliament Entailed to King *Henry*, and the heires of his body lawfully begotten.

After this a Parliament was holden, in which the Acts made in the Eleventh yeere of King *Richard* were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth yeere were wholly repealed; and they who by that Parliament were attainted, were restored to their Lands and Honours: whereupon *Richard* Earle of *Warwick* was delivered out of Prison, and the Earle of *Arundells* sonne recovered his Inheritance; and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King *Richard*, were then fully restored to their liberty and estates. Also the King gave to the Earle of *Westmerland* the County of *Richmond*; and to the Earle of *Northumberland* the Isle of *Man*, to be holden of him by bearing the sword wherewith he entred into *England*. And now was the time for shewing of Spleens: Sir *John Baget* then Prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earle of *Aumerle* for speaking words against the Duke of *Lancaster*, now King: also the Lord *Fitzwater* accused him for the death of the Duke of *Gloucester*: The Lord *Morley* appealed the Earle of *Salisbury* of Treason: and one *Hall* accused the Duke of *Exceter*, for conspiring the death of *John* of *Gaunt* the Kings father: But King *Henry* having entred the Throne in a storme, was willing now to have a Calme; and therefore laying aside the ones Accusations, he accepted of the others Excuses, and received the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Duke of *Exceter* into as much favour, as if they had never been accused:

And to qualifie the hard opinion which forraigne Princes might conceive of King *Richards* Deposing, He sent Ambassadours into divers Countries, to make it knowne, by what Title, and by what favour of the People he came to the Kingdome. To the Court of *Rome* he sent *John Trenevant* Bishop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheyny* Knight, and *John Cheyny* Esquire: Into *France* he sent *Walter Sherlow* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Worcester*: Into *Spaine* he sent *John Trevor* Bishop of *Assaph*, and Sir *William Parre*: and into *Germany* he sent the Bishop of *Bangar*, and certaine others. Most of these Princes seemed either not to regard what was done, or were easily perswaded that all was done well: onely *Charles* King of *France* was so distemper'd with this indignity offered to his sonne in Law *K. Richard*, that by violence of his Passion, he fell into his old pangues of Frensie; but somewhat recovered, he resolved to revenge it; wherein many Lords of *Feance* shewed themselves forward, but specially the Earle of *S. Paul*, who had maried *K. Richards* halfe-sister: yet having prepared an Army in readinesse, when afterward they heard of King *Richards* death, they dissolved it againe, as considering the time was then past. The *Aquitaines* also, and specially the Citizens of *Burdeaux*, as being the place where *K. Richard* was born, were mightily incensed: but Sir *Robert Knolls* Lieutenant of *Guyen*, and afterwards *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Worcester*, being sent to them by the King, so perswaded them, that with much adoe they continued in obedience.

It was about this time, moved in Parliament, what should be done with King *Richard* (for he was not as yet murthered:) Whereupon, the Bishop of *Carlile*, a learned man and wise, and who had never given allowance to the Deposing of King *Richard*; now that he was in a place of freedome of speech, he rose up, and said:

"My Lords, The matter now propounded is of marvellous weight and conse-
"quence; wherein there are two points chiefly to be considered: the first, Whe-
"ther King *Richard* be sufficiently put out of his Throne: the second, Whether the
"Duke of *Lancaster* be lawfully taken in. For the first, how can that be sufficiently
"done, when there is no Power sufficient to doe it? The Parliament cannot, for

of

"of the Parliament the King is the Head; and can the Body put down the Head?
"You will say, But the Head may bow it selfe downe; and so may the King resigne.
"It is true; but what force is in that which is done by force? and who knowes not
"that King *Richards* Resignation was no other. But suppose he be sufficiently ex-
"yet how comes the Duke of *Lancaster* to be lawfully in? If you say, by Conquest
"you speak Treason; for what Conquest without Armes? and can a subject take Armes
"against his lawfull Soveraigne, and not be Treason? If you say, by Election of the
"State, you speake not reason; for what power hath the State to Elect, while any
"living that hath right to succeed? but such a Successor is not the Earle of *Lancaster*,
"as descended from *Edmund Crouchback*, the elder sonne of King *Henry* the Third,
"though put by the Crowne for deformity of his body; For who knowes not the
"falsenesse of this allegation? seeing it is a thing notorious, that this *Edmund* was
"neither the elder brother, nor yet crooke-backt, (though called so for some other
"reason) but a goodly personage, and without any deformity. And your selves
"cannot forget a thing so lately done; who it was, that in the fourth yeere of King
"*Richard* was declared by Parliament to be Heire to the Crowne, in case *K. Richard*
"should dye without issue. But why then is not that claime made? because, *Silent*
"*leges inter arma*; what disputing of Titles against the streame of Power? But
"howsoever, it is extreame injustice, that King *Richard* should be condemned, with-
"out being heard, or once allowed to make his defence. And now, my Lords, I
"have spoken thus at this time, that you may consider of it before it be too late;
"for as yet it is in your power to undoe that justly, which you have unjustly done.

Much to this purpose was the Bishops speech; but to as little purpose as if he had gone about to call back Yesterday: The matter was too farre gone; and scarce a person there present, that had not a hope of either a private or a publick benefit by that which was done. Yet against this speech of the Bishop there was neither Protesting nor Excepting; It passed in the House as but one mans opinion: And as for the King, it was neither fit he should use much severity against any Member of that Parliament which had so lately shewed so much indulgence towards him; nor indeed safe, to be too hot in his Punishment, when he was yet scarce warme in his Government. Yet for a warning to use their liberty of speech with more moderation hereafter, the Bishop was arrested by the Marshall, and committed to Prison in the Abby of S. *Albans*, but afterward without further censure set at liberty; till upon a conspiracy of the Lords, wherein he was a Party, he was condemned to dye, though through extremity of griefe he prevented execution. But as for King *Richard*, and *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, enough was spoken by the Bishop in both their behalfes, to undoe them both: and indeed, *K. Richard* was soone after made away; the Earle secured himselfe by retiring farre off, to his Lordship of *Wigmore*, avoyding the danger of Contention, by not entring the Lists of Aspiring: But although the Divine Providence, for causes hidden from humane knowledge, gave way at this time to the advancement of the younger, the House of *Lancaster*; yet in the third Generation after, the elder, the House of *Clarence* recovered its Right, in K. *Edward* the Fourth; that we may know, it is but staying the leisure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Person, or by Proxie.

But whether incited by this speech of the Bishop, or otherwise out of the rancour of envy in some, and malice in others; it was not long after, before there grew in the mindes of many both Lords and other, a malignant inclination towards King *Henry*; and came first to be a Conspiracie in the house of the Abbot of *Westminster*. This Abbot was a kinde of Booke-statesman, but better read in the Politicks of *Aristotle* then of *Solomon*; who remembring some words of King *Henry*, which he had spoken long before, when he was but Earle of *Derby*; That Princes had too little, and Religious men too much: and fearing, lest being now king, he should reduce his words into act, he thought it better to use preventing Physick before-hand, then to stand to the hazard of a curing afterward: and thereupon invited to his house the discontented Lords, namely, *John Holland* Duke of *Exceter*, *Thomas Holland* his brothers sonne, Duke of *Surry*, *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *John Montacute* Earle of

Salisbury.

Salisbury, *Hugh Spenser* Earle of *Gloceſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Maudlin* one of King *Richards* Chappell: who after dinner conferring together, and communicating their ſpleenes againſt King *Henry* one with another; they reſolved at laſt, both to take away the Kings life, and of the way how to doe it. The device was this: They would publiſh a ſolemne Juſts to be holden at *Oxford*, at a day appointed, and invite the King to honor it with his preſence; and there, in the time of acting the Juſts, when all mens intentions ſhould be otherwiſe buſied, they would have him be murthered. This device was reſolved on; Oaths for ſecrecy were taken; and Indentures ſextipartite for performing conditions agreed upon between them, ſealed and delivered: The Juſts are proclaimed; the King is invited, and promiſeth to come; ſecrecie of all hands kept moſt firmly to the very day: But though all other kept counſell, yet Fortune would not, but ſhe diſcovered all; For it fortuned, that as the Duke of *Aumerle* was riding to the Lords at *Oxford*, againſt the day appointed, he tooke it in his way to goe viſit his father the Duke of *Yorke*; and having in his boſome the Indenture of Confederacy, his father, as they ſate at dinner, chanced to ſpy it, and aſked what it was? to whom his ſonne anſwering, It was nothing that any way concerned him; By S. *George*, ſaith his father, but I will ſee it: and therewithall ſnatching it from him, read it; and finding the Contents, and reviling his ſonne for being now the ſecond time a Traitour, before to King *Richard*, and now to King *Henry*, he commanded his horſes to be inſtantly made ready, and with all the ſpeed he could make, rode to *Windſor*, where the King then lay: but the younger yeeres of his ſonne out-rid him, and came to the Court before him; where locking the Gates, and taking the keyes from the Porter, pretending ſome ſpeciall reaſon, he went up to the King; and falling on his knees, aſked his Pardon. The king demanding, for what offence? he then diſcovered the whole Plot: which he had ſcarce done, when his father came rapping at the Court-gates, and comming to the king, ſhewed him the Indenture of Confederacy which he had taken from his ſonne. This, though it amazed the king, yet it informed him of the truth of the matter, whereof he was before doubtfull; and thereupon layes aſide his journey to ſee the Juſtings of others in jeſt, and takes care that he be not juſtled in earneſt out of his Throne himſelfe. In the meane time, the confederate Lords being ready at *Oxford*, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Aumerle*, nor ſeeing any preparation for the kings comming, were certainly perſwaded that their Treaſon was diſcovered: Whereupon falling into conſideration of the caſe they were in, they found there was no place left for them of Mercy, and therefore were to ſtand upon their Guard, and provide the beſt they could for their ſafety: To which purpoſe, the firſt thing they did was to apparell *Magdalen* in Princely robes; a man as like to king *Richard* in countenance and perſonage, as one man lightly can be to another; and to give forth that he was king *Richard* eſcaped out of Priſon, thereby to countenance their proceedings: The next thing was to diſpatch meſſengers to the king of *France*, and require his aſſiſtance. This done, they ſet forward in Battell-array towards *Windſor*, againſt king *Henry*; but finding him gone to *London* before they came, they then deliberate what courſe to take: Some adviſed to ſet *K. Richard* at liberty, before their counterfeit *Richard* ſhould be diſcovered: Others thought beſt to follow the king to *London*, and ſet upon him unprovided, and before he had gathered Forces. In this diviſion of Adviſes, when they could not doe both, they did neither; but as men amazed, marched on, though they knew not well whither, till they came to *Colbrooke*; by which time the king had gathered an Army of twenty thouſand, and was marching towards them: but they not thinking ſo well of their cauſe, that they durſt put it to the tryall of a battell; or perhaps ſtaying for ayde out of *France*; withdrew themſelves back to *Sunnings* neere to *Reading*, where the young Queen lay: to whom their comming gave ſome flaſhes of comfort, but quenched before they were throughly kindled: and from thence they march to *Ciceſter*; where the Duke of *Surry* and the Earle of *Salisbury* tooke up their lodging in one Inne, the Duke of *Exceter* and the Earle of *Gloceſter* in another: And now a ſtrange Accident, beyond the reach of all conſultation, gave a period to their Deſigne;

for who would thinke that a private company durſt oppoſe thoſe Lords having their Army ſo neere them? yet the Bailiffe of the Towne, upon intelligence (no doubt) that theſe Lords were up in Armes againſt the King, raking with him a company of Townſmen, in the night aſſaulted the Inne where the Duke of *Surry* and the Earle of *Salisbury* lay; who thus aſſaulted, made ſhift to defend themſelves till three a clock in the afternoone; but then, being in danger to be taken, a Prieſt, one of their company, ſet divers houſes in the Towne on fire, thinking thereby to divert the Aſſailants from proſecuting the Lords, to ſave their houſes: but this inflamed them the more; and ſo hotly they purſued their aſſault, that they wounded the Duke and the Earle to death; who dying that night; their heads were ſtricken off, and ſent up to *London*. With them alſo were taken, Sir *Bennet Shelley*, Sir *Barnard Brocas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and eight and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who were ſent to *Oxford*, where the King then lay, and there were put to execution. The Duke of *Excester* in the other Inne, hearing of this aſſault, fled out of the backſide towards the Campe, intending to bring the whole Army to the reſcue, but the ſouldiers having heard a clamour, and ſeeing fire in the Towne, ſuppoſing the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a ſodaine feare diſperſed themſelves and fled; which the Duke ſeeing, he alſo, with Sir *John Shelley*, fled into *Eſſex*, where wandring and lurking in ſecret places, he was at laſt apprehended as he ſate at ſupper in a friends houſe, and led to *Plaſhey*, and there ſhortly after beheaded; the place, where by his counſell and countenance, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, formerly had been apprehended: that we may obſerve, how the Divine Providence, in revenging of injuries, takes notice, and makes uſe of the very circumſtance of place where the injuries are done. The Earle of *Gloceſter* fled towards *Wales*, but was taken, and beheaded at *Briſtow*. *Magdalen* the counterfeit king *Richard*, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered; with M^r. *Fereby*, another of king *Richards* Chaplaines. Divers other Lords, and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of meane perſons, were in other places put to death; that ſo much Noble blood, at one time, and for one cauſe, hath ſcarce been heard or read of. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, in whoſe houſe the Plot was contrived, hearing of theſe misfortunes, as he was going between the Monaſtery and his Manſion, fell ſuddenly into a Palſie, and ſhortly after, without ſpeech, ended his life. About this time alſo, a ſtrange peece of Treaſon is reported to have been practiſed againſt the kings life: that there was found in his bed-cloaths an Iron with three ſharpe pikes ſtanding upright; that when the king ſhould have layd him downe, he might have thruſt himſelfe upon them. But ſeeing there is no farther mention of inquiring after it; it ſeemes to have been but an idle rumour not worth beleeving.

But now that the hot Engliſh blood was well allayed, the Welch blood ſprings up as hot: For now, *Owen Glendour* an Eſquire of *Wales*, brought up at the Innes of Court in *London*; partly out of a deſire to revenge a wrong done him (as he conceived) in a ſuit for lands in controverſie between the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin* and him, but chiefly out of an humour of aſpiring, endeavored to draw the Welchmen to a generall defection, telling them, That the Engliſh being at variance amongſt themſelves, now was the time to ſhake off their yoake, and to reſume their owne antient Lawes and Cuſtomes. To whoſe perſwaſions the Welchmen hearkening, made him their king and Captaine; and he having gotten a competent Army, ſets firſt upon his old Adverſary *Reynold* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, and takes him Priſoner; yet with promiſe of Releaſement, if he would marry his daughter; which offer, though the Lord *Grey* at firſt not onely refuſed, but ſcorned, yet out of neceſſity at laſt he was contented to accept; when notwithſtanding, his deceitfull father in Law trifled out the time of his enlargement, till he dyed. But the Welchmen growing confident upon this ſucceſſe, breake into the borders of *Herefordſhire*, making ſpoyle and prey of the Country as freely as if they had leave to doe it; for indeed none oppoſed them but onely the Lord *Edmund Mortimer*, who had formerly withdrawne himſelfe to his Caſtle at *Wigmore*; and he having aſſembled the Forces of the Country, and joyning battell with them, was taken Priſoner, and then fettered, and caſt into a deepe and

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vile Dungeon. It was thought if *Glendour* had as well known how to use his victory, as to get it; he might at this time have put the English yoak into a great hazard to be shaken off: but he having killed a thousand of the English, thought he had done for that time, and so giving over the pursuit, retired. The inhumanity of the Welsh women was here memorable, who fell upon the dead carkasses of the English, first stripping them, and then cutting off their privie parts, and noses; whereof the one they thrust into their mouthes, the other they pressed between their burtocks. Many noble men, specially his kinsmen the *Percies*, sollicited King *Henry* to deliver *Mortimer*; but the King was deafe of that eare, he could rather have wished both him and his two Sisters in heaven, for then he should be free from conceal'd competitours.

These affronts were at this time suffered in the Welch, because the King was now employed in a more dangerous service with the *Scots*; for they taking advantage of the distraction in the kingdome (as it was alwayes their custome to do) had made an In-rode into the County of *Northumberland*, and suddenly one night set upon the Castle of *Werke*; tooke and spoiled it, and then returned. In revenge whereof, the *English* invaded and spoiled certain Islands of the *Orkneys*: Then the *Scots* set forth a Fleet, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*; but before he came to any action, he was encountred, and the greatest part of his Fleet taken. But these were but such affronts, as often happen between troublesome neighbours; for all this while the Peace was still in being between the Nations, but at last it brake out into an open warre upon this occasion: *Robert* King of *Scots* had offered to match his Son *David* with a Daughter of *George* Earle of *Dunbarre*, and had received money of him in part of her portion; and afterward would neither suffer the Match to proceed, nor yet pay back the money; but married his Son to a Daughter of *Archibold* Earle of *Douglasse*: Upon which indignity, *George* of *Dunbarre* flyes into *England* to king *Henry*; and with his ayd makes divers incursions into *Scotland*: Whereupon *Robert* king of *Scots* sent to king *Henry*, that if he would have the Truce between them to continue, he should deliver to him *George* of *Dunbarre*. King *Henry* answered, that he had given him a safe conduct, and could not now recall it with his Honor; but as for continuing the Truce, king *Robert* might do in that what he thought best. Upon this answer, the king of *Scots* presently proclaimed warre against him; But king *Henry* as ready in that matter as he, stayed not for king *Roberts* invading of *England*; but himselfe with a puissant Army invaded *Scotland*, burning Castles, and Cities, and not sparing Churches, and Religious Houses. About the end of *September*, he besieged the Castle of *Maydens* in *Edenbourgh*, where Prince *David*, and the Earle *Douglasse* were: At which time, *Robert* Duke of *Albanye*, who in the king of *Scots* sickneese managed the busineese, sent an Herald to king *Henry*, protesting upon his honor, that if he would stay but six dayes, he would give him battell. K. *Henry* rewarded the Herald, and stayed; but six times six dayes passed, but neither Duke of *Albany*, nor any other for him appeared. And now winter came on, Victualls grew scant, and which was worst, a mortality began in the *English* Campe; For which causes, king *Henry* removed his Siege, and returned into *England*. As soone as he was gone, sir *Patrick Hebborne a Scottishman*, having a good opinion of his valour, thought to do great matters; and with a competent Army of the men of *Lough-deane*, he invaded *Northumberland*, making great spoile, and loading his Souldiers with prey, and prisoners; but in the Retreit, marching looseley and licentiously, was set upon by the Earle of *Northumberland* Vice-warden, at a Towne called *Nesbyt*; where *Hebborne* himselfe, and all the floure of *Lough-deane* were slaine; sir *John* and *William Cockburne*, sir *William Busse*, *John* and *Thomas Hablington* Esquires, and a multitude of common Souldiers taken prisoners. On the *English* part few slain, and none of any ranke or quality: In revenge whereof, *Archibold Douglasse* with an Army of twenty thousand entred *Northumberland*; but at a place called *Homildon*, were encountred by the *English*, under the leading of *Henry* Lord *Percye*, sirnamed *Hotspurre*, and *George* Earle of *March*, who put them to flight; and after the slaughter of ten thousand of them, tooke five hundred prisoners; whereof the chiefe were

were *Mordack* Earle of *Fife*, (ſonne of the Generall, who in the fight loſt one of his eyes) *Thomas* Earle of *Murrey*, *Robert* Earle of *Angus*, the Earls of *Atholl* and *Menteith*, and amongſt the ſlaine, were Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gourdon*, Sir *John Leviſton*, Sir *Alexander Ramſey*, and three and twenty other knights.

In this meane time, *Glendour* of *Wales* had ſolicited the king of *France* for ayde, who ſent him twelve hundred men of quality, but the windes were ſo contrary, that they loſt twelve of their ſhips, and the reſt returned home. The Engliſh, deriding this ill ſucceſſe of the French, ſo exaſperated the French-king, that preſently after he ſent twelve thouſand, who landed ſafely, and joyned with the Welch; but as ſoone as they heard of the Engliſh armies approach, whether miſtruſting their own ſtrength, or ſuſpecting the Welch-mens faithfullneſſe, they ran to their ſhips and diſgracefully went home.

King *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors lately ſent into *Britaine* to fetch the Lady *Jane de Navarre* Dutcheſſe of *Britiane*, the relict of *John de Montford* ſirnamed the Conquerour, with whom the king by Procurators had contracted Matrimony; in the beginning of *February* returned with her in ſafety: The king met her at *Wincheſter*, where the ſeventh of *February* the marriage was ſolemnized.

Abour this time ſome affronts were offered by the French: *Valerian* Earle of S. *Paul*, with ſeventeene hundred men, landed in the *Iſle of Wight*, where hee burnt two Villages and ſome few Cottages; but hearing the people of the Iſland to have aſſembled, hee made haſte to his ſhips, and returned home. Alſo *John* Earle of *Clermont* (the heire of *Bourbon*) won from the Engliſh the Caſtles of S. *Peter*, S. *Mary*, and the *New-Caſtle*: The Lord *de la Brett*, won the Caſtle of *Caloſin*; places of great conſequence to the Engliſh.

And now to make k. *Henry* ſenſible that a Crown can hardly ever ſit eaſie upon the head, if it be not ſet on right at firſt; a new Conſpiracy is hatching againſt him: The *Percies*, Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, with *Henry Hotſpur*, began about this time to fall off from king *Henry*; their reaſon was, Firſt, becauſe the king at their requeſt refuſed to redeeme their kinſman *Mortimer* from *Glendours* ſlavery; and then becauſe he denied them the benefit of ſuch priſoners as they had taken of the Scots at *Homildon* or *Neſbye*: whereupon they went of themſelves, and procured *Mortimer*'s delivery, and then entred into a League offenſive and defenſive with *Glendour*, and by their Proxies, in the houſe of the Arch-deacon of *Bangor*, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their hands and ſeales, to divide the kingdome into three parts; whereby all *England* from *Severn* and *Trent*, South and Eaſtward, was aſſigned for the portion of the Earle of *March*: All *Wales* and the Lands beyond *Severn* VVeſtward, were aſſigned to *Owen Glendour*: And all the remainder of land from *Trent* Northward, to bee the portion of the Lord *Percy*. In this, as *Glendour* perſwaded them, they thought they ſhould accompliſh a Propheſie; as though king *Henry* were the Mouldwarp curſed of Gods own mouth; & they three were the Lyon the Dragon and the Wolfe which ſhould divide the Land among them. In this meane time king *Henry*, not acquainted with this Conſpiracy, cauſed a Proclamation to bee made, intimating that the Earle of *March* had voluntarily cauſed himſelf to bee taken priſoner, to the end, the Rebels having him in their cuſtody, might pretend ſome colour for their Conſpiracy; and therefore hee had ſmall reaſon to take care for his deliverance. Hereupon the *Percies* aſſiſted with a company of Scots, and drawing to their party the Earle of *Stafford*, and *Richard Scroope* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* and many other, purpoſed to joyne with the Captain of the Welch, but firſt they framed certaine Articles againſt the king, and ſent them to him in writing. That hee had falſified his Oath given at his landing, ſwearing that he came but only to recover his Inheritance, and would not meddle with the King, or with the Crowne. That moſt trayterouſly hee had taken Armes againſt his Soveraigne Lord, Impriſoned him, and then moſt barbarouſly cauſed him to be murthered. That ever ſince the death of king *Richard*, he had unjuſtly kept the Crown from his kinſman *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom of right it belonged. That upon no occaſion, hee had impoſed divers Taxes upon the people. That by

his

his Letters hee procured Burgesses and Knights of the Parliament to bee chosen; for which causes and many other, they defyed him, and vowed his destruction, and the restoring of the Earle of *March* to his right. King *Henry* could not but know that all these Articles against him were true, yet seeing the knowing it hindred him not from seeking to get the Crowne when hee had it not; it could lesse hinder him from seeking to keep it now that he had it; and if he were able, being a private man, to get it from a King, he was likely to bee more able, being now a king, to keepe it from private men; and as for any objections that Conscience could make, he had enough to answere them all: For, if his Title were good against king *Richard*, by his Resignation, it was as good against *Mortimer* by his swearing Allegiance; and upon these grounds, with a minde as confident as if all cyrcumstances were of his side, he raysed an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no meanes joyne with the Welch; and about *Shrewsbury*, on Saturday S. *Mary Magdalens* Eve, hee encountred them, in which fight though the Scots and *Henry Hotspur* shewed much valour, yet the victory rested on the kings side; *Hotspur* himselfe was slayne, the Earle of *Worcester* was taken prisoner, together with Sir *Richard Vernon*, Sir *Theobald Trussel*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and the rest fled. On the kings part (besides the Earle of *Stafford*, who had that morning revolted from the Conspirators) were slaine Sir *Hugh Sherley*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Cockayn*, Sir *Nicholas Gausell*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Calverley*, Sir *John Massie* of *Puddington*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer* and Sir *Robert Gausell*, all which had beene but that morning dubbed knights, with Sir *Thomas Wendsley*, who died afterwards of his wounds; of common Souldiers about sixteene hundred, but of the Conspirators above six thousand, whereof 36 the king slew with his own hand, but was once unhorsed by *Dowglasse*, who in his presence slew Sir *Walter Blunt*, with divers others, that day in all things attired like to the king; for which exployt, *Dowglasse* (being after by the fall of his horse taken prisoner) was by the kings command, carefully attended, and without Ransom set at liberty: In this battell, the young Prince *Henry*, though wounded in the face with an Arrow, yet was not wounded in his courage, but continued fighting still. After this victory the king caused publique thanks to bee given to God, and then caused the Earle of *Worcester* to bee beheaded, and many others of that Rebellion to bee drawne hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on *London* Bridge: And then the king sent his sonne *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, with his whole Army into that Country; but before his comming, *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his Company, and lurking in the woods was there famished; many of his associats were taken and put to death. Whilest the Prince was in *Wales*, *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, of his own accord, came and submitted himselfe to the king, protesting his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treason and Rebellion; whose excuse the king received for the present with gentle language, the rather for that hee had the possession of *Barwick* Castle and other places of strength in his power, but yet he wiped not off the score of his misdemeanors out of his minde.

And now with the fourth yeere of his Reigne ended all the great Troubles of this k. *Henry* the fourth: those that follow are but such accidents as are frequent in all times both abroad and at home. The *Britans* under the leading of the Lord of *Castiles*, spoyled the Towne of *Plimouth*; In revenge whereof, the Western-men, under the command of *William Wilford*, set forth a Fleete, which arriving in *Britaine*, tooke forty ships laden with Oyle and Wines, and burnt forty more. Againe the French landed a thousand men in the *Isle of Wight*, where they got together a great booty of Cattell, but the Islanders comming upon them tooke away their booty, and made many of them leave their Carkases for a booty to the Island. Yet the French would not leave so, but a while after, as having gotten new spirits, they cast Anchor before the *Isle of Wight*, and require no lesse then to have the Island into their possession, but a resolute answere of the Islanders frighted them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soone after this the Duke of *Orleance*, brother to the French king, in a vaunting stile, sent a challenge to king *Henry* to meete him in

in the field, each of them to have a hundred in his Company; to which the king answered, That for his own valour it had sufficiently been tryed, and for this challenge of the Dukes, neither the Person nor the Cause were worthy of his undertaking. Upon this refusall of the kings, divers taunts and jeeres were bandied betweene them, till at last the Duke, in great passion, falls upon *Vergie* a Towne in *Guyen*, but after three moneths assaulting it, being valiantly defended by Sir *Robert Assield* and three hundred Englishmen, he was glad to give over with losse, and returne into *France*. Presently upon this, the Admirall of *Britaine*, accompanied with the Lord *du Castile*, and thirty saile of ships, attempted to land at *Dertmouth* in *Devonshire*, but were repelled, and the Lord *du Castile*, and two of his brothers, and foure hundred of his men were slaine, besides two hundred taken Prisoners; of whom, the Lord *Baqueville* Marshall of *Britaine*, was one. After this, five hundred men of armes, five hundred Crosse-bowes, and a thousand *Flemmings*, under the conduct of the Earle of S. *Paul*, laid siege to the Castle of *Marck*, three leagues from *Callice*; but first by Sir *Philip Hall* Captaine of *Callice*, and after by Sir *Richard Aston* Lieutenant of the English pale, they were forced to retire and flye: The Earle of S. *Paul* escaped to S. *Omers*; but left many of his men of quality behind him, and more taken Prisoners. After this, *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, the Kings second sonne, and the Earle of *Kent*, with competent Forces entred the Haven of *Sluce*, where they burnt foure ships riding at anchour, and then returned to the relieve of *Callis*, besieged at that time by the French; and in the way tooke three Carricks of *Genoua* richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of *Rye*. And these were the troubles of this King abroad: But now at home, the Reliques of the former Northerne Rebellion began to revive; for now, *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroope* Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle Marshall, the Lords, *Hastings*, *Fawconbridge*, and *Bardolfe*, with divers others, conspired, at a time appointed, to meet upon *Yorkswould-Downes*, and there to bid defiance to king *Henry*. Articles of Grievances were framed, and set up in all publick places, which drew multitudes to be partakers of the enterprize. But now, *Ralph Nevill* Earle of *Westmerland*, with the Lord *John* the Kings third sonne, the Lords *Henry Fitz-Hughes*, *Ralph Evers*, and *Robert Umphreville*, make head against them; and comming into a Plaine in the Forrests of *Gallstree*, they sate down right against the Archbishop and his Forces, which were twenty thousand; and *Westmerland* perceiving the Enemies forces to be farre more than theirs, he used this policie: he sent to the Archbishop, demanding the reason why he would raise Forces against the king? who answering, that his Armes were not against the king, but for his owne defence, whom the king, upon the instigation of Sycophants, had threatned; withall he sent him a scrowle of their grievances, which *Westmerland* read, and seemed to approve, and thereupon desired a conference with him: The Archbishop more credulous then wise, perswaded the Earle Marshall to goe with him to the place appointed to conferre: the Articles are read and allowed of; and thereupon *Westmerland* seeming to commiserate the souldiers, having beene in armour all day, and weary, wished the Archbishop to acquaint his Party, as he would his, with this their mutuall agreement; and so shaking hands, in most Courtly friendship dranke unto him; whereupon the souldiers were willed to disband, and repaire home: which they had no sooner done, but a Troop of horse, which in a colourable manner had made a shew to depart, wheeled about, and afterwards returned; and being come in sight, the Earle of *Westmerland* arrested both the Archbishop and the Earle Marshall, and brought them both Prisoners to the king at *Pomfret*; who passing from thence to *York*, the Prisoners likewise were carried thither, and the next day both of them beheaded. At *Durham*, the Lords *Hastings* and *Fawconbridge*, with two knights, were executed. *Northumberland*, with the Lord *Bardolfe*, fled first to *Barwick*, and after into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David* Lord *Flemming*: whereupon the king gave summons to the Castle of *Barwick*, which at first they refused to obey, but upon the planting and discharging of a Piece, they presently yeelded without composition: and here *William Greystock*, *Henry Bayston*, and *John Blinkensop*, knights, and five other were

presently

presently put to execution, and many others committed to severall Prisons. About this time, *James* sonne and heire of *Robert* king of *Scotland*, a childe of nine yeares old, attended by the Earle of *Orkney*, as he was sailing into *France*, was taken by certaine Mariners of *Norfolk*, who brought him to the King at *Windsor*, the 30. of *March*, 1408. and the King sent them to the Tower of *London*.

Northumberland and *Bardolfe*, after they had been in *Wales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raise a Power against King *Henry*, returned back into *Scotland*, and after a yeere with a great Power of *Scots* entred *England*, and came into *Yorkshire*, making great spoyle and waste as they passed: but Sir *Thomas Rokesby* Sheriffe of *Yorke*, levying the forces of the County, upon *Bramham-moore* gave them battell; in which *Northumberland* was slaine, *Bardolfe* taken, but wounded to death, and the rest put to flight. About this time also, Sir *Robert Umphreville* Vice-admirall of *England*, with ten men of warre entred *Scotland*, burnt their *Gallyot*, and many other ships over against *Lieth*, and brought away with him fourteen tall ships laden with corne and other staple commodities, which at his returne he sent into the Markets round about, and thereby brought down the prizes of all things, and purchased to himselfe the name of *Mend-market*.

The Prince had been a Student in Queenes Colledge in *Oxford*, under the tuition of his Unkle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellor of that University, afterwards Bishop of *Lincolne* and *Winchester*, and lastly made a Cardinall, by the title of *Eusebius*. From *Oxford*, the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Worcester* was made his Governour: but comming afterward to be at his owne disposing, whether being by nature valorous, and not yet well stayed by time and experience; or whether incited by ill companions, and emboldened by the opinion of his owne greatnesse; he ranne into many courses so unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be Prince. Once, it is said, he lay in wait for the Receivers of his fathers Rents, and in the person of a Thiefe set upon them and robbed them. Another time, when one of his companions was arraigned for felony before the Lord Chiefe Justice, he went to the Kings Bench barre, and offered to take the Prisoner away by force; but being withstood by the Lord Chiefe Justice, he stepped to him, and struck him over the face: whereat the Judge nothing abashed, rose up and told him, that he did not this affront to him, but to the King his father, in whose place he sate; and therefore to make him know his fault, he commanded him to be committed to the Fleete. You would have wondred to see how calme the Prince was in his own cause, who in the cause of his companion had been so violent: for he quietly obeyed the Judges sentence, and suffered himselfe to be led to Prison. This passage was not a little pleasing to the King, to thinke that he had a Judge of such courage, and a Sonne of such submission: but yet for these and such other pranks, he removed him from being President of the Councell, and placed in it his third sonne *John*. This made the Prince so sensible of his fathers displeasure, that he thought it necessary to seek by all means to recover his good opinion, which he endeavored to doe by a way as strange as that by which he lost it: for, attiring himselfe in a garment of blew Sattin, wrought all with Eylet-holes of black silke, at every hole the needle hanging by which it was sowed, and about his arme a thing in fashion of a hounds collar, studded with SS. of gold, he came to the Court at *Westminster*: to whom, the King (though not well in health) caused himselfe, in a Chaire, to be brought into his Privy Chamber, where, in presence of but three or foure of his Privy Councell, he demanded of the Prince the cause of his unwonted habit and comming? who answered, That being not onely his subject but his sonne, and a sonne so tenderly alwayes regarded by him, he were worthy of a thousand deaths, if he should intend or but imagine the least offence to his sacred Majestie, and therefore had fitted himselfe to be made a sacrifice; and therewithall reached his dagger, holding it by the point to his father, For (said he) I desire not to live longer, than I may be thought to be, what I am and shall ever be, Your faithfull and obedient Vassall. With this or the like Answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his sonnes neck, and with many teares imbracing him, confessed

that

that his ears had been too open to receive reports against him, and promising faithfully, that from thenceforth no reports should cause any disaffection towards him. The king about this time, made his Son *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and his Son *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester*; he made also sir *Thomas Beauford* Earle of *Dorset*, and the Earle of *Arundel* he created Duke of *Yorke*.

The rest of king *Henries* dayes, from this time forward, being scarce a year, was free from all trouble both abroad and at home; unlesse perhaps he might be troubled in minde: for having shed so much English and Noble blood; for expiation whereof, or else to the end he might joyne Valour and Devotion in one action together, which hitherto he but used singly; he tooke upon him the *Crusado*, and at a Councell in *White-Friars*, order was taken, and great preparation was made for his journey to *Jerusalem*: But it was otherwise Decreed in Heaven; and yet not so otherwise, but that he ended his life in *Jerusalem*, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

IN the very begining of his Reigne, it might passe instead of a Taxation, that he found in king *Richards* Coffers, in money and jewells, to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds. In his fourth yeare, an extraordinary Subsidie was granted him; Twenty shillings of every knights Fee, and of every one that had twenty shillings a yeare in land, twelve pence and upward, according to that rate; and of every one that had twenty pounds in goods, twelve pence, and upward according to that rate; but with this caution and protestation, that it should not hereafter be drawn for a President, and that no Record thereof should be made. In his sixth yeare, the Clergie granted to the king a Tenth. In his seventh yeare, the Clergie granted a Tenth and a halfe, and the Commons two Fifteens. In a Parliament holden the ninth yeare of his Reigne, the king moved to have allowed him in every yeare wherein there was no Parliament kept, a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Layity; to which demands the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not. In his seventh yeare, a Parliament began which lasted almost a whole yeare, in which a Subsidie was at last granted; so sharpe, that even Priests and Friers who lived of Alms, were forced every one to pay a noble.

Of Lawes and Ordinances made in his time.

IN this kings dayes, burning and execution by fire for controversies in Religion was first put in practise.

Also in the first yeare of his Reigne an Act was made, that no person of what degree soever, should after that day alleadge for his excuse, any constraint or coarcting of his Prince, for doing of any unlawfull act; and that such excuse after that day, should stand him in no stead.

Also an Act was made, that no Lord, nor other, might give any Liveries to any but their household and meniall servants. In his twelveth yeare, the king caused a new coyne of Nobles to be made, which was of lesse value than the old Noble, by foure pence.

Also that all Rypiers, and other Fishers from any of the Sea-coasts, should sell their fish in *Cornhill* and *Cheapside* themselves, and not to Fishmongers that would buy it to sell againe.

Also this king instituted the *Dutchie* Court, which he did in honor of the House of *Lancaster*; to the end, the Lands belonging to that *Dutchie*, might in all following times be distinguisht and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his first year, the king called a Parliament at *Coventry*, and sent Processe to the Sheriffes, that they should chuse no knights nor Burgesses, that had any knowledge in the Lawes of the Realm; by reason whereof, it was called the Lay-mens Parliament. In his seventh yeare, the Major of *London* for preservation of fish; obtained, that all Weres which

stood

ſtood between *London* and ſeven miles beyond *Kingſtone*; as alſo, ſuch as ſtood betweene *London* and *Graveſend*, ſhould be pulled up and taken away.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

BY reaſon of diſcord between *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; the Biſhop either in durance, could not, or in feare durſt not come to the Parliament Houſe, at a time when the King required a ſupply of money; but the Clergie unanimouſly affirming, that without their brother, the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* preſence, they neither can nor will conſult of any thing; he is preſently ſent for, and by the King ſecured. After this, the King called a Parliament at *Coventry*, and ſent Proceſſe to the Sheriffs that they ſhould chuſe no knights or Burgeſſes that were Lawyers, and was therefore called the Laymens Parliament: And ſhortly after another Parliament was called, and named the unlearned Parliament, either for the unlearnedneſſe of the perſons, or for their malice to learned men; In which the Commons preſented a Petition to the King and the upper Houſe; deſiring that the king might have the Temporall Poſſeſſions of the Biſhops and Clergie; the value whereof, they pretended wou'd be ſufficient maintenance for a hundred and fifty Earls, one thouſand five hundred knights, ſix thouſand two hundred Eſquires, and a hundred Hoſpitals for maymed Souldiers. They craved likewiſe, that Clerks convict ſhould not be delivered to the Biſhops priſon; and that the Statute made in the ſecond yeare of the king againſt *Lollards*, might be Repealed. But the king denied their Petition; and in Perſon commanded them from thenceforth, not to preſume to trouble their brains about any ſuch buſineſſe, for he was reſolved to leave the Church in as good ſtate as he found it. In the twelveth yeare of his Reigne, certain learned men in *Oxford*, and other places, in their Sermons maintained the opinions of *Wickliffe*; but the Biſhops and Doctors of the Univerſity, inhibited and condemned them. In his time was a great Schiſme in the Church, by reaſon of two Anti-Popes; but afterwards in an aſſembly of Cardinalls and Biſhops, a third man was elected, named *Alexander* the fifth, who had been trained up at *Oxford*.

Works of Piety in his time.

KING *Henry* Fownded a Colledge at *Battleſield* in *Shropſhire*, where he overcame the Lord *Henry Percy*. In his third yeare, the Conduit upon *Cornhill* was begun to be built. Alſo in his time Sir *Robert Knolls* made the Stone bridge of *Rocheſter* in *Kent*; and founded in the Town of *Pomfret* a Colledge, and an Hoſpitall; he alſo re-edified the body of the *White-Friers* Church in *Fleetſtreet*, where he was afterward buried: Which Church was firſt founded by the Anceſtours of the Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*. In the eighth yeare of his Reigne, *Richard Whittington* Major of *London*, erected a houſe or Church in *London*, to be a houſe of Prayer, and named it after his own name, *Whittington Colledge*; with lodgings, and weekly allowance for divers poore people. He alſo builded the Gate of *London*, called *Newgate*, in the yeare 1420, which was before a moſt loathſome priſon: He builded alſo more than halfe of St. *Bartholmews* Hoſpitall in *Weſt-Smithfield*, and the beautifull Library in the *Grey Friars* in *London*, now called *Chriſts* Hoſpitall: He alſo builded a great part of the eaſt end of *Guildhall*, and a Chappell adjoyning to it, with a Library of ſtone, for the cuſtodie of the Records of the Citie. But he that exceeded all at this time in works of Piety, was *William Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; his firſt worke was the building of a Chappell at *Tychfield*, where his Father, Mother, and Siſter *Perrot* was buried: Next, he founded at *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, neere the Towne of *Wickham*, the place of his birth, as a ſupplement to the Priorie of *Southwicke*; a Chauntry, with allowance for five Prieſts for ever: He beſtowed twenty thouſand marks in repairing the houſes belonging to the Biſhopricke; he diſcharged out of Priſon, in all places of his Dioceſſe, all ſuch poore priſoners as lay in execution for debt, under twenty pounds: he amended all the high-wayes from *Wincheſter* to

London, on both sides the River. After all this, on the fifth of *March* 1379, he began to lay the foundation of that magnificent Structure in *Oxford*, called *New-Colledge*, and in person layd the first stone thereof; in which place before, there stood *Natius-Colledge*, built by *Alver*, at *Natius* intreaty; and for the affinity of the name, came to be called *New-Colledge*. In the yeare 1387, on the 26 of *March*, he likewise in person layd the first stone of the like foundation in *Winchester*, and dedicated the same, as that other in *Oxford*, to the memory of the Virgin *Mary*. The *Grocers* in *London* purchased their Hall in *Cunnyhope Lane* for 320 marks; and then layd the foundation thereof on the tenth of *May*. King *Henry* founded the Colledge of *Fotringhey* in *Northamptonshire*; to which King *Henry* the fifth gave land of the Priories of *Monkes Aliens*, by him suppressed.

John Gower the famous Poet, new builded a great part of St. *Mary Overyes* Church in *Southwarke*, where he lyes buried. In the second yeare of this king, a new market in the *Poultry*, called the *Stocks*, was builded for the free sale of Forreign Fishmongers and Butchers. In his twelveth yeare, the *Guildhall* of *London* was begun to be new Edified; and of a little Cottage, made a goodly house, as now it is.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his third yeare, in the Moneth of *March*, appeared a Blazing-starre; first betwixt the East and the North, and then sending forth fiery beams towards the North; foreshewing perhaps the effusion of bloud that followed after, in *Wales* and *Northumberland*. In the same yeare, at *Danbury* in *Essex*, the Devill appeared in likenesse of a Gray-Frier; who entring the Church, put the people in great fear, and the same houre, with a tempest of Whirlewinde and Thunder, the top of the steeple was broken down, and halfe the Chancell scattered abroad. In his seventh yeare, such abundance of water brake suddenly over the Banks in *Kent*, that it drowned Cattell without number. Also this yeare, the Town of *Keystone* in *Hartfordshire* was burnt. In his ninth yeare was so sharpe a winter, and such abundance of snow; continuing *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, that almost all small Birds died through hunger.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, the first was *Mary*, one of the Daughters and heirs of *Humphrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*; she died before he came to the Crowne, in the yeare 1394. His second Wife was *Joane*, Daughter to *Charles* the first king of *Navarre*, she being the widdow of *John de Montford* surnamed *Streany*, or the Conquerour, Duke of *Brittaine*; who dyed without any issue by king *Henry*, at *Havering* in *Essex*, the yeare 1437, in the fifteenth yeare of king *Henry* the sixth, and lyeth buried by her husband at *Canterbury*. He had foure Sons and two Daughters; Of his Sons, *Henry* his eldest was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Father, king of *England*. His second Son was *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, and Steward of *England*; who was slaine at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, and dyed without issue. His third Son was *John* Duke of *Bedford*; he married first with *Anne* Daughter to *John* Duke of *Burgundie*; and secondly with *Jacoba* Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxenbourgh*, Earle of St. *Paul*, but dyed also without issue. His fourth Son was *Humphry*; by his brother king *Henry* the fifth created Duke of *Glouceſter*, and was generally called the good Duke; he had two Wives, but dyed without issue, in the yeare 1446, and was buried at St. *Albans*; though the vulgar opinion be, that he lyes buried in St. *Pauls* Church. Of king *Henry* the fourths Daughters; *Blanch* the elder was married to *Lewis Barbatus*, *Palatine* of the *Rheine*, and Prince Elector: *Philippe* his younger Daughter, was married to *John* king of *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Of

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

COncerning his Body; he was of a middle ſtature, ſlender limbes, but well proportioned. Concerning his Minde; of a ſerious and ſolid diſpoſition, and one that ſtood more upon his own legges than any of his Predeceſſors had done: in caſes of difficulty, not refuſing, but not needing the advice of others; which might confirme, but not better his own. He was neither merry nor ſad, but both: beſt pleas'd when he was oppoſed, becauſe this was like to doe him good, by ſharpening his invention: moſt angry when he was flattered, becauſe this was ſure to doe him hurt, by dulling his judgement. No man ever more loved, nor leſſe doted upon a wife, than he: a good huſband, but not uxorious; that if there be reines to that Paſſion, we may know he had them. It may be thought, he affected the Crown, not ſo much out of Ambition as out of Compaſſion, becauſe the oppreſſions of his Country he could not ſo well helpe being a Subject, as a King; for otherwiſe we may truly ſay, he was a loſer by the Crowne, being not ſo great for a King, as he was before for a Subject: The Crowne rather was a gainer by him, which hath ever ſince been the richer for his wearing it. We may thinke he was either weary of his life, or longing for death; for why elſe would he take upon him the *Cruſado*, having been told by a ſkilfull Southſayer, that he ſhould dye in *Jeruſalem*? but it ſeemes, he did not believe him.

Of his Death and Buriall.

IN the forty-ſixth yeare of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a ſpirit to be idle, he tooke upon him the *Cruſado*, and great proviſion was made for his journey to *Jeruſalem*: but alas, his journey to *Jeruſalem* required no ſuch proviſion; for being at his prayers at S. *Edwards* ſhrine, he was ſuddenly taken with an Apoplexie, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of *Weſtminſters* houſe; where recovering his ſenſes, and finding himſelfe in a ſtrange place, he aſked what place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbots houſe, in a Chamber called *Jeruſalem*: Well then (ſaid he) Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the *Jeruſalem* where a Southſayer told me I ſhould dye. And here he dyed indeed, on the 20. day of *March*, in the yeare 1413. when he had lived ſixe and forty yeares, Reigned thirteen and a halfe. It is worth remembring, that all the time of his ſickneſſe, his will was to have his Crowne ſet upon his bolſter by him; and one of his fits being ſo ſtrong upon him, that all men thought him directly dead; the Prince comming in, tooke away the Crowne: when ſuddenly the king recovering his ſenſes, miſſed his Crown; and aſking for it, was told, the Prince had taken it: whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down, ſaid: Sir, to all our judgements, and to all our griefes, you ſeemed directly dead; and therefore I tooke the Crown as being my Right: but ſeeing to all our comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully than I tooke it, and pray God you may long live to weare it your ſelfe. Well (ſaith the king ſighing) what right I had to it, God knowes. But (ſaith the Prince) if you dye king, my ſword ſhall maiuteine it to be my Right againſt all Oppoſers. Well (ſaith the king) I referre all to God: but I charge thee on my Bleſſing, that thou adminiſter the Lawes indifferently, avoyd Flatterers, deferre not to do Juſtice, nor be ſparing of Mercy: And then turning about, ſaid, God bleſſe thee, and have mercy on me: and with thoſe words, gave up the Ghoſt. His body with all Funerall pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there ſolemnly buried.

Of men of Note in his time.

OF men of Valour in his time, of whom there was great ſtore, I ſhall need to ſay no more than what hath already been ſaid in the body of the ſtory: onely I cannot but remember Sir *Robert Knolls*, who borne of meane parentage, made himſelfe famous over all Chriſtendome; and dying at a Manour of his in *Norfolk*, was

brought to *London*, and buried in the Church of the White Friers in *London*, which himselfe had re-edified. But for men of learning, I must set in the first place, *William Wickham*, a man of no learning, yet well worthy to hold the place: In relating of whose life, I must have leave to expatiate a little. His fathers name was *John Long*, or as some say, *Perot*; but as *Campian* proveth, *Wickham*; and not from the place of his dwelling, though he was Parish-Clerke of *Wickham* in *Hantshire*, where he taught children to write: in which quality his sonne *William* proved so excellent, that *Nicolas Wooddall*, Constable of Winchester Castle, tooke him from his father, and kept him at Schoole, first at *Wincheſter*, afterward at *Oxford*, till himselfe being made Surveyor-generall of the Kings works, he sent for this *William* to serve him as his Clerke; who in short time grew so expert in that imployment, that *Adam Torleton* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, commended him to the King, who imployed him presently in surveying his Fortifications at *Dover*, and *Quinborough* Castles, and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *Windſor* Castle, and his houses of *Henley* and *East-Hamstead*. And here first, Envy rose up against him; for having caused to be engraven on the stone of a wall in Windsor Castle, these words; *This made William VVickham*: some that envyed his rising, complained to the King of this insolencie, as arrogating to himselfe, that excellent piece of Building to de done at his charge: but *VVickham* called before the King about it, made answer, that his meaning was not, neither by any indifferent construction could it import, that *VVickham* made that building, but that the same building made *VVickham*, as being a meanes of the Kings great favour towards him. This answer pacified the King, who tooke him daily more and more into his favour; and being now entred into the Ministery, was first made Parson of S. *Martins* in the Fields, then Minister of S. *Martins le Grand*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Provost of *VVells*, and Rector of *Manyhens* in *Devonshire*; so as at one time he had in his hands so many Ecclesiasticall livings, that the value of them, in the Kings bookes, amounted to eight hundred seventy five pounds thirteen shillings: besides which, he was honored with many Temporall places of great profit and respect, as to be his principall Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seale, Master of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurer of the Kings Revenues in *France*, and some other Offices. After which, the Bishoprick of *VVincheſter* falling voyd, meanes was made to the King to bestow that place upon him: And here, the second time, did Envy rise up against him, informing the King that he was a man of little or no learning, and no way fit for such a dignity: whereupon the King made stay of granting it: but when *VVickham* came before the King, and told him, that what he wanted in personall learning, he would supply with being a Founder of learning; This so satisfied the King, that he bestowed the place upon him. After this, he was made Lord Treasurer of *England*: and here the third time did Envy rise up against him; for the King requiring of his subjects a supply of money, It was answered, that he needed no other supply, than to call his Treasurer to accompt: This blow struck deepe upon the Bishop; for he was presently charged to give accompt for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds; and whilst he was busie in preparing his account, all his Temporalties, upon importunity of *John* of *Gaunt*, were seized into the Kings hands, and given to the Prince of *VVales*, and himselfe upon paine of the Kings displeasure, commanded not to come within twenty miles of the Court. In this case, he dismisseth his traine, and sendeth copies abroad of his accompt, if it might be received; but was hindred by the working of *John* of *Gaunt* against him. Upon this ground (as was thought) Queen *Philip* wife to K. *Edward* the Third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, told *VVickham*, that *John* of *Gaunt* was not the lawfull issue of king *Edward*, but a suppositious Son; for when she was brought to bed at *Gaunt*, of a Daughter, knowing how desirous the King was to have a Son; she exchanged that daughter, with a *Dutch* woman, for a Boy: whereof she had been delivered about the same time with the Queen. Thus much she confessed, and withall made the Bishop sweare, that if the said *John* of *Gaunt* should at any time, either directly, or indirectly attempt the Crown; or that rightfully, through want of issue, it should devolve unto him; that then he should discover

ver this matter, and make it known unto the King, and Councell. Afterward the Queen being dead, and the Bishop finding *John* of *Gaunt*, as he thought, too much aspiring, he secretly told him this relation, and this adjuration of his supposed mother, advising him not to seeke higher than a private state; for else he was bound by oath to make it known to all the World: Thus far the Bishop did well; but when he saw the Son of *John* of *Gaunt* not only aspiring, but possessed of the Crown, why did he not then discover it, and joyn at least with the Bishop of *Carlile*, in opposing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole relation was but a Fable, or that *Wickham* was a Temporizer, or that *John* of *Gaunt* was a most patient man, to suffer the affront of such an indignity, with lesse than the death of him that did it. But howsoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortall grudge to the Bishop; who had no way to withstand such an enemy, but by making *Alice Pierce* his friend: by whose means, after two years, he was restored to all his livings; and afterward K. *Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* banished; by the means of a greater friend than *Alice Pierce* (his full ourse) he obteined in the second year of k. *Richard*, a generall pardon under the Great Seale of *England*; and from that time forward enjoyed a quiet life, and dyed in the fourth yeare of this King *Henry* the fourth, being then of the age of above 80 years, and lieth buried in the Church of St. *Swithens* in *Winchester*, in a monument of his own making in his life time; leaving for his heire *Thomas Perrot*, the son of his sister *Agnes*, married to *William Perrot*.

Another great example of the volubility of Fortune, in Professors of learning, was *Roger Walden*, who dyed in the ninth yeare of this King: he was at first a poor Scholler in *Oxford*; and the first step of his rising, was to be a Chaplain in the Colledge there of St. *Maries*; from thence by degrees he got to be Dean of *Yorke*; and after this, a high step, to be Treasurer of *England*; and yet a higher after that, upon the banishment of *Thomas Arundell*, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*: But being now at the top, he came down again; for in this kings time, *Thomas Arundell* being restored to the Archbishopricke, *Walden* was not only put out of that place, but was called to accompt for the Treasurership: and though he shewed his *quietus est*, yet all his Temporalties were seized, and his person imprisoned, till by the mediation of the now Archbishop *Arundell*, he was made Treasurer of *Calice*, and after promoted to be Bishop of *London*.

The next place after these, is justly due to *Geoffry Chaucer*, and *John Gower*, two famous Poets in this time, and the Fathers of *English* Poets in all the times after: *Chaucer* dyed in the fourth yeare of this king, and lyeth buried at *Westminster*: *Gower*, in this kings ninth yeare, and was buried in St. *Mary Overys* Church in *Southwarke*. And now come others to be remembred, who lived and died in this kings time: *Hugh Legate*, born in *Hartfordshire*, a Monke of St. *Albons*, who wrote *Scholies* upon *Boetius de Consolatione*. *Nicholas Gorham*, born also in *Hartfordshire*, a Dominick Frier, and the *French* kings Confessor, though an *Englishman*. *Walter Disse*, so called of a Town in *Norfolke* where he was borne, Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*. *Lawrence Holbeck*, a Monke of *Rawsey*, who wrote an Hebrew Dictionary. *John Cotton* Archbishop of *Armegh*: *Richard Scroope*, brother to *William Scroope* Lord Treasurer of *England*, made *Archbishop* of *Yorke*; and writing an invective against King *Henry*, lost his head. *William Thorpe*, an earnest follower of *John Wickliffe*, for which he was committed to *Saltwood* Castle, where he dyed. *Stephen Patrington*, born in *Yorkshire*, and *Robert Masculla* a Carmelite Frier of *Ludlow*; both of them Confessors to king *Henry* the fifth. *Boston* a Monke of the Abbey of *Burie* in *Suffolke*; who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, and other Treatises. *John Purvey*, who was convented for teaching Doctrine contrary to the Church of *Rome*, and compelled to recant. *Thomas Rudburne* Bishop of S. *Davids*, who wrote a Chronicle. *Nicolas Rissom*, who considering the strife between the then Anti-popes, wrote a booke, *De tollendo schismate*. *Robert Wansham* a Monke in *Dorsetshire*, who wrote a booke in verse, *Of the Originall and signification of Words*. *Robert Wimbledon* an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon he made upon this Text, *Redde rationem Villicationis tuæ*.

Baker, I believe, the only ancient writer who has given the date of Gower's death correctly

THE

THE REIGNE OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH.

HENRY of *Monmouth* (so called from the place in *Wales*, where he was born) eldest Son of King *Henry* the fourth, succeeded his Father in the kingdom of *England*, to whom the Lords of the Realm swore Homage and Allegiance, before he was yet Crowned; an honor never done before to any of his Predecessors: and afterwards, on the ninth of *Aprill*, in the yeare 1412, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by *Thomas Arundell* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Solemnities in such case accustomed: And as the Scripture speaks of *Saul, that assoone as* Samuel *had annointed him King, he had a new heart given him, and he became another man than he was before.* So was it with this king *Henry*; for presently after his Coronation, he called before him all his old Companions, who had been *fratres in malo* with him; strictly charging them, not to presume to come within ten miles of his Court, untill such time as they had given good proofe of their amendment in manners; and least any of them should pretend want of maintenance to be any cause of their taking ill courses, he gave to every one of them a competent meanes whereby to subsist. And knowing (as he did) the fashion of the *Scots* and *Welch*, that in times of change they would commonly take advantage, to make Inroades upon the Borders, he therefore caused Forts and Bulwarks in fit places to be erected, and placed Garrisons in them, for preventing or repelling any such incursions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subsidie was granted without asking: and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old string, of taking away the Temporalties of the Clergie; and the Bishops fearing how it might take in the kings ears, thought it best to divert him, by striking upon another string, which they knew would be more pleasing to him; which was, to shew him the great right he had to the Crown of *France*. And hereupon *Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a long narration, deduced the kings Right from *Isabel* Daughter to *Philip* the fourth, married to king *Edward* the second; from whom it discended by direct line to his Majesty, and no hinderance of enjoying it, but pretension of the *Salique* laws; which (said he) was neither according to the law of God, nor yet intended at first to that Nation; and though his Predecessors, by reason of other incumbrances forbore to prosecute their Claime, yet he being free from all such incumbrances, had no lesse power, than right to do it. This indeed struck upon the right string of the kings inclination; for as he affected nothing more than true glory, so in nothing more than in Warlike actions. Hereupon, nothing was

now

now thought of, but the Conqueſt of *France*. Firſt therefore he begins to alter in his Arms the bearing of *Semy-de-Lucez*, and quarters the three Flower Deluces, as the Kings of *France* then bare them; and that he might not be thought to ſteale advantage, but to do it fairly, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Charles* the ſixth then king of *France*, requiring in peaceable manner, the ſurrender of the Crown of *France*; which if he would yeeld unto, then King *Henry* would take to Wife his Daughter *Katherine*; but if he refuſed to do it, then King *Henry* would with fire and ſword enforce it from him, or loſe his life. The Ambaſſadors ſent, were the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord High Admirall, and the Biſhop of *Norwich*, with five hundred horſe; who comming to the Court of *France*, were at firſt received and feaſted, with all the honor and ſhew of kindnes that might be; but aſſoone as their meſſage was delivered, and that it was knowne what they came about, the copy of their entertainment was altered, and they were ſent away with as little complement, as they were before received with honor; only told, that the king would ſpeedily make Anſwer to the King their Maſter, by his owne Ambaſſadors: and ſpeedily indeed he did it; for the Earle of *Vendoſme*, *William Bataier* Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, *Peter Freſnel* Biſhop of *Lyſeaux*, with others, were arrived in *England*, aſſoone almoſt as the *Engliſh* were returned. But being come, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* made a long Oration in the praiſe of Peace, concluding with the tender of the Lady *Katherine*, and 50000 Crowns with her in Dower, beſides ſome Towns of no great importance; To which King *Henry*, by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made Anſwer; That theſe offers were trifles, and that without yeelding to his demands, he would never deſiſt from that he intended: and with this Anſwer, the *French* Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed. It is ſayd, that about this time, the *Dolphin* (who in the King of *France* his ſicknes, managed the State) ſent to King *Henry* a Tonne of Tennis Balls, in deriſion of his youth, as fitter to play with them, then to manage Arms; which king *Henry* tooke in ſuch ſcorne, that he promiſed with an oath, it ſhould not be long ere he would toſſe ſuch iron balls amongſt them, that the beſt armes in *France* ſhould not be able to hold a Racket to returne them. And now all things are prepared and in a readines for the kings journey into *France*, his men ſhipped, and himſelfe ready to go on ſhipboord; when ſodainly a Treaſon was diſcovered againſt his Perſon, plotted by *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Lord *Scroope* of *Maſham*, Lord Treaſurer, and *Thomas Grey* Earle of *Northumberland*, and plotted and procured by the *French* Agents. Theſe being apprehended, and upon examination confeſſing the Treaſon, and the money (which was ſayd to be a Million of Gold) by them for that end received; were all of them immediately put to death. From this *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, ſecond Sonne of *Edward* of *Langley*, did *Richard* afterward Duke of *Yorke* claime and recover the Crown from the *Lancaſtirian* Family. This execution done, and the winde blowing faire, king *Henry* weighs Anchor; and with a Fleet of 1200 Sayle, (*Grafton* ſaith, but 140 ſhips) but *Enguerant* ſaith, 1600, attended with ſix thouſand ſpears, and 24000 Foot, beſides Engineers and labourers; he puts to Sea, and on our Lady Eve landeth at *Caux*; where he made Proclamation, that no man upon paine of death, ſhould robbe any Church, or offer violence to any that were found unarmed; and from thence paſſing on, he beſieged *Harfleur*; which when no ſuccour came within certain dayes agreed upon, the Town was ſurrendred and ſacked. Of this Towne he made the Duke of *Exeter* Captain, who left there for his Lievetenant, Sir *John Falſtoffe*, with a Garriſon of 1500 men. It is ſaid that when king *Henry* entred *Harfleur*, he paſſed along the ſtreets bare foot, untill he came to the Church of St. *Martin*; where, with great devotion, he gave moſt humble thanks to God, for this his firſt atchieved Enterprize. From thence he marched forward, and comming to the River of *Soame*, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he paſſed on to the bridge of Sr. *Maxene*, where 30000 *French* appearing, he pitcht his Campe, expecting to be fought with; and the more to encourage his men, he gave the order of knighthood to *John* Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Reynold Grayſtocke*, *Percy Tempeſt*, *Chriſtopher Morisby*, *Thomas Pickering*, *William Huddleſton*, *Henry Mortimer*, *John Horbalton*.

Hosbalton, *Philip Hall*, but not perceiving the *French* to have any minde to fight, he marched by the Town of *Amyens* to *Bowis*, and there ſtayed two dayes, expecting battell, and from thence marched to *Corby*, where the Peaſants of the Country, with certain men of Arms ſent from the *Dolphin*, charged the right wing of the *Engliſh*, which was led by *Hugh Stafford* Lord *Bourchier*, and wonne away his Standard, but was recovered againe by *John Bromeley* of *Bromeley*, a Commander in the Lord *Staffords* Regiment, who with his own hand ſlew him that had taken the Colours, and then taking them up, diſplayed the ſame; with ſight whereof, the *Engliſh* were ſo encouraged, that they preſently rointed the *French*, and put them to flight: which valiant exploit, the Lord *Stafford* recompenced, by giving to *Bromeley* an Annuity of fifty pounds a yeare out of his lands in *Staffordſhire*. After this, the king marched towards *Calice*, ſo ſtrictly obſerving his Proclamation againſt Church robbing, that when one was complained of for having taken a ſilver Pyxe out of a Church, he not only cauſed the ſame to be reſtored, but the ſouldier alſo to be hanged: which point of Diſcipline, both kept the reſt from offending in that kinde, and drew the people of the Country, under hand to relieve his men with all things neceſſary. The *French* king hearing that king *Henry* had paſſed the River of *Somme*; by advice of his Councell (who yet were divided in opinion) ſent *Montjoy* the *French* king at Arms to defye king *Henry*, and to let him know he ſhould be fought with; which king *Henry*, though his Army was much infected with Feavers, whereof the Earl of *Stafford*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, the Lords *Mowbray* and *Burnell*, were lately dead, yet he willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his meſſage: and firſt having cleered a paſſage over a bridge, where of neceſſity he was to paſſe, on the 22 of *October* he paſſed over with his Army: At which time the Duke of *York* that led the Rereward, had diſcovered the Enemy to come on apace, whereof he ſent word to the king; who thereupon made a ſtand, and appointing his Officers what courſe to hold, and encouraging his Souldiers, they all attended when the battell ſhould begin. The *French* Army was divided into three battells; in the firſt were placed eight thouſand men at Arms, foure thouſand Archers, and fifteen hundred Croſſe-bowes, the wings conſiſting of two thouſand two hundred men at Arms; this battaile, was led by the Conſtable of *France* himſelfe, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Ewe*, *Richmond*, and *Vaudoſme*, the Lord *Dempier*, the Lord Admirall of *France*, the Marſhall *Boucicquale*, and others. The middle Battaile, wherein were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of *Barre*, and *Alanſon*, and by the Earles of *Vaymont*, *Salings*, *Blamont Grantpee*, and *Ruſey*. In the Rereward, were all the remainder of the *French* forces, guided by the Earles of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauconbridge*, and the Lord *Lowrey*, Captaine of *Ardy*. The *Frenchmen* thus ordered, being ſix times, ſome ſay ten times as many as the *Engliſh*, (who were not above nine thouſand) thought of nothing, but of the booty they ſhould get: In the meane time king *Henry* having made choice of a piece of ground halfe fenced on his back with the Village, wherein they had reſted the night before, on both ſides having ſtrong hedges and ditches, begun there to order his battell; but firſt he appointed an ambuſh of two hundred Archers, which upon a watch-word given, ſhould diſcharge their whole flight upon the flanke of the Enemies horſe: The Vauntguard conſiſting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of *Yorke*; who out of an heroicke courage made ſute for that place, with whom were joyned the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. The maine Battaile was led by the king himſelfe, which conſiſted of Bill-men, and ſome Bow-men; with him were the Duke of *Glocester* his Brother, the Earle Marſhall, *Oxford*, and *Suffolk*. The Rereward was led by *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, the kings Uncle, conſiſting of all ſorts of weapons; the horſemen as wings guarded the companies on both ſides. The king to prevent the fury of the *French* Cavallery, by the direction of the Duke of *Yorke*, appointed divers ſtakes ſtudded with iron at both ends, of ſix foot long, to be pitched behinde the Archers, and appointed Pyoners to attend to remove them, as they ſhould be directed: Theſe things thus ordered, publique Prayers were humbly made, and the on-ſet was preſently given by the *French* horſemen; where-

upon

upon Sir *Walter Orpington*, according to direction, cauſed the Bow-men behind the hedges, to let flie their arrowes; which ſo galled the French horſes, that either they caſt their Riders, or through their unruline ſſe ſo opened their Ranks, that the right wing of the Engliſh horſe had way to come in upon the French foot; & withall, the French horſe diſorderly retiring, they were miſerably troden down & diſranked by their own company. Upon which, the King with his Main-battell came on with ſuch reſolution, that himſelfe in perſon charged the Duke of *Alanſon*, by whom he was well neere unhorſed; but afterward, having firſt ſlaine two of the Dukes men, he charged the Duke againe, and with his ſword beat him from his horſe; whom the Kings Guard, notwithſtanding the King cryed out to the contrary, ſlew outright; and with his fall, the maine-battell of the *French* firſt gave ground, then turned their backs, and laſtly caſt away their weapons and fled. But then certaine of the French-horſemen that firſt ran away, led on by *Robert Bondile* and the Captain of *Agincourt*, meaning to wipe away the blot of running away from ſouldiers, by fighting with boyes, fell upon the Pages and Laundreſſes that were left in the Campe; who gave ſuch a lamentable ſhreeke, that king *Henry* verily thought ſome freſh forces had been come: whereupon he cauſed all the arrowes that were ſticking in the field, to be gathered, and the ſtakes to be plucked up, and made ready to be againe uſed; amongſt which the Duke of *Yorks* body was found, miſerably hacked and defaced: the ſight whereof, together with danger of a ſecond Charge, made king *Henry* give order, the Priſoners ſhould be all ſlaine, except onely ſome principall men, whom he cauſed to be bound back to back, and ſo left. For which fact, though done in cold blood, yet the King could not juſtly be taxed with cruelty, ſeeing the number of the priſoners was more than of his own ſouldiers, and nothing could give aſſurance of ſafety, but their ſlaughter. But all was not yet done: for the Earles of *Marle* and *Faconbridge*, with ſixe hundred men at Armes, who had ſtood ſtill all day, began now to ſtir, and gave a brave Charge upon King *Henries* Army: but being but few, and their horſes galled with the ſtakes, they had onely the honour to dye bravely; and indeed, they ſlew more of the *Engliſh*, than the whole Army had done before. And now at laſt, the King being ſatisfied by the Scouts, that no Enemy was more to be ſeen, he aſked what the place was called? and being told, *Agincourt*; Well then (ſaid he) this ſhall be from henceforth called the Battell of *Agincourt*: and preſently he cauſed the whole Army, in their array as they were, to give God thankes; cauſing the Clergie there preſent, to ſing the Pſalme of *David*, *In exitu Iſrael de Ægypto*, and made Proclamation, that every one, at the verſe, *Non nobis Domine, ſed nomini tuo da gloriam*, ſhould kneele downe, and the horſe-men bow their bodies: and then ſinging *Te Deum* and other holy Hymnes, they marched to the Enemies Camp, where the ſouldiers had liberty given them to take the ſpoyle.

A great Victory no doubt, but yet a Victory by which the Engliſh gained not one foote of ground in France, more then they had before; and which *Monſtrelet* attributeth not ſo much to the valour of the Engliſh, as to the indiſcretion of the French, who had ſo ſtreightned the vantguard of their Army, and pent them up ſo cloſe together, that they had not roome to draw out their ſwords; ſo true is that ſaying, *Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat*. The next day after the Battayle French Heraulds came to aske leave to bury their dead, and had it; and the Engliſh Heraulds, appointed to make ſearch, made returne that there were ſlayn of the French above ten thouſand, whereof a hundred twenty ſix were of the Nobility bearing Banners, of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-Armour, ſeven thouſand eight hundred ſeventy foure, whereof five hundred were knighted the night before the Battell: & of common ſouldiers, about ſixteen hundred. Amongſt the ſlain of the Nobility, were *Charles le Bret* High Conſtable, *Jaques* of *Chatillon* Admiral of *France*, the great Maſter of *France*, the Maſter of the Croſſebowes, the Dukes of *Alanſon*, *Brabant*, and *Barre*; the Earles of *Nevers*, *Marle*, *Vaudemont*, *Beaumont*, *Grandpre*, *Roucy*, *Faconbridge*, *Foys*, and *Leſtreuck*: There was taken Priſoners, *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lords *Dauvert*, *Foſſeux*, *Humiers*, *Roy*, *Cauny*, *Hauncourt*, *Noiſi*, *Bouciquall*; to the number in all of fifteen hundred. On the Engliſh par-

part were slaine, *Edward* Duke of *York*, and the Earle of *Suffolk*, and not full six hundred in all; but (saith *Caxton*) not above six and twenty in all; and *Paulus Æmilius* saith, besides the two Lords, onely two Knights, and but ten private souldiers in all: a Miracle rather then a Victory. But not onely K. *Henry* was the death of the French Lords before-named, in the field with his sword; but of another great Prince, at home, with his Victory; for *Lewis* the Dolphin, eldest sonne of *Charles* the sixth, king of *France*, presently upon it, without any other cause apparent, fell sick and dyed. Yet king *Henry*, to make his enemies the better contented with their overthrow, and to take away the envy of his Victory; at his returne into *England* with his Prisoners, which was on the sixt of November following, he presently gave straight order, that no Ballad or Song should be made or sung, more then of Thanksgiving to God for his happy Victory and safe Returne; but without words of either disgracing the Freuch, or extolling the English. At his entrance into *London*, the City presented him with a thousand pounds, and two Basons of Gold worth five hundred pounds more. The bodies of the Duke of *York* and the Earle of *Suffolk* were brought into *England*, and the Dukes buried at *Fodringhey* in *Northamptonshire*, the Earles at *New-Elme* in *Oxfordshire*.

About this time, the Emperour *Sigismond* Cosin-german to king *Henry*, having been first in *France*, came accompanid with the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Ambassador from the French king, into *England*; for whom there were thirty great ships sent from the King to waft him over: but approaching to land at *Dover*, the Duke of *Glocester*, with a company of Gentlemen, having their swords drawn, stept up to the knees in water, saying to him, That if he came as the Kings friend, he should be welcome; but if as claiming any jurisdiction, they would resist him: whereupon the Emperour renounceth all Imperiall Authority; and is thereupon admitted to land, and received with as much honour as could be done him; and afterward, together with *Albert* Duke of *Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Winchester*, is elected Companion of the Order of the Garter, and sate in their Cells at the solemnity of the Feast. A principall cause of the Emperors comming, was to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*; wherein he had brought king *Henry* to a good degree of inclination; till newes came of the besieging of *Harflew* by the French, and of the Earle of *Arminiacks* setting upon the Duke of *Exceter*, being Governour there: and then he presently grew so averse from Peace, that he would hearken no more to any Treaty of it; Not that he misliked they should treat of Peace with their swords in their hands, as all wise men would doe; but that to treat of Peace, and in the time of the Treaty to doe acts of Hostility, was an affront to all honesty, and not to be tolerated with any patience.

And now the Earle of *Arminiack* having set downe before the Towne, the Vice-Admirall of *France* brought up the whole Navy of the French, with intent whilst the Earle should assaile it by land, to have entred the Towne by the waters side: but of this purpose, the valour and diligence of the Duke of *Exceter* prevented them. Assoone as king *Henry* had intelligence hereof, he would presently have gone himself; but being diswaded by the Emperor, he sent his brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earles of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundell*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers others, with two hundred Saile, to the rescue of *Harflew*; who upon the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, came to the mouth of the River *Seyne*: whereupon, *Norbon* the French Admirall set forward, and got the mouth of the Haven: and here began a Fight, which was resolutely maintained on both sides, untill the English having sunke five hundred Vessels one and other of the *French*, and taken three great Carricks of *Genoua*, wonne the harbour, and at last, though with some opposition made by their Gallies, relieved *Harflew*, and made the Earle of *Arminiack* glad to raise his Siege. Upon the news hereof, the Emperor desisted from medisting any further for Peace with *France*; and entring into a League defensive and offensive with king *Henry*, wherein onely the Pope was excepted, on the 19 of *October* he departed towards *Germany*, whom king *Henry* accompanied to *Calis*; whither the Duke of *Burgundy* came, to confirme the League concluded

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on before by the Earle of *Warwick* and him, concerning *Flanders* and *Arthois* only. In the meane time the French had hyred divers Carracks and other great ships of the Genouaes and Italians, which joyning with the french-fleete, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the command of *Jaques* Bastard of *Bourbon*, to hinder all succors from comming to *Harflew*; but *John* Earle of *Huntington* (sonne to the Duke of *Exeter* beheaded at *Cicester*) being sent to scoure the coasts, encountred with him, and after a long fight tooke him Prisoner, and three of his great Carricks, with all the money for the halfe yeers pay of the fleete, and sinking three other of his Carricks, and dispersing the rest, cleered the mouth of the River and then returned to the king at *Southampton*. And now upon the twenty third of July, in the fourth yeere of his Reigne, the king himselfe, with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earles of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolke* and *Somerset*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fits-hugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroope*, *Mortevers*, *Bourchier*, *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Fanhope*, *Grey of Codnor*, Sir *Gilbert Umphreville*, Sir *Gylbert Talbot*, and an Army consisting of twenty five thousand five hundred twenty eight fighting men, besides a thousand Artificers and Pyoners, tooke shipping at *Portsmouth*, and upon the first of August landed in *Normandy* neere to the Castle of *Tonque*, which hee presently besieged, and upon the ninth of August had it yeelded to him, at which time the Earle of *Salisbury* tooke the Castle of *Albervilliers* which the king gave him, to him and his heires, being the first land given by the king in *France*.

At the winning of *Tonque*, the king made eight and twenty Knights; and from thence marched with his Army to *Caen*; where to prevent the Citizens from sallying out, he cast up a Mount; and then making many assaults, but finding them to doe little good, he caused his Pyoners to undermine the walls: which being done, upon the fourth of *September* he offered the Besieged their lives, if they would submit: which they refusing, he thereupon made a shew of a generall assault, whilst many of his men entred the City under the foundation, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* with his Company was the first: and they comming upon the backs of those that defended the walls, easily overcame them; and then the whole Army entred without resistance. The next day, the King caused all the principall men of the Towne to come before him at their Senate house; where some of them, for their stubborne refusing the grace he had offered them, were adjudged to death, and the rest fined: the spoyl of the Town was distributed amongst the souldiers. The Captaine of the Castle stood out a while; but being advertised that the king had sworne to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender; he gave twelve Hostages, that if it were not relieved before the twentieth of *September*, he would then give it up; which not comming, he performed: and so the king had possession both of *Caen* and the Castle.

And now *Charles* the new Dolphin, being but seventeene yeeres of age and bare of money, had got into his possession all the jewels, plate and money of the Queen his mother; which so incensed her against him, that to doe him a spight, she placed the Duke of *Burgundy* in chiefe authority about the king, who by reason of his infirmity was unable himselfe to manage the State; and the Duke having now the sword in his hands, meant first to represse the growing boldnesse of the Dolphyn, and afterward to repell the common Enemy: and the Dolphyn likewise, envying the Dukes advancement above him, meant first to take down his swelling greatnes, and afterward to fall upon the forreigne adversary; and thus while private respects were preferred before publique, whilest the Duke and the Dolphyn had their first intentions against one another, not looking after king *Henry*, but in the second place, after their owne turnes served, an easie way was left for king *Henries* proceedings, and hee went on at his pleasure with small opposition. Hee sent the Duke of *Clarence*, who tooke in the City of *Bayeux*, as likewise the Duke of *Gloucester* the City of *Lysieux*; whilst himselfe remayning still at *Caen*, put out of the city the natives that were impotent or yong infants to the number of fifteen hundred, & in their places put English people, and finding a great masse of money and plate, de-

posited by the Citizens in the Castle, he caused the same, upon proofe, to bee respectively delivered to the right owners, upon condition they would acknowledge him for their Soveraigne; which moderate and just dealing wonne him more hearts then the force of his Armes had wonne him knees, specially with the Normans, who are easier to bee drawn with gentlenesse and love, then forced by violence and compulsion. From hence the king marched the first of October to *Corsye* Castle, which within three dayes yeelded. The fourth of October he came to *Argenton*, which not relieved by a day agreed upon, was likewise surrendred. The Towne of *Alanson* endured eight daies siege, but in the end did as other their neighbour Townes had done. From *Alanson* the Earle of *Salisbury* was sent to *Faleys*, to view the strength thereof, whom the king presently followed, where the besieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the second of January, then to yeelde up the Towne: No reliefe comming, the Towne was yeelded up, and soone after upon the like termes, the Castle. From hence the king returned to *Caen*, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formerly made; That if the inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled, returned not by a day assigned, hee would then grant their Lands to his souldiers: and thereupon he gave to the duke of *Clarence* during life, the Vicountties of *Auge*, *Orver* and *Pontiu*, with all the Lands of those that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Lent the king lay at *Bayeux*, whilest his Navy still kept the Seas, and daily tooke many French ships, but upon the sixteenth of July such a Tempest took them, that they were driven to fall in with *Southampton*, and yet, with all their diligence, could not so save themselves, but that two Ballingers, and two great Carricks laden with merchandize, were in the very Haven drowned. In the meane time the Earle of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot* besieged the strong Castle of *Dansfront*: The Duke of *Clarence* tooke *Courton* and *Burney*; and many other being taken, as *Chambois*, *Bechelouyn*, *Harcourt*, *Fantgernon*, *Creuecer*, *Anvylliers*, *Bagles*, in all of them he placed Captaines and Garrisons, and particularly in *Fresay*, Sir *Robert Brent*, lately made Viscount. The Duke of *Gloucester* also, with the Earle of *March*, and the Lord of *Coduer*, tooke in all the Isle of *Constantine*, except *Cherburg*, and then returned to the king, but was sent back to take in that City also: which after some time, when no reliefe came, was, together with the Castle, likewise surrendred; although by this time the Duke of *Burgundie* and the Dolphyn, by mediation of the Pope, were reconciled, and began to joyne their Forces to make resistance. And now the Duke of *Exeter* the kings Uncle, with a supply of fifteene thousand men out of *England*, came to the king, who presently took in the City of *Eureux*; and the Earle of *Ryme*, the strong Castle of *Milley le Vesco*.

The next thing attempted, was the siege of *Roan*, a Citie strongly fortified, both with walls and ditches, and to which there was no convenient passage, but by the Citie of *Lovier*; to this Citie therefore he first layes siege, which when no reliefe came within a time agreed on, was surrendred; and yet there was another impediment to be removed, a stone-bridge, which hindred the approach to *Roan*, being exceeding strongly guarded: For this, King *Henry* devised floats of wicker, covered with beasts hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his quarter passed the River, and then laid siege to the Towne on that side; and for the other side, he had other devises made with hogsheads and pipes, fastned to sirrepoles and Barges, with which he passed his men over at pleasure; and in the meane time he caused divers of his Souldiers that could swimme, to make shew of passing the River three miles off another way; with which the French-men being deluded, drew all their forces thither, and by this meanes the Fort being left unfurnished of sufficient guard, was presently forced to surrender, and the Souldiers were taken to the Kings grace; The bridge being thus gained, the Duke of *Exeter* was sent, and with him *Windsor* the Herald, to summon the Citizens to surrender the Towne; who not only gave proud answer, but also made a sallye forth, though with the losse of thirty of their men. Upon this obstinacie of theirs, the King presently orders his siege; his own quarter was the *Chartreux*, the Duke of *Clarence* at St. *Gervays*, the Duke of *Exeter*

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at Port St. *Dennis*, and every great Commander had his quarter assigned, so as the Citie was begirt round, and a great chaine of iron set upon piles, and a strong wooden bridge for passage from one Campe to the other, was made over the River. At this time the Earle of *Kilmayne* with sixteen hundred Irish came to the King, and had their quarter assigned them, who behaved themselves with great valour: The Kings Colen Germane the King of *Portugall*, sent likewise a Navie of Ships to the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, which stopped all passage of succour to *Roan*; many policies and practices were used against the Citie, but none prevailed, till famine forced it; for there being in *Roan* 210000 persons at the begining of the Siege, and the Siege continuing long, it grew to that extremity, that the Citizens dranke nothing but vinegar and water, and had little to eate, but Rats and Mice, Cats and dogs, and such like: Great numbers of the poorer sort were thrust out of the Citie, who not suffered to passe the English Army, miserably perished; onely upon Christmas-day, in honor of Christs birth, the King relieved and suffered to passe as many as were at first put out, but not others that were put out the second time, but suffered them to perish.

In this distresse, a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithstanding their misery, yet stood upon such high termes, that nothing was concluded, only a truce for eight dayes was granted them; the eight dayes ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongst themselves, they crave one day longer, and neither in that day could any thing be agreed on; then they crave four dayes more, in which the multitude and common people so pressed the Magistrates and Governours of the Citie, that on the fourth day, being about the nineteenth of *January*, the Citie was surrendred, and the Inhabitants themselves, and all their goods were yielded to the Kings mercy; the Duke of *Exeter* was appointed to take possession, who accordingly entred with his Souldiers. The next day after, being *Friday* the twentieth of *January*, the King himselfe made his entry, with four Dukes, ten Earles, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons, and others, and was by the Clergie conducted to our Lady Church; where after publique thanksgiving, he tooke Homage and fealty of the Burgesses and Inhabitants; making Proclamation, that all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Soveraigne, should enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and retaine their possessions, whereupon many came in, and many Townes were surrendred. In this time of the Kings lying at *Roan*, the Earle of *Salisbury* tooke in *Honfleur*, *Mousser de Villiers*, *Ewe*, and *Newcastle*; the Duke of *Clarence* tooke *Vernon*, and *Naunt*; and the Earle of *Warwicke la Roche Guyon*.

And now the Duke of *Burgundie* seeing the great successes of King *Henry*, could thinke of no better way for his own safety, then to make a reconciliation betweene the two Kings; to which end, Ambassadors are sent to procure their meeting; at which time, King *Henry* for their service already performed, and in hope of more hereafter, made the valiant *Gascoigne* Captaine *le Beuff*; Earle of *Longueyle*, Sir *John Grey* Earle of *Tankeyle*, and the Lord *Bourchier* Earle of *Ewe*. Upon the last of *May*, King *Henry* accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Gloucester*, and *Exeter*; his Uncle *Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earles of *March*, and *Salisbury*, and a thousand men at Armes, entred the place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The French Queene (her Husband being taken with his phrenzie) with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and the Earle of St. *Paul*, and a company of Ladies; amongst whom, as a bait to entangle the Kings affection, was the Kings Daughter, the beautifull Lady *Katherine*; with whose sight, though the King was marvellously taken, yet he made no shew thereof, till other things should be agreed upon; but the *Dolphin* having made means to the Duke of *Burgoigne* to hinder all agreement, nothing was effected; whereupon at their parting, the King told the Duke, that he would have both the Lady, and all his other Demands, or else drive the King of *France* out of his kingdome, and him out of his Dukedome: Upon this, the Duke thought it best to agree with the Dolphin, and upon the sixth of *July*, Articles of their reconcilement are signed and sealed; In the meane time, the Earle of *Longueyle* surprized the Towne of *Pontboyse*, but had scarce beene able to

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make good the ſurprize, if the Duke of *Clarence* had not come to his ſuccour; from thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there ſtayed two dayes, but perceiving no ſhew of ſallye to be made, he returned to *Pontheyſe*, whither the King himſelfe came; and from thence marching on, tooke in the Caſtle of *Vanjon Villeirs*; and on the laſt of *Auguſt*, the Caſtles of *Gyſors*, and *Galyard*, and *Dumall*; ſo that now all *Normandy* (*Mount St. Michael* only excepted) was reduced to the poſſeſſion of the King of *England*, which had beene wrongfully detained from him, ever ſince the yeare 1207.

The Dolphin all this while, though having outwardly made a reconcilement with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, yet inwardly bearing a ſpleene againſt him, intended nothing ſo much as his deſtruction; which to effect, he procured a meeting betweene the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Mountſtrew*; where the Duke though humbling himſelfe in reverence to the Dolphin on his knee, was moſt barbarouſly murthered; which act, was ſo much the leſſe to be pitied in the Duke, by how much he in the like kinde, upon the like enterview, had cauſed *Lewis* the Duke of *Orleance* to be murthered. But though this barbarous act might juſtly incenſe *Philip* Earle of *Caroloys* the Duke of *Burgoignes* heire to ſeeke revenge; yet as a wiſe and and politicke Prince, he forbore for the preſent to make ſhew of choller or diſtemperature, and conſidering with himſelfe, that difference betweene the Dolphin and him, would but give King *Henry* the greater advantage, he endeavoured to propoſe an overture of peace betweene the two Kings; And to that end Ambaſſadors are ſent from the King of *France*, and the yong Duke of *Burgoigne*, whom the King kindly entertained, but ſeemed to intimate unto them, that hee could give no great credit to their propoſitions, unleſſe the Lady *Katherine* would joyne in them, whoſe innocence he knew would never abuſe him. Whileſt theſe things are in agitation, the Earle of *Salisbury* tooke in *Freſney*, and the Earls Marſhall and *Huntington* entred into *Mayn*, who approaching *Ments*, were encountred by the forces of the Dolphin, whereof they ſlew five thouſand, and tooke two hundred priſoners; for which, newes being brought to *Roan*, whither King *Henry* was come to ſolemnize the Feaſt of Chriſts Birth, thankſgiving to God were publickly made; and in the inſtant thereof, arrived other Ambaſſadors from the King and Qeene of *France*, and a letter from the Lady *Katherine* to King *Henry*, was ſecretly by the Biſhop of *Arras* delivered; The concluſion of all was, that the king of *England* ſhould ſpeed himſelfe to *Troyes*, there to be Eſpouſed to the Lady *Katherine*, and to have aſſurance of the Crowne of *France*, after the deceaſe of the preſent king *Charles*: Whereupon, with a Guard of fifteen thouſand choice Souldiers, accompanied with the Duke of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Warwicke*, *Saliſbury*, *Huntington*, *Longueville*, *Tankerville* and *Ewe*; the king of *England* came to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, upon the eighteenth day of *May*, where he was met by the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and divers of the French Nobility, who attended him to the Pallace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Dutcheſſe of *Burgoigne*, and the Lady *Katherine* gave him Princely entertainment; and after ſome intercourſe of compliment between the Princes and the Ladies, K. *Henry* tendred to the Lady *Katherine* a Ring of great value, which ſhe (not without ſome bluſhing) received; and afterward, upon the twentieth day of *May*, ſhe was affianced to him in St. *Peters* Church, and on the third of *June* following, the marriage was ſolemnized; and therewithall king *Henry* was publiſhed to be the only Regent of the Realme, and Heire apparent to the Crown of *France*; the Articles whereof, with all convenient expedition were Proclaimed both in *England* and in *France*, and the two kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of account, were ſworne to obſerve them; and in particular the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the heire Male put by his Suceſſion in the Crowne, which the Genius of *France* will not long endure, a while it muſt; and therefore the maine endeavour of both kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put downe; and thereupon, on the fourth day of *June*, king *Henry* with the French king, *James* king of *Scots*, who was newly arrived, the Duke of *Burgoigne*,

goigne, the Prince of *Orenge*, one and twenty Earles, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army consisting of *French*, *English*, *Scotish*, *Irish*, and *Dutch*, to the number of six hundred thousand, marched towards the Dolphin; and upon the seventh day, laid siege to the Towne of *Selve*, which sided with the Dolphin, which after foure dayes siege was yielded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of *Bedford* in their company, who was newly come out of *England*, with large supplies of men and money to *Monstreau*, which was taken by *Escalado*, onely the Castle held out still; during the siege whereof, king *Henry* created an Officer of Armes, to be king of Heralds over the Englishmen, and intitled him *Garter*; whom he sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captaine thereof reproachfully upbraided: for punishment of which his presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of Mounsieur *Guitry* the said Captaine, twelve of his friends were executed: whereupon those of the Castle treated for peace; but the king, in eight dayes together, would not grant so much as a parley; so that after six weekes siege, they were enforced (their lives saved) simply to yield. From thence the king marched to *Melun* upon *Seine*, and besieged it the thirtieth of *July*; the Captaine whereof was *Barboson* a Gascoigne, no lesse politicke than valiant, who countermined some, and stopt other Mines made by the *English*, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with king *Henry*; yet at last, through Famine and Pestilence was forced to yeild; but being suspected to have had a hand in the murther of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, he was sent prisoner to *Paris*; and presently thereupon, both the kings with their Queens, the Duke of *Burgoigne* and his Dutchesse, with a Royall Traine came thither; where the French king was lodged in the House of S. *Paul*, and the king of *England* in the Castle of *Louvre*. And here the three States of *France* anew under their hands and Seals in most authenticke manner Ratified the former Articles of king *Henries* Succession in the Crowne of *France*; the Instruments whereof were delivered to the king of *England*, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at *Westminster*.

And now King *Henry* began to exercise his Regency, and as a badge of his Authority; he caused a new Coyne which was called a Salute, to be made, whereon the Armes of *France* and *England* were quarterly stamped; he placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of *Exeter* with five hundred men, to the Guard of *Paris*: He awarded out Processe against the Dolphin, to appeare at the Marble-Table at *Paris*, which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the murther of the Duke of *Burgoigne*; and by the sentence of the Parliament, he was banished the Realme.

After this, the King making Thomas Duke of *Clarence* his Lievetenant Generall of *France* and *Normandy*, on the 6th of *January*, with his beloved Queen *Katherine* he left *Paris*, and went to *Amyens*; and from thence to *Calice*, and thence landing at *Dover*, came to *Canterbury*, and afterward through *London* to *Westminster*; where the Queene upon St. *Matthews* day, the fourth of *February* was Crowned; the King of *Scots* sitting at dinner in his State, but on the left hand of the Queen, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Kings Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* being on the right hand; All were served with covered messes of silver, but all the Feast was Fish, in observation of the Lent season.

After this, the king tooke his Progresse through the Land, hearing the complaints of his poore Subjects, and taking order for the administring of Justice to high and low; and then met the Queen at *Leicester*, where they kept their *Easter*.

In the meane time, the Duke of *Clarence* making a Rode into *Anjou*, came to the Citie of *Angers*, where he knighted Sir *William Rosse*, Sir *Henry Goddard*, Sir *Rowland Fyder*, Sir *Thomas Beauford* his naturall Son; and returning home laden with prey, was advertised that the Duke of *Alanson* intended to intercept his passage; whereupon, he sent the Scout-master, *Andrew Fogoso* a *Lombard*, to discover the face of the Enemy; who being corrupted, brought report that their number was but small, and those but ill ordered, that if he presently charged, there could be no resistance. The Dukes credulity caused him to draw all his horses together, and

leaving

leaving his bowes and bills behinde which were his chiefeſt ſtrength, with his horſe only he makes towards the Enemy; but the Traitor leading to a ſtraight, where by his appointment an ambuſh was layd, that the Duke could neither retreat, nor flee; he ſoone perceived the Treatchery; but finding no remedy, he manfully ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and charged upon the Enemy; but over-layd with multitude, and wearied with fight, was himſelfe, with the Earle of *Tankerville*, the Lord *Roſſe*, the Earle of *Angus*, Sir *John Lumley*, and Sir *John Vereud*, and above two thouſand Engliſh ſlaine; The Earls of *Somerſet*, *Suffolke* and *Pearch*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Ralph Nevill*, Sir *William Bowes*, and 60 Gentlemen were taken priſoners: The body of the Duke of *Clarence*, was by Sir *John Beanford* his baſe Son, (the D. dying without other iſſue) convey'd to *England*, and buried at *Canterbury* beſides his Father: and this diſaſter happened upon *Eaſter-Eve*. The King was at *Beverley* when he heard of his brothers death, and preſently thereupon, diſpatched away *Edmund* Earle of *Marſeigne* into *Normandy*, making him Lievtenant thereof; and then calls his high Court of Parliament to Weſtminſter, requiring ayd by money to revenge his brothers death, which was readily granted; and the king thus provided, ſent his brother the Duke of *Bedford* with an Army to *Callis*, conſiſting of foure thouſand men at Arms, and foure and twenty thouſand Archers, whom about the middle of *May* he followeth himſelfe, and ſafely arriving at *Callis*, haſted to relieve *Charters*, which the Dolphin with ſeven thouſand men had beſieged; but hearing of the kings comming, was retired to *Tours*. The king of *Scots*, with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, about the eighth of *July* beſieged *Dreux*; which agreed, if it were not relieved by the twentieth of that moneth, then to ſurrender it; no reliefe comming, it was ſurrendred. The king purſued the Dolphin from place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way, ſurprized the Towne of *Bongency*, where all that craved it, he tooke to mercy, as likewiſe he did at *Rongemont*; from thence he went to *Orleance*, and from thence to *Vignes St. Tan*, and from thence to *Paris*; where having fitted himſelfe with ſupplies, he went and ſate downe before *Menixe* in *Brye*, which after ſome oppoſition, he alſo tooke, and thereby had poſſeſſion of all the Fortreſſes in the Iſle of *France*, in *Lonnois*, in *Brye*, and in *Champaigne*.

Upon St. *Nicholas* day, in the yeare 1422, Queen *Katherine* was brought to bed of a Son at *Windſor*, who was by the Duke of *Bedford*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Winchester*, and the Counteſſe of *Holland* Chriſtned by the name of *Henry*; whereof, when the king had notice, out of a Propheticke rapture he ſayd; Good Lord, I *Henry* of *Monmouth* ſhall ſmall time Reigne and much get, and *Henry* borne at *Windſor*, ſhall long time Reigne and loſe all, but Gods will be done.

About this time the Dolphin layd ſiege to *Coſney*, which the king was intentive to relieve, as being a Town of the Duke of *Burgoignes*; and therefore tendred it more than if it had beene his owne; and making over-haſty journeys, he over-heat himſelfe with travell; and comming to *Senlys*, found himſelfe ſo ill at eaſe, that he was forced to remaine there, and to ſend his brother the Duke of *Bedford* to proſecute his deſigne, which the Duke performed, and the Dolphin upon his approach, retired into *Berry*; whereof, in mockage he was after called the king of *Berry*. But the kings Feaver and flux increaſing, he was removed to *Bois de Vincens*; where growing worſe and worſe, within a few dayes he dyed. But ſomewhat before his departure, he had made his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* Lievetenant Generall of *Normandy*, and Regent of the Kingdome of *France*, and his Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, he had made Protector of *England*, and of his Sons Perſon: Exhorting all to be true and faithfull to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, to be at unitie amongſt themſelves, to be loyall to their young Prince, to be ſerviceable to his dearly beloved Queene, to hold and preſerve what he by his valour, and Gods aſſiſtance had wonne; and never to conclude contract of amitie with the Dolphin, or Duke of *Alanſon*, untill they had ſubmitted themſelves to the kings Grace. And ſo giving God thanks for all his favors and bleſſings beſtowed upon him, in the midſt of ſaying a Pſalme of *David*, he departed this life; who might juſtly have prayed God with *David*, *Take me not away in the midſt of my dayes*, for he dyed about the age of five or ſix and thirty years,

which

which in *Davids* account is the midst of the number of the dayes of mans life: but though he dyed in the midst of his dayes, yet he dyed in the fulnesse of his Glory; and of whom it may be said,—*Jamq; arce potitus, Ridet anhelantes duri ad fastigia montis.* When he had Reigned nine yeares and five moneths.

Of his Taxations.

IN his first yeere an incredible sum of money was given him by the Clergy, to divert him from a motion propounded to take away their Temporalties. And in the same yeere a Subsidie was granted him both by the Clergy and the Laity. In his fourth yeere was granted him, towards his warres in France, two whole Tenths of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity; which being farre too short to defray his great charge, he was forced to pawne his Crowne to the Bishop of *Beauford* his Uncle for a great sum of money, as also certain Jewels to the Lord Major of *London*, for ten thousand markes. In his ninth yeere in a Parliament at *Westminster*, for revenge of the Duke of *Clarences* death, two tenths of the Clergy, and one fifteenth by the Laity, which because the haste of the businesse could not stay the usuall course of collection, the Bishop of *Winchester* brought in presently twenty thousand pounds, to receive it againe when the Subsidie should be gathered. The same yeere also, the Duke of *Bedford* in the kings absence called a Parliament, wherein was granted towards his warres, one fifteenth to be paid in such money as was at that time current. These are all the Subsidies that were given him, notwithstanding his many and great atchievements, by which it appeares what great matters a moderate Prince may doe, and yet not grieve his subjects with Taxations.

Of Lawes and Ordinances made by him, or in his time.

HE ordained the king of Heralds over the English, which is called *Garter*.

In his ninth yeare, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, It was ordained, that no man should offer Gold in payment, unlesse it were weight; and thereupon were appointed ballances and weights.

An act made in the thirteenth yeare of king *Richard* the Second, which disabled the Alien Religious to enjoy any Benefices within *England*, was in the beginning of this kings Reigne put in execution: and further, this king exchaded also the French from all preferments Ecclesiastical, and those Priors Aliens Conventuall, who had institution and induction, were bound to put in security, not to disclose or cause to be disclosed, the Counsell and secrets of the Realme.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN the beginning of his Reigne, the *Wickliffs* increased greatly, of whom Sir *John Oldcastle* was a Chiefe, who by mariage of a kinswoman of the Lord *Cobham* of *Cooling* in *Kent*, obtained that Title: This knight, being very valorous, and in great favour with the king, was in a Synod at *London* accused for maintaining of *Wickliffs* doctrine: whereof the king being informed, sent for him, and instantly dealt with him to submit himselfe to the censure of the Church: But Sir *John Oldcastle* told the King, that he owed his subjection onely to his Majestie, and as for others, he would stand for the truth against them, to the uttermost of his life. Upon this, he was served by Processe, to appeare in the Archbishops Court; and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy, and afterwards in a Synod at *Rochester*, was by the Archbishop pronounced to be an Heretick, who then enacted that Decree, That the Holy Scriptures ought not to be translated into the English tongue: But marke the judgement that fell upon his owne tongue, whose roote and blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew so bigge in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speake, nor swallow downe meat, but in horrour lay languishing, till at last starved by famine, he so dyed. In the meane time, Sir *John Oldcastle* wrote his Beliefe,

liefe, and preſented it himſelfe to the King; which the King would in no wiſe receive, but ſuffered him, in his preſence, and Privy chamber, to be ſummoned; who appearing before the Archbiſhop, after divers examinations, he was condemned of Hereſie, and committed to the Tower of *London*, from whence ſhortly after he eſcaped, and got into *Wales*. The king, by his Proclamation, promiſed a thouſand Marks to any that ſhould bring him in: but ſo much was his doctrine generally favoured, that the kings offer was not much regarded; but he continued foure yeares after undiſcovered: At laſt he was taken in the borders of *Wales*, within a Lordſhip belonging to the Lord *Powes*, who brought him to *London*, before the Duke of *Bedford* Regent of the Realme; where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the Tower to S. *Giles* field, and there hanged in a chaine by the middle, and after conſumed with fire, the gallowes and all. At the time of his firſt conviction, foure yeares before, it was rumour'd, that twenty thouſand men in armes were aſſembled in S. *Giles* field: whereupon, the king, at midnight, himſelfe in perſon went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon examination confeſſed, that they came to meet their Captaine Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, but without any intent againſt the king: yet was Sir *Roger Acton*, and eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in *Smithfield*; and all the Priſons in and about *London* were filled with them.

In his third yeare, the order of Church ſervice throughout *England*, was changed from the uſe of *Pauls* to the uſe of *Saliſbury*, to the great diſliking of many in thoſe dayes.

In his fourth yeare, a Councell was holden at *Conſtance*, whither he ſent Ambaſſadors, the Earle of *Warwick*, the Biſhops of *Saliſbury*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*; the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Prior of *Worceſter*: In which Councell it was decreed, that *England* ſhould have the title of the Engliſh Nation, and ſhould be accounted one of the five principall Nations in ranke before *Spaine*; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all *Wickliffi* poſitions condemned: alſo *John Huſſe*, and *Hierome* of *Prague* (notwithſtanding the Emperours ſafe-conduct) were both of them burned. In this Councell, the Schiſme of Anti-popes, which had continued the ſpace of nine and twenty yeares, was reformed; *Benedict* the 13. had been elected by the Spaniard; *Gregory* the 12. by the French; *John* the 24. by the Italians: And now in this Councell, begun in *February* 1414, and continued above three yeares; wherein were aſſembled, beſides the Emperour, the Pope, and the Palſgrave of *Rhine*, foure Patriarks, twenty ſeven Cardinals, ſeven and forty Archbiſhops, one hundred and threeſcore Biſhops, Princes and Barons with their attendants, above thirty thouſand; The foreſaid elected Popes were all put down, or elſe reſigned, and in the place, as legitimate Pope, was elected *Otho Lolouna*, by the name of *Martin* the fifth.

In this yeare alſo, fell out an Accident, which ſhews the ſtrict obſervance of Eccleſiaſticall cenſures in thoſe dayes. The wives of the Lord *Strange*, and Sir *John Truſſell* of *Warmington* in *Cheſhire*, ſtriving for place at a Sermon in S. *Dunſtans* Church in the Eaſt, their huſbands being preſent, fell themſelves to ſtriving in their wives behalfe, and great part-taking there was on both ſides, ſome ſlaine, and many wounded: The delinquents were committed to the Counter, the Church ſuſpended, and upon examination, the Lord *Strange* being found guilty, was by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* adjudged to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parſon of S. *Dunſtans* went before; after whom followed all the Lords ſervants in their ſhirts; after them went the Lord himſelfe, bare-headed, with a waxe taper in his hand; then followed the Lady, bare-footed; and then laſt came the Archdeacon *Reynold Kentwood*: in which order they went from *Pauls* where the ſentence was given, to S. *Dunſtans* Church; where at the rehallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the Veſſels with water, and according to the ſentence, offered to the Altar an ornament of the value of ten pounds; and the Lord, a Pixe of ſilver, of five pounds. A Penance, no doubt, which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deale of money, if the diſcipline of the Church had in thoſe dayes allowed it:

it: but it seemes, the commutation of Penance was not as yet come in use. In his ninth yeare, in a Parliament at *Leicester*, a hundred and ten Priories alient were suppressed, because they spoke ill of his Conquests in *France*; and their possessions were given to the King: but by him, and King *Henry* the sixth, were afterward given to other Monasteries, and Colledges of learned men.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

THis King re-edified his Royall Manour, which was then called *Sheene*, now *Richmond*, and founded two Monasteries not farre from it; the one of *Carthusians*, which he named *Bethelem*; the other of Religious men and women of the Order of S. *Bridget*, which he named *Syon*: He also founded the Brotherhood of Saint *Giles* without Cripplegate in *London*. In the second yeare of his Reigne, Mooregate neere to Colemanstreet was first made, by *Thomas Fawkener* Major of *London*, who caused also the ditches of the City to be cleansed, and a common Privy that was on the Moore without the wall, to be taken downe, and another to be made within the City upon Wallbrooke, into the which brooke he caused the water of the City to be turned by grates of iron in divers places. In his sixth yeare, *William* of *Sevenoak* Major of *London*, founded in the Town of *Sevenoak* a Free schoole and thirteen Almshouses. This man was found at *Sevenoak* in *Kent*, a new-borne infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable people was Christned and brought up, bound prentise in *London*, and came at last to be Major of the City. Also *Robert Chichely* Major of *London* gave liberally to the Almshouses founded by his brother *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at *Higham-Ferrers* in *Northamptonshire*, where they were born. But *Henry Chicheley* the Archbishop founded two Colledges in *Oxford*, one called *Bernard* Colledge, renewed by Sir *Thomas White*, and named S. *Johns* Colledge; the other called *All-Soules*, which continueth at this day as he left it. Also *John Kempe* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, converted the Parish-Church of *Wye* in *Kent* where he was borne, into a Colledge of Secular Priests.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the fift yeere of his Reigne a great part of the City of *Norwich* was burnt, with all the house of the Friers Preachers, and two fryers of that Order. In his third yeere, on the feast of the Purification, seaven Dolphins came up the River of *Thames*, whereof foure were taken.

Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Catherine* the daughter of king *Charles* the sixth of *France*, who (this was his Queene two yeeres and about three moneths, married at *Troyes* in *Champaigne* the third day of June 1420. and afterward February the foureteenth crowned at *Westminster*: Shee surviving king *Henry*, was re-married to *Owen Tewdor* an Esquire of *Wales*, who pretended to be discended from *Cadwallader* the ancient king of *Wales*, though some write him to be the sonne of a Brewer, whose meanenesse of estate was recompensed by the delicacy of his personage; so absolute in all the lineaments of his body, that the only contemplation of it might well make her forget all other circumstances; by him she had three sonnes, *Edmond*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*, and a daughter that lived but a while. Her sonne *Owen* tooke the habit of Religion at *Westminster*, the other two were by king *Henry* the sixt (their halfe brother) advanced in honor: *Edmond* was created Earle of *Richmond*, and marrying the sole heyre of *John Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, was Father, by her, unto *Henry* the seaventh, king of *England*, the only heyre of the house of *Lancaster*. *Jasper* her second sonne was first created Earle of *Pembroke*, and after Duke of *Bedford*, but dyed without lawfull issue. This Queene, either for devotion or her owne safety, tooke into the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwarke*, who dying the second of

January 1436. she was buried in our Ladies Chappell within St. *Peters* Church at *Westminster*, whose corps taken up in the Reigne of king *Henry* the seaventh, her Grand-childe (when he laid the foundation of that admirable structure) and her Coffin placed by king *Henry* her husbands Tombe, hath ever since so remained, and never since re-buried, where it standeth (the cover being loose) to bee seene and handled of any that will. By her king *Henry* had only one son, named *Henry*, who succeeded him in the Kingdom.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, leane of body, and his bones small but strongly made, somewhat long necked, black haired, and very beautifull of face, swift in running, so as hee with two of his Lords, without bow or other engine, would take a wilde Buck or Doe in a large Parke: Hee delighted in songs and musicall Instruments, insomuch that in his Chappell amongst his private prayers, he used certaine Psalmes of *David*, translated into English meeter by *John Lydgate* Monke of *Bury*. And indeed it may be truly said of him as was said of *Æneas*: *Quo justior alter; Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis*, for he seldom fought battell where he got not the victory, and never got victory whereof he gave not the glory to God, with publique Thanksgiving. He was a better man, a King then a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orbe, and therfore no mervaile if he were somthing exorbitant. He was of a mercifull disposition, but not to the prejudice of wisedom; as thinking wise cruelty to be better then fooolish pitty. He was no lesse politick then valiant, for he never fought battell, nor wonne Town, wherein hee prevailed not asmuch by stratagem as by force. He was so temperate in his dyet, and so free from vain-glory, that we may truly say, he had somethiug in him of *Cæsar* which *Alexander* the Great had not, that he would not bee dronke; and somthing of *Alexander* the Great, which *Cæsar* had not, that he would not be flattered. He was indeede a great affector of Glory, but not of glory the blast of mens mouthes, but of the Glory that fills the sailes of Time. He dyed of full yeeres, though not full of yeeres: if he had lived longer he might have gone over the same againe, but could not have gone further. If his love were great to Military men, it was not small to Clergy men, insomuch as by many he was called the Prince of Priests.

Of his Death and Buriall.

SOme say he was poysoned, which *Polydore Virgill* saith was much suspected: The Scots write that he died of the disease called St. *Fiacre*, which is a Palsie and a Crampe: *Enguerant* saith that he died of St. *Anthonies* fire: But *Peter Basset* Esquire, who at the time of his death was his Chamberlaine, affirmeth that hee died of a Pleurisie, which at that time was a sickneese strange and but little known. Being dead his body was embalmed and closed in lead, and laid in a Chariot-Royall richly apparelled in cloath of Gold, was conveyed from *Bois de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and so to *Roan*, to *Abbeyvile*, to *Calys*, to *Dover*, and from thence through *London* to *Westminster*, where it was interred next beneath King *Edward* the Confessor; upon whose Tombe Queene *Katherine* caused a Royall picture to be layed, covered all over with silver plate gilt, but the head thereof altogether of massie silver; all which at that Abbies suppression were sacrilegiously broken off and transferred to prophaner uses. Hee dyed the last day of August, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred twenty two, when he had reigned nine yeeres and five Moneths, lived eight and thirty yeeres.

Of men of Note in his time.

MEN of valour in his time were so frequent, that we may know it to be a true saying, *Regis ad exemplum*, and men of learning likewise in such numbers, that we

we may know the Prince to have been their Patron. First *Aleyn de Lyn*, a Carmelite Frier in that Towne, who wrote many Treatises; Then *Thomas Otterborne* a Franciscan frier who wrote an History of *England*; Then *John Segward*, who kept a Schoole in *Norwich*, and wrote sundry Treatises, reproving as well the Monkes and Priests as Poets for writing of filthy verses. *Robert Rose* a Carmelite frier in *Norwich*; who writing many Treatises, yet said nothing against the *Wickleffists*. *Richard Coyster* borne in *Nofolke*, a man of great holinesse of life, favoring (though secretly) the doctrine of *Wickliffe*; *William Wallis* a Black frier in *Lin*, who made a booke of Moralizations upon *Ovids Metamorphosis*; *William Taylor* a Priest and a Master of Art in *Oxford*, a stedfast follower of *Wickliffes* doctrine, and burnt for the same at Smithfield in *London* the last yeere of this kings reigne. *Bartholomew Florarius*, called so of a Treatise which he wrote called *Florarium*, who writ also another Treatise of Abstinence, wherein he reproveth the corrupt manners of the Clergie, and the profession of the Friers Mendicants. Also *Titus Livius de Forojulio* an Italian borne, but seeing he was resiant here, and wrote the life of this King, it is not unfit to make mention of him in this place: also many others.

THE

THE REIGNE OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

THere had beene a Race of Princes, of which for three generations together, it might be rightly sayd; *Pulcherrima proles*; *Magnanimi Heroes nati melioribus Annis*. For King *Edward* the Third had many Sons, not inferior in valour to the many Sons of King *Priamus*, not excepting his valiant Son *Hector*, having so equall a match for him, as *Edward* the blacke Prince, who wanted but an *Homer*, to have been an *Achilles*. Then *John* of *Gaunt* likewise had divers Sons, men as valorous as any that Age afforded. Then *Henry* the Fourth had foure Sons, of so heroicall disposition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only King *Henry* the Fifth to be his eldest. And now that in him the heroicall nature was come to the height, it degenerated againe in King *Henry* the Sixth, which must needs be attributed to the mothers side; who though in her selfe she were a Princesse of a noble spirit, yet being the issue of a crazie father, what marvell, if she proved the mother of a crazie issue! and yet even this issue of hers, a Prince no doubt, of excellent parts in their kinde, though not of parts kindly for a Prince; in a private man praise-worthy enough, but the sword of a King required a harder mettall than the soft temper of King *Henry* the sixth was made of: and in him we may see the fulfilling of the Text; *Va genti cujus Rex est puer*; *Woe to that Nation whose King is a Childe*; for he was not above eight moneths old, when he succeeded his father in the Kingdome; although that Text perhaps is not meant so much of a child in years, for which there may be helps by good Protectors; as of a childe in abilities of ruling, whereof, though possibly there may, yet probably there can be no sufficient supply, of which, in this King we have a pregnant example; for as long as he continued a childe in yeares, so long his Kingdomes were kept flourishing by the Providence of his carefull Uncles; but assoone as he left being a Childe in years, and yet continued a childe in ability of Ruling, then presently began all things *In pejus ruere, & retro sublapsa referri*, all things went to wracke both in *France* and *England*. And thus much was necessary to be sayd by way of a Preface to that great fall as it were of *Nilus*, in King *Henry* the Sixth.

Henry called of *Windsor*, because borne there, the only childe of King *Henry* the Fifth, as yet scarce nine moneths old, succeeded his Father, and was Proclaimed King of *England* on the last of *August*, in the yeare 1422; by reason of whose infancie, King *Henry* his Father had before by his Will appointed, and now the Lords by their consent confirmed, the Regency of *France* to *John* Duke of *Bedford*, the Government of *England*, to *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester*, the Guard of his Person to *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry Beauford* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chan-

Chancellor, wherein it was wisely provided that one man should not rule all, least it should prove a spurre to aspiring; and withall stay them from envying one another, when many were alike placed in the highest forme of authority: and indeed they all carried themselves so uprightly and carefully in their places, that it well appeared the trust reposed in them by the dying King, had made a strong impression of love and loyalty towards his Son.

The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, was to keepe that by the sword, which King *Henry* the Fifth by his sword had gotten, wherein he had many and great assistants, specially the two terrours of *France*, *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *John* Lord *Talbot*; and amongst the French themselves, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, a friend no lesse powerfull, than firme unto him. The Dolphin also (now crowned king at *Poytiers*, and called *Charles* the seventh of *France*, his father being newly dead, within little more than a moneth after king *Henry*) had likewise great assistants, the Duke of *Alanson*, and many other Peers of *France*, and of the *Scots* many, and some perhaps of the English that tooke part with him; by meanes whereof, the game of Fortune was a long time played betweene them with great variety. The first act of the Duke of *Bedfords* Regency, was an Oration which he made to the French in *Paris*, which wrought this good effect; that king *Henry* is Proclaimed king of *England* and of *France*, and such French Lords as were present did their Homages, and tooke their oathes to be true unto him. The first act of hostility was performed by the new king of *France*, who sends the Lord *Granvile* to *Pont Meulan*, who surprized it, putting all the English Souldiers to the sword; but the Regent sending thither *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, so strongly beleaguered it, that the Lord *Granvile* not only surrendred it, but swore allegiance (though he kept it not) to the king of *England*. From thence the Earle marched to *Seyne*, which hee tooke by assault, and put all the Souldiers (except the Captain Sir *William Maryn*) to the sword.

At this time the Regent, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, *John* Duke of *Brittaine*, and his brother in law the Earle of *Richmond*, (who revolted afterward to the new king of *France*, and was by him made Constable of *France*) met at *Amyens*; and there not only renewed the old League, but further enlarged it; to be offensive and defensive respectively: and to make the friendship the more firme, the Regent married *Anne* the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoigne* at *Troys*. In this meane time the *Parisians* taking advantage of the Regents absence, conspired to have let in the new king into *Paris*; but the day before the night appointed for his admission, the Regent with his power entred, apprehended the Conspirators, and put them to publicke execution. That done, he furnished all the Forts and places of strength with Englishmen, and sent Sir *John Falstaffe*, who tooke in *Pacye*, and *Coursoy*, two strong Castles; whil'st himselfe with his forces tooke in *Troynels*, and *Brey* upon *Seyne*.

The Constable of *France* the meane while with the new kings forces, layd siege to *Crovant* in *Burgoigne*; but the Regent sent thither the Earle of *Salisbury*, who set upon the French, and after a long fight, putting them to flight, slew about 1800 knights and gentlemen of note. and three thousand common Souldiers, *Scots*, and French, tooke prisoners the Constable himselfe, the Earle of *Ventadour*, Sir *Alexander Alerdyn*, Sir *Lewis Ferignye*, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the English part, were slaine Sir *John Gray*, Sir *William Hall*, Sir *Gilbert Halfall*, *Richard ap Maddocke*, and one and twenty hundred Souldiers. From thence the Earle led his forces to *Montaguillon*, and sate downe before it, which after five moneths Siege he took, whil'st the Duke of *Suffolke* took in the two strong Castles of *Cowcye*, and *le Roche*.

Whil'st these things are done in *France*; in *England* the Protectour Ransomed and inlarged the young king of *Scots*, *James* the first; (who by the space of eighteene yeares had been kept a Prisoner) which he did out of opinion, that he might withdraw the *Scots* out of *France*, taking Homage and fealty of him for the Crown of *Scotland*, in these words; *I* James Steward, *King of* Scots, *shall be true and faithfull to you Lord* Henry, *King of* England *and* France, *the Superiour Lord of* Scotland:

and

and to you I make my fidelitie for the ſayd Kingdome, which I hold and claime of you, and ſhall do you ſervice for the ſame, ſo God me helpe, and theſe holy Evangeliſts; and therewithall, with conſent of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Wife, Jane Daughter to the deceaſed Duke of *Somerſet*, and Coſen Germane to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. *Mary-Overys* in *Southwarke*; yet all this curteſie could not keep him afterward from being unfaithfull, and unthankfull.

And now the Protector ſent over to the Regent ten thouſand wel furniſhed Souldiers, with which freſh ſuccour he wonne many Townes and places of ſtrength; which the French ſeeing, and finding themſelves too weak by plaine force to withſtand the Engliſh, they ſought by ſubtilty to compaſſe their ends; and firſt, they worke upon the inconſtancie of the Duke of *Brittaine*, and his brother *Arthur*, by King *Henry* the fifth created Earle of *Tewry*, whom by gifts and promiſes they ſuborned, perfidiouſly to deliver over into their poſſeſſion, the Caſtles of *Crotoye*, and *Yerney*; but the Engliſh before the French Garriſons were ſetled, fell upon *Crotoye* and recovered it; and that done, the Regent beſieged *Yerney*, and by ſecret mining, and violent Batteries ſo ſhooke the Walls, that they agreed to yeild it up, if not relieved by a certaine time: whereupon the Duke of *Alanſon*, with ſixteene thouſand French came to the reſcue, but perceiving the Engliſh to be prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to *Vernoyle*, and ſwore to the Townſmen that hee had put the Regent to flight, and reſcued *Yerney*; which they believing, rendred up *Vernoyle* to him: but the Regent followed him thither, when by the encouragement of ſome freſh Companies of *Scots* come to his ſuccour, he came to a battell in the field, where the Engliſh, with the loſſe of two thouſand one hundred common Souldiers, and two of the Nobility, the Lord *Dudley*, and the Lord *Charleton*, got the honor of the day, and ſlew of their enemies, five Earles, two Viſcounts, twenty Barons, and above ſeven thouſand other of the French, beſides two thouſand ſeven hundred *Scots* lately arrived, and tooke Priſoners the Duke of *Alanſon* himſelfe, the Lord of *Hernys*, and divers other French, and Sir *John Tournbull*, and two hundred Gentlemen, beſides common Souldiers. This battell was fought the eight and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, in the yeare 1424, and thereupon *Vernoyle* was preſently redelivered. After this, the Earle of *Salisbury* with ten thouſand men, taketh in the ſtrong Towne of *Maunts*, the Towne of St. *Suſan*, the Fort St. *Bernard*, and others; from thence he went to *Anjou*, where he performed ſuch heroicke Acts, that his very name grew terrible in all *France*; as for inſtance, the new High-Conſtable perfidious *Richmond*, with forty thouſand men layd Siege to the good Town of St. *James* in *Beuzon*, the Garriſon whereof conſiſted but of ſix hundred Engliſh, who being driven to ſome extremity, ſallied forth, crying Saint *George*, a *Salisbury*; which word of *Salisbury* ſo frighted the French, thinking hee had been come to reſcue them, that caſting away their weapons, they ran all away, ſaving ſome few that yielded themſelves priſoners, leaving all their Tents, fourteen Peeces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour, and ſome treaſure behinde them. After which, other Caſtles, as that of *Beaumont*, of *Vicount*, *Tenney*, *Gilly*, *Oſee*, *Ruſey*, *Vaſicke*, and many more were taken in by Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falſtaffe*; ſo as once againe the French are glad to betake themſelves to their old courſe of fraud; they compounded with a *Gaſcoigne* Captaine for delivery of *Alanſon* to them; whereof the Regent having notice, he ſent the Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *John Falſtaffe* to prevent it, who encountering with *Charles de Villiers*, that with two hundred horſe, and three hundred foot, was come to the place appointed for entry, tooke and ſlew them all, except ſome few horſe, which ſaved themſelves by flying. After which, the Earle of *Salisbury* tooke in and demoliſhed above forty Caſtles and ſtrong Piles, for which there was publique thankſgiving to God in *London*.

Whil'ſt theſe things were done in *France*, an unkinde variance fell out betweene the Protector, and his brother the Biſhop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor: for appeaſing whereof, the Rgent having ſubſtituted the Earle of *Warwick* Lievtenant Generall in his abſence, came into *England*, where in a Parliament he compounded

all

all differences between them: in honour whereof, king *Henry* kept a solemne feast; at which time the Regent dubbed the King knight, not yet above foure yeares old; and then the King presently invested with that dignity many of his servants: and *Edmund Mortimer* the last Earle of *March*, at this time dying, his Inheritance descended to *Richard Plantagenet* sonne and heire to *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge* beheaded at *Southampton*, who was now created Duke of *York*, & was afterward father to king *Edward* the fourth: and at this time also, *John Mowbray* sonne and heire to *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, banished before by king *Richard* the second, was restored to the Title of Duke of *Norfolk*. And now, all things peaceably setled in *England*, the Regent, with the Bishop of *Winchester*, returned into *France*; where, at the intercession of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, the Duke of *Alanson* was ransomed, for two hundred thousand Crownes: and the Bishop of *Winchester* returned to *Callice*, where he was invested with the dignity and Hat of a Cardinall, which his brother the Regent put upon his head.

About this time, the Duke of *Gloucester*, Protector, tooke some blemish in his honour, by marying another mans wife, *Jaqueline* Countesse of *Haynoult*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, who was maried before to *John* Duke of *Brabant* yet living, and had lived with him ten moneths as his lawfull wife, but at that time upon some discontent gone from him, intending to be divorced: at which injury offered to the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being his Cosin, tooke so great offence, that first by friendly letters he admonished the Duke of *Gloucester* of it, and that not prevailing, they grew to termes of challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed; but in the meane time, the Lady betrayed, was caried to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who conveyed her to *Gaunt*; from whence, by friendship of a Burgonian knight, in mans apparell she escaped into *Holland*, and there made a defensive warre against her husband the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Burgoigne*. To her ayd, the Duke of *Gloucester* sent the Lord *Fitzwater*, with a Power of a thousand men: but she being discomfited by the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Pope also pronouncing the first marriage legall, the Duke of *Gloucester* deserted her, and then tooke for a second wife *Eleanor* daughter of the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, his old mistresse: and the Lady *Jaqueline*, after the death of *John* Duke of *Brabant*, maried a meane Gentleman, whom the Duke of *Burgoigne* imprisoned, and brought herselfe to live in much trouble.

And now in *France*, the Constable with forty thousand men besieged the Town of S. *James de Beauron*; and having made a breach fit for assault, whilst his Captaines stood streining of courtesie, which of them should first enter, Sir *Nicolas Burdet* with all his forces sallied forth, crying aloud, A *Salisbury*, a *Suffolk*; whose names struck such a terrour into the besiegers, that they stood like men amazed, of whom six hundred were slaine, two hundred drowned in the ditches, fifty taken prisoners, with eighteen Standards, and the Constable was glad to quit the place, and give over the Siege.

At the same time also, the Earle of *Warwick* and the L. *Scales*, with seven thousand besieged *Pontersom* many weekes together; but Provision waxing scant, the Lord *Scales* with three thousand men went a forraging into the Enemies Country; and in his returne with plenty of provision, was encountred with six thousand French, of whom he slew many hundreds, tooke above a thousand prisoners, and then returned safe into the Campe.

About this time also, Sir *John Falstaffe* besieged the strong Towne of *Graville*, which after twelve dayes, offered to render it selfe by a day, if it were not relieved. The offer was taken, and Pledges delivered: but before the day came, they within the Towne had victualled and manned the place, and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refused to render the Castle according to agreement: whereupon the Pledges were brought before the sight of them within the Castle, and there openly put to death.

And now a conspiracy of the Clergie and Magistrates in *Maunt* so prevailed, that the Marshals of *France* with five hundred men, about midnight came to the Town-

walls; where the Guard of the Engliſh, by thoſe that ſeemed their friends, were ſuddenly maſſacred, and ſetting open the Gates, made way for the Enemy to enter: whereupon, the Alarum given, the Earle of *Suffolk* with the ſurviving Engliſh withdrew to the Caſtle, wherein they were ſharply aſſayled by the French, who yet had more minde to ranſack houſes, and to make good cheere: whereof the Lord *Talbot* having intelligence by Captaine *Goſſe*, whom he had ſent to diſcover the ſtate of the French, he ſecretly gave notice to the Earle of *Suffolk*, who thereupon ſallied forth of the Caſtle at a time when the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troopes, and on both ſides crying, St. *George*, a *Talbot*, they fell upon the careleſſe French, who loſt foure hundred of their beſt men, the reſt were all taken, the Town re-gained, and the Conſpiratours, thirty Citizens, twenty Prieſts, and fifteen Friers, condemned and put to execution.

Whilſt theſe things went on proſperouſly in *France*, a great diſaſter fell out in *England*; for the right Noble *Thomas Beauford* (ſonne of *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Katherine Swinford*) Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of the King, makes king *Henry* his heire, and at *Eaſt-Greenwich* in *Kent* ended his life; whoſe place was preſently ſupplyed by the Earle of *Warwick*, and the Earles place in *France*, by the Earle of *Salisbury*; who thereupon with five thouſand men came to *Orleance*, and beſieged the City, and won from the French the great fort. But here happened another great diſaſter: for from an high tower in this fort, the Beſiegers obſerved the paſſages of the Townſmen, when the Noble Earle of *Salisbury*, intending to informe himſelfe of the ſtate of the Towne, unfortunately looking out at a window of the fort, with Sir *Thomas Gargrave*; a great ſhot from the Town ſtriking the barres of the window, the ſplinters thereof were driven into his head and face; of which wounds, within eight dayes he died. This was now a ſecond weakning to the Engliſh party: but in his place the Earle of *Suffolk* ſucceeded; to whom the Regent ſendeth Sir *John Falſtaffe* with freſh ſupplies, whom the Lord *de la Bret*, nine thouſand ſtrong, endeavours to intercept: but Sir *John* reſolving to abide the charge, placeth his cariages behind, the horſe next, and the foot before, lining his bowes with bill-men, and pitching ſtakes behind the Archers, who having diſcharged their firſt volley, retired behind the ſtakes: on which the French, forgetting their former defeats by that courſe, ran and goared their horſes; by which their Vaward being diſordered, the Battaile made a ſtand: which Sir *John* perceiving, cryeth out, St. *George! They flie!* at which words they fled indeed, and loſt two thouſand five hundred of their men, with the Lords *de la Bret*, and *William Steward*; eleven hundred were taken Priſoners: with whom, and a rich booty, they came to the Campe before *Orleance*. Hereof the beſieged having notice, they offered to ſubmit themſelves to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who was contented to receive them, ſo as the Regent would conſent: But the Regent conſented not; and therefore in the meane time, the beſieged made meanes to the Duke of *Alanſon*, who furniſhed the Towne with freſh Forces and Proviſion; which put ſuch ſpirits into the Citizens, that they made a ſally out, ſlew ſix hundred Engliſh, and adventured upon the Baſtile, where the Lord *Talbot* commanded, who repelled them with great ſlaughter of their men; but yet the next day the Earle of *Suffolk* gave over his ſiege, and diſperſed his Army into their Garriſons.

And now the wheele of Fortune began to turn to the French againſt the Engliſh, which once ſet a going, was not eaſie to be ſtayed. And firſt, the Duke of *Alanſon* tooke by aſſault the Towne of *Jargeux*, and in it the Earle of *Suffolk* and one of his brothers, and ſlew Sir *Alexander Pole* another of his brothers, and many other Priſoners in cold blood, by reaſon of a contention amongſt the French, to whom the Priſoners ſhould belong. Preſently upon this, another great blow was given the Engliſh: for the Lords *Talbot*, *Scales*, and *Hungerford*, going to fortifie the Town of S. *Meuns*, were encountred by the ſaid Duke of *Alanſon*, and *Arthur* of *Britaine*, with three and twenty thouſand men: with whom the Engliſh Lords interchanged ſome blowes; but oppreſſed with multitude, were all three taken priſoners, all ſore wounded, twelve hundred of their company ſlaine, and the reſt hardly eſcaping

to

to *Meaux*, where they fortified themſelves the beſt they could againſt future aſſaults.

Theſe were great blowes given to the Engliſh fortune in *France*; *Salisbury* ſlaine, and now *Talbot* taken priſoner: which though they made her a little to totter, yet there muſt be greater blowes given before ſhe will fall. And indeed, theſe diſaſters were ſeconded by the perfidous ſurrender of many Townes and ſtrong Holds to the French king; who now encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, marcheth into *Champaigne*, where by compoſition he tooke *Troyes* the chiefe City of that Province; *Chalons* rebelleth, and enforceth their Captaine to yield it up: by whoſe example the Citizens of *Rhemes* doe the like, where the French king is anew Proclaimed, and with accuſtomed ceremonies Anointed and Crowned; whereupon many Townes ſubmit themſelves to him, and revolt from the Engliſh. Upon this, the Duke of *Bedford* (to make the French know, that all the Engliſh ſtrength conſiſted not in onely *Salisbury* and *Talbot*) with ten thouſand Engliſh, beſides Normans, marched out of *Paris*, and ſent letters of defiance to the French king, affirming, that deceitfully and by unjuſt meanes he had ſtolne many Cities and places of importance belonging to the Crown of *England*; which he was come to juſtifie by battell, if he would appoint a time and place. To which the King of *France* making a ſlight anſwer, the Regent marcheth apace towards him, and as faſt the King of *France* marcheth away: The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came neere *Senlys*: there both the Armies encamped and embattelled, yet only ſome light ſkirmiſhes paſſed between them; and a night or two after, the French king fled with his Army to *Bray*: which the Duke thinking to be but a plot to draw him further off from *Paris*, of whoſe fidelity he had no great aſſurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which time, the Regents brother the Cardinall, having prepared forces to aſſiſt Pope *Martin* in *Bohemia*, the Regent borrowed them of him for a preſent expedition, and with them marched into *Champaigne*, where he found the French king encamped upon the Mount *Piball*; whoſe number being twice as many as the Regents, yet by no provocations could he be drawn to battell, but ſecretly fled to *Criſpis*; whereupon the Regent alſo returned to *Paris*.

Whilſt theſe things are done in *France*, In *England*, upon St. *Leonards* day the 6 of November 1429, King *Henry* not yet eight yeers old, was with great ſolemnity Crowned at *Weſtminſter*: at whoſe Coronation were made ſix and thirty Knights of the Bathe, and after the ſolemnity, a feaſt; and if any man deſire to know ſo much Cookery, hee may read in *Fabian*, all the diſhes of meate that were ſerved at that feaſt.

About this time, in *France*, a ſtrange Impoſtor ariſeth; a maid called *la Pucelle*, taking upon her to be ſent from God, for the good of *France*, and to expell the Engliſh: and ſome good indeed ſhe did; for by her ſubtle working, the King was received into *Champaigne*, and many Townes were rendred to him; whil'ſt the Lord *Longuevile* tooke by ſurprize the Caſtle of *Aumarle*, and ſlew all the Engliſh that were in it. But all theſe were but petty acqueſts to the king of *France*: there is a knot of friendſhip between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which muſt be broken, or he will never be able to compaſſe his deſignes. He therefore labours by all meanes poſſible to diſunite them; wherein he ſo little prevailed, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* acquaints the Regent with all the practiſes; who thereupon, with many thanks, exhorteth him to continue firme, of which he ſhould never have cauſe to repent him: And becauſe *Normandy* was a principall part of the Engliſh ſtrength in *France*, he goeth thither, and by many reaſons perſwades them, as their Anceſtors had alwayes been, to be faithfull to the Crown of *England*.

In this time of the Regents abſence from *Paris*, the King of *France* drew all his forces thither, uſing all meanes poſſible, by Eſcalado, Battery, and burning the gates, to enter the City; but was ſo withſtood by the vigilancy of the Citizens, that he was glad to ſound Rerreat, leaving his ſlaine and maimed ſouldiers behind him, all but the *Pucelle*, who being hurt in the legge, and almoſt ſtifled with myre in the ditch, was by a ſervant of the Duke of *Alanſon* drawne up, and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who by the way received the ſubmiſſion of the Inhabitants of *Laigny*.

Some other ſervices were performed on both ſides, by the Duke of *Suffolk* and Sir *Thomas Kyriell*, for the Engliſh; by the Baſtard of *Orleance* and Sir *Stephen le Hye*, for the French; but of no great importance: till at laſt, the *Pucelle* (who a little before had cauſed an Engliſh Captaines head to be cut off, becauſe he would not humble himſelfe to her upon his knee) was by Sir *John* of *Lutzemburgh* taken, and preſented to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who ſent her to the Regent, and he to the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, who judicially proceeding againſt her as a Sorcereſſe, and deceiver of the King and his ſubjects, ſhe was (after many delayes of promiſe to diſcover ſecret practiſes, and laſtly of her feigning to bee with childe) publickly burnt at *Roan*.

And now, the Regent finding how much the Crowning of the French king had furthered his deſignes, he made account the like effect would follow the Crowning of King *Henry* in *France*: whereupon he is ſent for to come over; and comming to *Paris*, was, by his Uncle the Biſhop of *Winchester* and Cardinall of *Euſebius*, not yet above nine yeares oid, with all uſuall ceremonies Crowned King of *France*, receiving the oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the French Nobility that were preſent, and of all the Inhabitants of *Paris*, and of the places adjacent. Upon this, Pope *Eugenius* laboured a Reconcilement between the two Kings, but could effect nothing, but onely a Truce for ſix yeeres: which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns into *England*, and landeth at *Dover*, the eleventh of *February*. But the ſix-yeares Truce was ſcarce openly Proclaimed, when the French had cunningly poſſeſſed themſelves of divers Caſtles and places of ſtrength, juſtifying their actions, affirming, That what was politickly obtained without blowes, was no infringement of the Truce: and afterwards they perfidiouſly conveyed two hundred men into the Caſtle of *Roan*, with intent to have ſurprized it; but being diſcovered, they were all taken, and either ranſomed, or put to execution. Upon this, the Regent (whoſe wife, the Siſter of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being lately dead, and he maried againe to *Jaqueline* the Earle of S. *Pauls* daughter, with whom he went over into *England*) returned againe to *Paris*; to whom the Lord *Talbot*, having now paid his ranſome, commeth, bringing with him ſeven hundred tryed ſouldiers; and with them the Regent takes the field, where the French Army lay; but the French ſlunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a battell.

About this time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, taken at the battell of *Agincourt*, after eighteen yeares impriſonment, paying eighteen thouſand pounds for his Ranſome, the ſame day he was enlarged, dyed at *London*.

And now a very great effect was produced out of a very ſmall cauſe: There had been ſparks of unkindneſſe between the two great Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which brake out into a flame upon this occaſion: A time and place was appointed, where they ſhould meet to compound ſome differences that were between them; The place agreed upon, was St. *Omers*, a Town in *Burgoigne*: When the time came, they ſtood upon this nice point, Which of them ſhould firſt come to the place; as thinking that he which did ſo, ſhould thereby acknowledge himſelfe to be the meaner perſon. The Duke of *Bedford* thought he had no reaſon to doe it, ſeeing he was Regent of *France*, and therefore ſuperiour to any ſubjeſt in the Kingdome: And the Duke of *Burgoigne* thought he had no reaſon to doe it, ſeeing it was to be done in his own Dominions, where he was himſelfe the Soveraigne Lord. Upon this nice point they parted without meeting; and the unkindneſſe grew afterward to ſo great hatred, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* choſe rather to be friends with him that had murthered his father, than ever to have any more commerce with the Duke of *Bedford*. Thus was one great branch of aſſiſtance lopt off from the Engliſh, which had been a great meanes before to make it flouriſh: and it was not ſo much, that the aſſiſtance was taken from the Engliſh, as that it was added to the French; for after this, the Duke of *Burgoigne* brought more aſſiſtance to the new king of *France*, than ever he had done before to the King of *England*. By which we may ſee, when the Divine Providence hath a worke to effect, what ſlight occaſions it oftentimes takes to effect the worke.

Great

Great blowes had been given before in *France*, to the Engliſh fortune by the enemie, but now a blow was given to it by Deſtiny, which made the Enemyes blowes the more incurable; for now the wiſe, valiant, faithfull Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou*, and *Alanſon*, Earle of *Mayne*, *Harcourt*, *Drieux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlile*, and Viſcount *Beamont*; upon the fourteenth of *September* 1435, ended his life at *Paris*, which was in a manner the ending the life of the Engliſh fortune in *France*: all former blowes had beene upon inferior members, but this was a blow upon the head, and therefore mortall, and indeed the Engliſh fortune in *France*, never after lifted up its head, but very weakely. He was buried in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, whereat the Nobility of *Normandy* much repined, who would have had their owne Territory honored with his Sepulchre: yet ſee the levity of theſe men, who a few years after, in the Reigne of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles*, would have had his Monument to have beene demoliſhed, as being diſhonorable, ſuch an Arch enemie to *France*, ſhould be interred in the Metropolitan Citie of that Province: But *Lewis* anſwered, God forbid, I ſhould give way to ſo diſhonorable an act, to diſquiet his dead bones, who living would have diſquieted us all, and it ſavours of too much baſeneſſe to inſult upon a dead Lyon.

But yet in theſe diſaſters, there might have beene ſome reparation by a good Succeſſor, had not Envy and Ambition bred diſturbance; the Duke of *Somerſet* deſired the Succeſſion, but the Duke of *Yorke* obtained it; which bred ſuch an envy in the Duke of *Somerſet* towards him, that he laboured nothing ſo much as to croſſe his deſignes, and was a meanes to hinder the Duke of *Yorke* going to his charge ſo long, that the *Pariſians* had time to thinke of freeing themſelves from the Engliſh ſervitude; and thereupon the Citie after it had remained ſeventeen yeares in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, yeilds to the Conſtable, and upon compoſition expels all the Engliſh; and which was worſe, many other Towns followed this example of *Paris*, for what Town would not willingly do as *Paris* did, the epitome as it were of all *France*? and which they ſtick not to call *Le Monde de Paris*, as though there were upon earth no other world but *Paris*. Even the Normans, who had alwaies been moſt firm to the Engliſh, yea had run the ſame courſe, if the Lord *Talbot* had not kept them in awe, with the ſlaughter of five thouſand of them that way inclined. And now after theſe great loſſes, we muſt be content to play ſmaller game, caſt at Caſtles and Forts, and ſome ſmall Towns, like the ſtruggling of dying men, doing acts of life, till there be no more life remaining; And this was now our caſe in *France*. The new Regent with eight thouſand Souldiers arrived at *Morſlow*, and from thence marcheth to *Roan*, where he wonne the reputation of juſtice and uprightneſſe, notwithſtanding all the calumniations of the Duke of *Somerſet*: when the revolted Duke of *Burgoigne* pretending title to the Town of *Callis*, approacheth it with an Army of forty thouſand men, takes the poore *Baſtile* of *Oye*, and ſlaughters and hangs many of the defendants. The *Piccards* beſieged the Caſtle of St. *Marks*, took it, and demoliſhed it; from thence they begirt *Callis* with a ſiege, but were repelled: Then the Duke of *Burgoigne* ſent the Lord *Croy* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Guyſnes*, but were repelled there alſo: In the meane time *Pembroke* the Herald brought a defiance to the Duke of *Burgoigne* from the Duke of *Glocester* the Protector, that he would give him battell if he would abide it; to whom the Duke of *Burgoigne* anſwered, he ſhould be ſure to finde him where he now was: Whereupon he calleth a Councell, and whilſt they are debating what is beſt to be done, the *Callicians* make a ſallye, take the *Baſtile* which they had builded, by force, and ſlew eight ſcore of the *Burgoignons*, which ſo terrified them, that they upbraid the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and make both him, and the Lord *Croy* to quit their quarters, and in ſuch haſte to be gone, that they left a great part of their beſt Ordnance, and all their Proviſion for the reliefe and helpe of the beſieged; and it ſeemes they had reaſon ſo to do, for the next day being the ſeven and twentieth of *July*, the Duke of *Glocester* landed at *Callis*, with five and twenty thouſand good fighting men, who finding the enemy recoiled, forraged all the Countrey thereabout, and for the ſpace of ſixe weekes harrowed all the parts of *Flanders*, *Artheis*, and *Hainault*; and then returning by St. *Omers*, *Ardre*, and *Guyſnes*, arrived at *Callis*.

And

And now we must look a little home, for the D. of *Yorke* returning into *England* findes the Castle of *Roksborough* besieged by the King of *Scots*, with thirty thousand men; but he hearing of the Earle of *Northumberlands* approach, and the Dukes returne, incontinently fled. And now againe to *France*, where the Towne of *Harfleu* was sold to the French, but the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Talbot* besetting it both by sea and land; though the Earle of *Ewe*, and the Bastard of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, with foure thousand men came to relieve it, yet upon composition, it was surrendred.

And here we may have leave to speake of a private matter; for about this time the Dutchesse of *Bedford* married Sir *Richard Woodvile*, a gallant young Gentleman, but of small meanes, which though it offended her friends, yet it seems offended not God, who made her mother of many children by him; and amongst the rest, of the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to King *Edward* the fourth. Also about this time *James* King of *Scots*, who before had beene eighteene years Prisoner in *England*, and afterward released, with a wife of a noble house, a great Dowre, and many honorable Presents, yet proved ungratefull, was murthered in his bed-chamber by night, whose murtherers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now againe to *France*; when the Duke of *Burgoigne* could neither by force nor policie take *Callice*, he attempted a ridiculous practise, to cut a ditch that should drown both the Town and Country; but after much labour and expence, his designe like a vapour vanished into ayre. The Lord *Talbot* besieged *Tankerwile*, and after foure moneths siege, hath it rendred to him: In revenge whereof, the French King in his owne person layes siege to *Monstreau*; which whil'st the Duke of *Yorke* was providing to rescue, he was discharged of his office, done of purpose by his enemies, to lay a blot upon him: A lamentable thing in a State, when private envy shall be suffered to undermine the publique safety; and by this meanes Sir *Thomas Gerard* had the more opportunity to sell the Towne, for which, if he were a gainer in money, he was yet a loser in reputation, and hated both of French and English, in much discontent dyed. *Arthur* Constable of *France*, and *John* Duke of *Alanson* besieged the Towne of *Avranches*, but were with dishonor repelled by the Lord *Talbot*: After this, *Le Hyre* sent Letters to them, that he had a promise from divers Burgers of *Roan* to let them in at any time appointed, against which time they came to *Ryne*, within foure leagues of *Roan*; but the Lord *Talbot* having notice hereof, marched covertly to *Roan*, and from thence before day to *Ryne*, where he surprizeth the French, takes the Lord *Fountaines*, Sir *Allan Geron*, and many others, and with a rich booty returneth to *Roan*. The sixt day of *November*, in the sixteenth year of the Kings Reign, the Earle of *Warwicke* having oftentimes been aboord, and still beaten back by tempest, landed at *Harfleu* with a thousand fresh Souldiers, and from thence came to *Roan*; but in the meane time the Duke of *Burgoigne* seeing no new Regent yet come, besiegeth the Towne of *Crotoy*, to the reliefe whereof, the new Regent now come, sent the Lord *Talbot* with five thousand men, whose approach the Duke not enduring, retired to *Abbeyle*, leaving onely foure hundred, with whom hee had manned the *Bastyle* by him there erected, which was soone gained, and all the souldiers either taken or slaine. And here the valiant *Talbot* sent word to the Duke, that if he would save his Countrey from vastation, he should come to a battell; but the Duke not liking the match, conveighs himselfe to *Amyens*: Twenty dayes together did the Lord *Talbot* with fire and sword passe through *Piccardie*, and *Arthois* without opposition, and then returned: Sir *Thomas Kyriell* seized upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordnance; and having left in *Crotoy* victuall enough for six hundred men for a whole yeare, he brought the rest to the Earle of *Warwicke*. And now *Henry* Earle of *Mortaigne*, Son to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, arrived with two hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears, took the Castle of St. *Anyon*, wherein were three hundred Scots and French; the Scots he slew all, and hanged the French, because they had sworn fealty to *England*, and broke it; he tooke likewise the Castle of *Algarche*, and by meanes of an ambush, taketh the Lord *Camerois*, comming to the rescue thereof. On the other side, the Towns of *Neux* in *Brye*, and *Busan* were sold

and

and delivered to the French by the treacherous Burgers. In *June*, the Earle of *Huntington* with two thousand Archers, and foure thousand Speares was sent into *Gascoigne*, whither the Earle of *Dunois* was lately come to buy Townes and Castles, but the Earle of *Huntington* upon his comming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, whereby he prevented all such bargains; and so farre had bribery spread it selfe at this time, that even in *Normandy*, the English Captaines had but small confidence in the Natives, and not much in some of their owne Nation; whereupon Sir *Richard Woodvile*, Sir *William Chamberlaine*, and sir *William Peto* were sent thither to stop the current of that corruption.

At this time, the Councell of *Feance* procured a reconcilement between the king and the Dolphin, who had beene long in jealousies and dissention; which if it had not beene done, the kingdome had beene torne with Factions, and never beene able to subsist.

And now in a great frost and snow, the English under the conduct of Sir *John Clifford*, having covered their Armour with white shirts, and their heads with white *Almain* skulls, came to *Pontbois* by night, and undiscovered past the ditches, scaled the walls, slew the Guards, and tooke the Towne; but this good lucke was accompanied with a bad of more importance, for presently upon it, the Earle of *Warwicke* dyed in the Castle of *Roan*, and conveyed into *England*, was buried in his Castle of *Warwicke*. To reduce *Pontbois*, the French King in person layeth siege unto it; when *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* being the second time made Regent, having with him the Earle of *Oxford*, and the Earle of *Eme*, levyes a power to raise the Siege; and arriving there, sends word to the King, that the next morning he would give him battell; but the King liked not his bidding, but leaving his Ordnance, at midnight stole away to *Poyssy*; thither also the Regent followes him, but with no provocations could draw him to fight.

About this time, a treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at *Calis*, by the mediation of the Dutchesse of *Burgoigne*, a Portugall Lady; Commissioners meet of both sides, but nothing concluded, only the Duke of *Orleance* who had been prisoner to the English five and twenty years, is by the Dutchesse mediation, ransomed with three hundred thousand Crowns of the Duke of *Burgoignes* money. The Lord *Willoughby* besiegeth *Deepe*, which the Dolphin with sixteene thousand men commeth to raise; and there young *Talbot* is taken prisoner, with Sir *John Peto*, and sir *John Ropley*, but are shortly after redeemed by exchange. And now another weakning happened to the English party, the Earle of St. *Paul* forsakes them, and is reconciled to the King of *France*. The English lay siege to *Tartus*, for the raysing whereof, the French King marcheth thither with 60000 men, relieveth the Towne, and then marcheth to *Severyne*, which he taketh in, and in it, Sir *John Rampston*; after which, he tooke in *Arques*, but then the English cutting off all convoyes of victualls from comming to him, he is forced to returne; after whose departure, the English recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant prisoner, slaying or hanging all his Souldiers. In this meane while the Lord *Talbot* taketh in *Conquet*, and driveth the Bastard of *Orleance* from the siege of *Goglierida*; but the French in the Castle of *Cornhill* detained many English prisoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir *Francis* the Aragonist used this stratagem; he apparelled halfe a dozen lusty fellowes like Peasants, carrying baskets with corne and victualls, and sends them to the Castle, while he with his company lyes in ambush, in a Valley neere the Castle; the six unsuspected are admitted, and comming to the Captaines chamber, seize upon him, and withall give the signe to the ambush, who comming readily on, entred the Castle, put the Souldiers to the sword, set the prisoners at liberty, burnt downe the Castle, and with the booty and Captaine of the Castle, returned to *Roan*.

Whilst these alternations passed in *France*, a more unnaturall passed in *England*, the Uncle riseth against the Nephew, the Nephew against the Uncle; The Duke of *Gloucester* Articles against the Cardinall, charging him with affecting Preheminence, to the derogation of the Kings Prerogative, and contempt of his Lawes;

which

which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Councell, who being moſt of the Clergie, durſt not meddle in them, for offending the Cardinall. On the other ſide, the Cardinall finding nothing whereof directly to accuſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* himſelfe, accuſeth his other ſelfe, the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* the Dukes wife, of Treaſon, for attempting by ſorcery and witchcraft the death of the King, and advancement of her huſband to the Crown: for which, though acquited of the Treaſon, ſhe is adjudged to open Penance, namely, to goe with a wax taper in her hand, hoodleſſe (ſave a kerchiffe) through *London*, divers dayes together, and after to remaine in perpetuall impriſonment in the Iſle of Man. The crime objected againſt her, was procuring *Thomas Southwell*, *John Hunne* Prieſts, *Roger Bollingbroke* a ſuppoſed Necromancer, and *Margery Jourdan* called the Witch of *Eye* in *Suffolke*, to deviſe a picture of waxe in proportion of the king, in ſuch ſort by ſorcery, that as the picture conſumed, ſo the kings body ſhould conſume: for which they were all condemned; the witch was burnt in Smithfield; *Bollingbrooke* was hanged, conſtantly affirming upon his death, that neither the Dutcheſſe, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, than onely to know by his art, how long the king ſhould live: *John Hunne* had his pardon; and *Southwell* dyed the night before he ſhould have been executed.

About this time, the Counteſſe of *Cominges* being dead, the king of *France* and the Earle of *Arminiack* are Competitors for the Inheritance: The Earle takes poſſeſſion; but fearing the King of *France* his greatneſſe, makes offer of his daughter in mariage to the King of *England*, with a large portion in money, and beſides, to deliver full poſſeſſion of all ſuch Townes and Caſtles as were by him or his Anceſtors detained in *Aquitaine*, and had been formerly by the Progenitors of the King of *England*, conquered. The Ambaſſadors for this buſineſſe, were by King *Henry* graciouſly heard, and honorably returned: after whom were ſent Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Roſe* and others, to conclude all things, and the young Lady is by Proxy affianced to king *Henry*. But the king of *France* not liking the proceeding of the match, ſendeth the Dolphin with a puiſſant Army, who tooke the Earle, with his youngeſt ſonne, and both his daughters, and gained the Counties of *Arminiack*, *Louverne*, *Rouergue*, *Mouleſſenois*, with the Cities of *Severac* and *Cadeack*, chaſing the Baſtard of *Arminiack* out of the Country; by meanes whereof, the mariage was then deferred, and left in ſuſpenſe.

In this diſtraction of Chriſtendome, many Princes, the kings of *Spaine*, *Denmark*, and *Hungary*, became Mediators for a Peace between the two kings of *France* and *England*: Ambaſſadors of both ſides are ſent, many meetings were had, many motions made, but in concluſion, onely a Truce for eighteen moneths is agreed upon. In the meane time, the Earle of *Suffolk* one of the Commiſſioners for the Peace, takes upon him beyond his Commiſſion, and without acquainting his fellowes, to treat of a mariage between the king of *England*, and a kinſwoman of the king of *France*, Neece to the French Queene, daughter to *Reyner* Duke of *Anjou*, ſtiling himſelfe king of *Sicilie* and *Naples*: In which buſineſſe he was ſo intentive, that it brought an aſperſion upon him of being bribed: but howſoever, an Enterview betwixt the two kings is appointed, without any warrant of king *Henries* part, to be between *Charters* and *Roan*. The Commiſſioners returne; the Earle of *Suffolk* ſets forth the beauty of the propoſed Bride, and the great benefits that would redound to the kingdome by this match. The king was eaſily induced to credit the relation; but divers of the kings Councell, eſpecially the Duke of *Gloceſter*, oppoſed it; partly for the meanneſſe of the match, her father being onely a Titular Prince, and withall but poore, unable to give any portion at all; and partly, for the wrong which ſhould hereby be offered to the Duke of *Arminiacks* daughter, to whom the king had been in ſolemne manner publickly affianced. But Reaſons could not prevaile againſt favour: the Earle of *Suffolks* affirmation muſt not be undervalued. And hereupon, a new creation of Lords firſt made; (*John Beaufort* Earle of *Somerſet*, made Duke of *Somerſet*; *John* Lord *Talbot* made Earle of *Shrewsbury*; *John Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, made Duke of *Exeter*; *Humfry* Earle of *Stafford*, made Duke of *Buckingham*;

Henry

Henry Beauchampe Earle of *Warwick*, made Duke of *Warwick*; *Edmund Beaufo.* Earle of *Dorſet*, made Marqueſſe *Dorſet*; and *William de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, made Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*:) this new Marqueſſe honorably accompanied, is ſent into *France* to fetch the Lady *Margaret* the propoſed Bride; who ſhortly after is married at *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, and crowned Queen of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, on the 30 day of May 1444, in the three and twentieth yeare of king *Henries* Reigne. And now in ſtead of benefits by this mariage, there preſently followed great inconveniences: for firſt, in exchange of her perſon, the Dutchy of *Anjou*, the City of *Mauns*, with the whole County of *Mayne*, (the beſt props of the Dutchy of *Normandy*) are agreed to be ſurrendred into the hands of the French: and then the Duke of *Arminiack*, to revenge the injury offred to his daughter, is a meanes to expell the Engliſh out of all *Aquitaine*.

At this time, the Duke of *Somerſets* ſpleen againſt the Duke of *Yorke*, not onely is revived, but is growne ſtronger; for the Duke of *Yorke*, who was now after the death of the Earle of *Warwick*, made the ſecond time Regent of *France*, is ſo undermined by him, through aſſiſtance of the new Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*, who bore now all the ſway with the King and Queen; that not onely he ſupplanted him in his place, but planted himſelfe in it, to the great heart-burning of the Duke of *York* and his friends; but he wiſely diſſembled his anger, and for the preſent paſſed it over. And now is no man in grace, but the new Marqueſſe of *Suffolk*; all favours from the King and Queene muſt paſſe by him, and the extent of his power over-reacheth all the Councell: He gets of the King the wardſhip of the body and lands of the Counteſſe of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, ſole daughter and heire of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, afterward mother to king *Henry* the ſeventh. And now, the kings weakneſſe in judgement growes every day more apparent then other, whil'ſt governed by no counſell, but of his Queen; and ſhe by no counſell but her owne will, and the new Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*. King *Henry* is himſelf the leaſt part of the king, and ſerves but to countenance the devices of others, whereof he little underſtands the drift; and which, proving ill, the blame muſt be his; if well, the benefit and honour, others. For by inſtigation of the Queene, he ſuffers the Duke of *Gloceſter*, for his care of the Common-wealth called the good Duke, to be excluded not onely from Command, but from the Counſell-Table; and permits Informers, ſet on by the Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Cardinall Biſhop of *Winchester*, and the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, to come againſt him; who lay to his charge, that he had cauſed divers perſons to be executed contrary to Law: wherein though he juſtified himſelfe, yet no juſtification would be heard; but to avoyd tumultuary part-taking, it was concluded, he ſhould be privately convicted and condemned: and to this end, a Parliament by the procurement of his enemies, unwitting to the king, is called at *Bury*; to which the Duke of *Gloceſter* reſorting, is, on the ſecond day of the Seſſion, by the Lord *Beamont* L. High Conſtable (aberted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arreſted and put in Ward, all his followers ſequeſtred from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to ſeverall priſons; and the next day after his impriſonment, he is found in his bed, murthered; yet ſhewed the ſame day, as though he had dyed of an Impoſthume; though all that ſaw his body, ſaw plainly that he dyed of a violent and unnaturall cauſe: ſome ſay, ſtrangled; ſome, that a hot ſpit was put up at his fundament; and ſome, that he was ſtifled between two featherbeds. His corps the ſame day was conveyed to St. *Albans*, and there buried. Five of his meniall ſervants, Sir *Roger Chamberlaine* knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Arnis*, Eſquires, and *John Needham* Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered; and hanged they were at *Tiburne*, let downe quick, ſtript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered; but then the Marqueſſe of *Suffolk*, to make a ſhew as though he had no hand in the buſineſſe, brought their Pardon, and deliuered it at the place of Execution, and ſo their lives were ſaved. This no unmemorable thing which Sir *Thomas Moore* writes of the pregnancy of this Duke of *Gloceſter*: It happened, the King comming one time in Progreſſe to St. *Albans*, a Begger borne blinde, as he ſaid, at the Shrine of St. *Alban* obtained his ſight: which miracle being

being noised in the Towne, the Duke of *Gloceſter* being there with the King, deſired to ſee him, whom being brought unto him, he asked if he were borne blinde, who told him, yes truly; and can you now ſee (ſaith the Earle) yes I thanke God, and St. *Albon*, ſaith the begger; then tell me ſaith the Earl, what colour is my gown? the begger readily told him the colour; and what colour ſaith the Earle is ſuch a mans gown? the begger likewiſe told him preſently, and ſo of diverſe others. Then ſaith the Earle, go you counterfeit knave, if you had been borne blinde, and could never ſee till now, how come you ſo ſuddenly to know this difference of colours? and thereupon, inſtead of an Almes, cauſed him to be ſet in the Stocks. But in the death of this Duke, the Queene who had a ſpeciall hand in it, was either not ſo intelligent, or not ſo provident as ſhe might have beene; for as long as he had lived, his Primogeniture would have kept backe the Duke of *Yorkes* claime to the Crown, being but diſcended from the fifth Sonne of *Edward* the third, where this Duke *Humphrey* was diſcended from the fourth. And here were the firſt ſeeds ſowne betweene the two houſes of *Lanceſter*, whoſe badge was the Red-roſe, and *Yorke*, whoſe badge was the White-roſe. And now upon the death of this Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Duke of *York* began amongſt his familiars privily to whiſper his right and title to the Crown; but ſo politickly carried his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, before his purpoſe was any whit diſcovered.

And in this time the rich Cardinall and Biſhop of *Wincheſter* dyes, who lying on his death bed, as Doctor *John Baker* his privie Counſellor and his Chaplain writeth, uſed ſuch like words; why ſhould I dye, ſaith he, having ſo much riches? If the whole Realme would ſave my life, I am able either by policy to get it, or by money to buy it: Fie, will not death be hired? will money do nothing? and other words to ſuch purpoſe. But he being dead, there ſucceeded in his Biſhopricke a more deſerving Prelate; *William Wanſlete*, called ſo of the place in *Lincolneſhire* where he was borne, though his name was *Patterne*, of the worſhipfull family whereof hee was deſcended. And now to the end the Marqueſſe of *Suffolke* might not come behinde them in dignity, whom he went before in power, he is about this time made Duke of *Suffolke*.

In *France* about this time a victory was gotten, which proved no better than an overthrow; Before the Truce was expired, Sir *Francis Surgens* an Aragonois, a man thought worthy to be admitted into the honorable Order of the Garter, taking advantage of the ſecurity of the French Garriſons, ſuddenly ſurprizeth a Frontier Towne called *Fougiers*, belonging to the Duke of *Brittaine*; the Duke adverti ſeth the French King thereof, who by his Ambaſſadors complaines both to the King of *England*, and to the Duke of *Somerſet* then Regent in *France*: Anſwer was made, it was the fault of the Aragonois, who did it without warrant from either the King, or the Councell; nevertheleſſe Commiſſioners are appointed to meet at *Louviers*, to treate of ſome courſe for ſatisfaction; but in the time of the Treaty, newes is brought to the Regent, that the French by a ſtratagem of a Carter that with a load of Hey comming over the Draw-bridge, cauſed the Axletree to breake; and whil'ſt the Porter was ready to helpe the Carter, the Porters braines were beaten out, the Towne of *Ardes* ſurprized, and the Lord *Fawconbridge* Captaine thereof was taken priſoner. Reſtitution being required by the Engliſh, anſwer is made them in their owne language, it was done without warrant from either the French King, or any of his Councell, ſo it was but one for another; and from thence forward the Truce is broken of both ſides, and all things grow worſe and worſe. The French King by compoſition taketh *Louviers*, *Gerbury*, and *Vernoyle*, whil'ſt the Regent ſtands demurring what were beſt to be done; If he command, not obeyed, If he counſell, not followed, as it happens to men once blemiſhed in Reputation, to have an ill conſtruction made of all their actions; by which means the French go on without reſiſtance, get *Conſtance*, *Guiſard*, *Gatiard*, St. *Loe*, *Feſtampe*, and many other pieces in *Normandy*; upon notice whereof, *Mauleſſon* in *Guyen* ſurrenders to the Earle of *Foix*, and by their example the City of *Roan* it ſelfe takes compoſition to ſurrender, where the E. of *Shrewſbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, heire to the E. of *Ormond*, were kept

pledges

pledges till it was performed. It is true, ſuccours were provided to be ſent out of *England*, under the conduct of the Duke of *Yorke*; but a Rebellion happening in *Ireland*, which was thought of more importance to be ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, diverted him and his forces thither, where not only he ſuppreſſed the Rebels, but ſo wonne the hearts of that people, that it was no ſmall furtherance to his proceedings afterward. A freſh ſupply indeed of fifteene hundred men, under the command of ſir *Thomas Kyriell* is ſent over; but what could a handfull of men do againſt ſuch multitudes as oppoſed them? for he marching with the reſt of the Army towards *Bayeux*, was encountred by the Earle of *Clermont*, with ſeven thouſand French and Scots, whom yet at firſt he made to recoyle, till the Conſtable of *France* with foure hundred men at Armes, and eight hundred Archers came to the reſcue, and then freſh men comming upon them that were already tyred, the Engliſh loſt three thouſand and above ſeven hundred, beſides divers that were taken priſoners. After this loſſe of men, followes preſently a loſſe of Towns; *Harfleet* is aſſaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir *Robert Curſon*, yet ſurrendred at laſt upon compoſition: Then the French King with an Army royall beſiegeth *Caen* in *Normandy*, a Towne belonging to the Duke of *Yorke*, defended in his abſence by his Lievtenant Sir *David Hall*, but the Duke of *Somerſet* being Regent, in commiſeration of his Dutcheſſe being in the Towne, notwithſtanding the ſtout oppoſition of Sir *David Hall*, ſurrenders it upon compoſition to the French; whereof Sir *David* giving notice to the Duke of *Yorke*, it bred ſuch a deadly quarrell between the two Dukes, that they were never after throughly reconciled. And thus is all *Normandy* recovered from the Engliſh, after it had been in their poſſeſſion a hundred years; and finally, all *France* is reduced to the obedience of *Charles* the French King.

And now hereafter there will be little to do abroad, but there will be the more to do at home, and more bloud will be ſhed in *England* by civill diſſentions, then was ſhed before in all the Wars of *France*. This loſſe of *Normandy* and other parts in *France*, is imputed much to the Duke of *Somerſet*, at that time Regent; but the Duke of *Suffolke* muſt beare a great part of the blame, partly for having beene the cauſe of the ſurrender of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, and the chiefe procurer of the Duke of *Glocesters* death, and partly for having wilfully waſted the Kings treaſure, and been a meanes to remove the ableſt men from the Councell Boord; of all which aſperſions the Queen takes notice, and knowing how far they trenched upon the Dukes deſtruction, and her own; She ſo wrought, that the Parliament aſſembled at the *Black-Friers*, is adjourned to *Leiceſter*, and from thence to *Weſtminſter*; but though all meanes were uſed to ſtop theſe accuſations againſt the Duke, yet the lower Houſe would not be taken off, but exhibited their Bill of Grievances againſt him: That he had traiterouſly incited the Baſtard of *Orleance*, the Lord *Preſigny* and others to levy warre againſt the King, to the end that thereby the King might be deſtroyed; and his Son *John*, who had married *Margaret* Daughter and ſole Heire of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, whoſe title to the Crowne the ſayd Duke had often declared, in caſe king *Henry* ſhould dye without iſſue, might come to be King; That through his treachery the French King had gotten poſſeſſion of the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and had taken priſoners the valiant Earle of *Shrewſbury*, the Lord *Fauconbridge* and others: but to theſe accuſations, he peremptorily affirmed himſelfe not guilty, ſo much as in thought. Then were further allegations made againſt him, that being with others ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, he had tranſcended his Commiſſion, and without privity of his fellow Commiſſioners, had preſumed to promiſe the ſurrender of *Anjou*, and the delivery of the County of *Maunts* to Duke *Rayner*, which accordingly was performed, to the great diſhonour of the King, and detriment of the Crowne; That he had traiterouſly acquainted the French King with all the affaires of State, and paſſages of ſecrecie, by which the enemy was throughly inſtructed in all the deſignes of the King and Councell: That he had received rewards from the French king, to divert and diſappoint all ſuccours ſent to the kings friends in *France*. Upon theſe and divers other accuſations brought againſt him, to bleare the people's eyes, he is committed to the Tower; but the Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved,

but he was set at liberty; which so incensed the common people, that they made an Insurrection; and under the leading of a desperate fellow, styling himselfe *Blew-beard*, they committed many outrages; but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Country, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased. And now another Parliament is called, where great care is taken in chusing of Burgesses, presuming thereby to stop any further proceeding against the Duke of *Suffolke*; but his personall appearance at the Parliament gave such a generall distaste to the House, though he came in the company of the king and Queene, that they forbore not to begin the Assembly, with Petitioning the king, for punishment to be inflicted upon such as had plotted or consented to the resignation of *Anjou*, and *Mayne*, whereof by name they instanced in the Duke of *Suffolke*, *John* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Sir *James Fynes*, Lord *Say* and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the upper House: whereupon, to give some satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord *Say* Lord Treasurer, is sequestred from his place, the Dukes Officers are all discarded, and himselfe formally banished for five yeares; but with an intent after the multitude had put out of minde their hatred against him, to have revoked him: but God did otherwise dispose of him, for when he was shipped in *Suffolke*, with intent to have passed over into *France*; he was met by an Englishman of War, taken and carried to *Dover* sands, and there had his head chopt off, on the side of the long-boate, which together with the body was left there on the sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of Duke *Humphry*.

Whil'st these things are done in *England*, the Duke of *Yorke* in *Ireland* began to make his way to the Crowne, as descended from *Philippe* daughter and heire of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, elder brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, great Grandfather to the present king *Henry* the sixth. And for a beginning, it is privately whispered, that king *Henry* was of a weake capacity, and easily abused; the Queene of a malignant spirit, and bloudily ambitious; the Privie Councell, if wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their private profit, then the publique good, that through their delinquencies all *France* was lost, and that God would not blesse the usurped possession of king *Henry*: with these suggestions the Kentishmen seemed to be taken; which being observed by an instrument of the Duke of *Yorke*, called *Mortimer*, he takes his time, and tells the multitude, that if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a course to worke a generall Reformation, and free them for ever from those insupportable burthens of taxations, so often, upon every slight occasion obtruded upon them. These promises of Reformation and freedome from impositions, so wrought with the people, that they drew to a head; and make *Mortimer*, otherwise *Jacke Cade* their leader, who stiling himselfe Captaine *Mend-all*, marcheth with no great number, but those well ordered, to *Black-heath*, where betweene *Eltham* and *Greenwich*, he lay by the space of a moneth, exercising his men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased: Then he presents to the Parliament the complaints of the Commons: That the Queenes favorites share amongst them the Revenews of the Crowne, whereby the king is enforced for the supportation of his present estate, to taxe and burthen the Commons, to their utter undoing, and to the generall impoverishment of the kingdome: That the Commons have their commodities daily taken from them, for the purveyance of the kings Houshold, for which they are not payd, nor any assurance for payment thereof given, but onely Court promises: That upon the apprehension of any man for treason or felony, the kings meniall servants, before conviction, begge the goods and lands of the impeached; whereupon indirect and unlawfull proceedings are used by subornation of witnesses, embracery of jurors, and great mens letters to the Judges; whereby Justice is perverted, and the innocent after attainted, if not executed, yet at least imprisoned to their undoing: That the Commons have no legall proceedings in their Law-suits, so as the rightfull owners of Inheritance, dare not (if opposed by any Courtier) maintaine their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their interest, how just so ever: That the kings Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in passing their Accompts, by new extorted Fees, and by being enforced to procure

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a late invented Writ of *Quorum nomina* for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and their suing out their *Quietus* at their own charge, without allowance from the King: That the Bayliffs of Sheriffes under colour of the green waxe out of the *Exchequer*, doe levy greater summes than are by the Record justifiable, yet maintained: That they cannot have the freedome of electing knights and Burgesses for the Parliament; but by letters from the Favorites of the Court, to their friends and Retainers; the Knights and Burgesses are commonly chosen: That they are too much troubled with too often comming to attend the generall Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five dayes journey to the place where they are kept. These and some other, were the complaints of the Commons; but the Captaine for his owne particular (after protestation made to live and dye in the quarrell of the King) required, that his Majesty would be pleased to receive again into favor, the truly noble Prince the Duke of *Yorke*, and with him the Right Honorable the Dukes of *Exeter*, *Buckingham*, and *Norfolke*, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm; by the undue practises of *Suffolke*, and his complices, commanded from his presence, and that all their opposites might be banished the Court; and put from their Offices: That there might be a generall amotion of corrupt Officers, an abolition of the Greene waxe, and other instruments of Extortion out of the *Exchequer*; a qualification of the rigour of proceeding in the *Kings-Bench*; an inhibition of unequall purveyance of provision for the Kings houshold, and a present execution of the Promoters, *Slegge*, *Cromer*, *Isell*, and *East*, whom he pretended by wrongfull information to have abused the king, and wronged his Subjects. These Petitions are sent from the Lower-House to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the kings Privy Councell, who having examined the particulars, explode them as frivilous, and the Authors thereof to be presumptuous Rebels. Whereupon the king is solicited by his Privy Councell, to prosecute them by force rather than intreaty; which advise is seconded by the Queene as conceiving they secretly aymed at her: and hereupon the king drawes his Forces to *Greenwich*, and appointeth divers Lords to assaile the Rebels; but the Lords could get no followers to fight against them who sought only for reformation of abuses; and for punishment of such Traitors as the Lord *Say* the kings Chamberlane was: whereupon the Lord *Say* is presently committed to the Tower, the king and Queene retire to *London*, from whence within two dayes, the king being now fifteen thousand strong, marcheth in Person towards Captain *Mend-all*, who politickly withdraweth his forces into *Sevenoake* wood; upon notice wherof, the king retireth again to *London*, but the Queen longing for dispatch, sends the two *Stafforde*, Sir *Humphrey*, and *William*, with many hot-spurs of the Court to follow the Rebels, who were soone cooled; for they found Captain *Mend-all* in good order, ready to receive them, and in the first encounter, slew Sir *Humphry*, and afterwards his brother, and put all the rest to flight; the k. Forces being at *Blackheath*, could neither by threats nor intreaties be gotten to go to the rescue, but rather wished the Queen and her favorites in the *Staffords* case, or that the Duke of *Yorke* were in *England*, to ayd his Cosen *Mortimer*, (now first acknowledged to be of his kindred) and many of them stole away to the Rebels, whose number from *Suffex* and *Surrey* daily encreased; whom yet their Captain restraineth from forraging or taking away any thing by force, and so returneth againe to *Blackheath*, where the kings Army lay the night before, but was now fallen down to *Greenwich*. And now the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* are sent to expostulate with the Rebels about their demands; to whom *Jacke Cade* gave very good language, but directly affirming no cessation from Arms, unlesse the king in Person would heare the grievances of the Subject, and passe his Princely word for reformation of their wrongs. This resolution of his made known to the king, who was not sure of his own Souldiers faith, made him march presently away to *Killingworth* Castle in *Warwickshire*, where he fortified himselfe, as expecting a siege, having left the Lord *Scales* onely to Guard the Tower. *Jacke Cade* taking advantage of the kings departure, commeth to *Southwarke*, where hee quarters his men, streightly charging them to commit no outrage, nor do wrong

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to any; which was duly obſerved. The next morning he marcheth to London-bridge, where he cauſed his men to cut the ropes of the Drawbridge, no reſiſtance being made againſt him; and ſo in good order marcheth up by London-ſtone, upon which he ſtrooke his ſword, ſaying, Now is *Mortimer* Lord of *London*. The Major of *London*, Sir *Thomas Chalton*, ſtanding upon the threſhold of his doore bade him take heed he attempted nothing againſt the quiet of the City: To whom he made anſwer, Let the world take notice of our honeſt intention by our actions. And indeed this orderly cariage of himſelfe and his company, wrought him a good opinion amongſt the common ſort of people: And now aſſuming to himſelfe the place of Chiefe, he ſendeth out his letters of ſafe-conduct, to ſuch whom he pleaſed to make uſe of: amongſt other, he wrote this letter to *Thomas Cock* Draper of *London*.

By this our writing enſealed, we grant, that *Thomas Cock* of London Draper, ſhall ſafely come into our preſence, and avoyd from us againe at his pleaſure, with all other perſons comming in his company. *Subſcribed thus:*

His Majeſties loyall Subject, *John Mortimer, Captaine Mend-all.*

Upon *Cocks* admiſſion, he had private conference with three other that came with him; to whom, at their departure, he gave theſe inſtructions in writing: *You ſhall charge all Lombards and Merchant-ſtrangers, Genoaes, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this day to draw themſelves together, and to ordaine for us the Captain, twelve Harneſſe complent of the beſt faſhion, foure and twenty Brigandines, twelve Battell-axes, twelve Glaves, ſixe horſes with ſaddle and bridle compleatly furniſhed, and a thouſand marks in ready money: and if they ſhall faile herein, we ſhall ſtrike off the heads of as many as we can get.* But they failed not, but ſent him what he had demanded: who thereupon the next morning, being the third of *July*, returnes to *London*; and preſently ſends to the Lord *Scales*, to bring his Priſoner the Lord *Say* to the Guildhall, whither he had called the Lord Major with his brethren; before whom he cauſed the Lord *Say* to be arraigned, who craving to be tryed by his Peeres, was forthwith taken from his keeper, caried to the Standard in *Cheap*, and there had his head chopt off, which being pitched upon a Pike, was borne before him to *Mile-end*, whither he went to have conference with the Rebels of *Eſſex*; and by the way meeting with Sir *James Cromer* High-ſheriffe of *Kent*, who had lately maried the Lord *Sayes* daughter, he cauſed his head alſo to be ſtrucken off, and caried likewiſe before him in deriſion. The next morning he came againe to *London*; where, after publick execution done upon ſome of his fellowes, and particularly upon a petty Captaine of his, named *Parie*, that had done things contrary to his Proclamation; upon a diſpleaſure taken againſt Alderman *Malpas*, he ſent and ſeized upon all his wares and goods, and fined Alderman *Horne* in five hundred marks: whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every day more inſolent than other, they ſend to the Lord *Scales* for aſſiſtance, who ſendeth *Matthew Gough* an old ſouldier to them, with ſome forces and furnitures out of the Tower; who preſently make a ſtand at the Bridge, where *Cade* notwithſtanding forceth his paſſage, and then began to ſet fire on houſes where many aged and impotent people miſerably periſhed; Captaine *Gough* Alderman, *Sutton* and *Robert Hayſon*, valiantly fighting, were ſlaine: yet upon a freſh ſupply, the Londoners recovered the bridge againe, and drove the Rebels beyond the Stoope in South-warke; at which time, both ſides being weary, agreed of a Truce, till the next day. After the Retreat, *Cade* finding he had loſt many of his beſt men, was driven for ſupply, to ſet at liberty all the Priſoners in Southwarke, aſwell Felons as Debtors: when now his company entring into conſideration of their danger, and of the deſperate ſervices their Captaine had brought them to, began to diſcover by their countenances their willingneſſe to leave this courſe: whereof the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having notice, he with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* came from the Tower by water to Southwarke, and there ſhewed the Kings Generall-Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*; which was ſo welcome to the Rebells, that without taking leave of their Captaine, they withdrew themſelves that night to their ſeverall habitations. *Jack Cade* with ſome few followers bent his

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journey to *Quinborough* Caſtle, where being denyed entrance, he diſguiſed himſelfe, and privily fled: but upon Proclamation, with promiſe of a thouſand markes to any that ſhould bring him dead or alive; he was afterward, by one *Alexander Eden* Gentleman, attached; and making reſiſtance, in a Garden at *Holmſield* in *Suſſex*, was there ſlaine; his body was brought to *London*, beheaded and quartered, his head ſet upon London bridge, his quarters diſperſed in divers places in *Kent*. Upon the news whereof, the King ſends Commiſſioners into *Kent*, to enquire of the abettours of this Rebellion: whither he followeth himſelfe in perſon, and though five hundred were found guilty, yet eight onely were executed. Though *London* were the chiefe ſtage of this Rebellion, yet other Countries were not free; eſpecially *Wiltſhire*, for the Rebels there, upon the nine and twentieth day of June, drew *William Aſket* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, from the High Altar, where he was ſaying Maſſe in *Edington* Church, to the top of the hill, and there in his Prieſtly roabes, moſt inhumanely murthered him.

This Inſurrection was not unknown to the King of *France*, who taking advantage thereof, ſeizeth upon all places which the Engliſh had in *France*, leaving them nothing but only *Calice*, and the Caſtles of *Hames* and *Guiſnes*; and this was the iſſue of the Duke of *Somerſets* Regency in *France*: whereupon comming into *England*, at a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the ſixth of November, in the nine and twentieth yeer of the Kings raigne, he was put under Arreſt; upon notice whereof, the Commons of *London* deſpoiled his houſe at Blackfriers, and ceaſed not, till Proclamation was made to inhibite them: for diſobeying whereof, there was one man beheaded, at the Standard in Cheape.

At this time, the Duke of *Yorke*, under pretence of comming to the Parliament, comes out of *Ireland*; and at *London* had private conference with *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, the Earle of *Devonſhire* and other his aſſured friends; where it was reſolved, to keep the chiefe purpoſe, (the claime to the Crown) ſecret; and onely to make ſhew, that his endeavours were but to remove ill Counſellours from the King; of whom they inſtanced in the Duke of *Somerſet* as chiefe; and hereof, the Duke ſent divers letters to the King, complaining of the wrongs the Duke of *Somerſet* had done him, but withall making Proteſtation of his own loyalty. To which the King maketh anſwer, that he would take his complaints into conſideration; but ſomewhat blames him for the death of the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, by his means ſuſpected to be ſlaughtered, and for dangerous ſpeeches uttered by his ſervants, tending to Rebellion: concluding, that notwithſtanding any thing ſaid or done to the contrary, he took and eſteemed him a faithfull ſubject, and a loving kinſman. But the Duke of *York*, not herewith ſatisfied, departeth into *Wales*, and there levith men, making his colour for the good of the Common wealth: and the removing of bad Counſellours. The King advertiſed hereof, preſently raiſeth an Army; and with the Duke of *Somerſet* (now enlarged) marcheth towards *Wales*: while the Duke of *Yorke*, having notice which way the King came, by another way marcheth toward *London*; but being told, the *Londoners* would not admit him entrance; he paſſed the river *Thames* at *Knightbridge*, marched into *Kent*, and encamped at *Burnt-heath*. The King in his purſuite, came to *Blacke-heathe*, and there pitched his Tents, from whence he ſent the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews* Keeper of the Privy Seale, to know the cauſe of this commotion, and to make offer of reconcilement, if the Dukes Demands were not unreaſonable. The Duke made Anſwer, that nothing was intended againſt the Kings perſon, his Crown or Dignity: All that was ſought, was to remove ill Counſellours from about the King, but eſpecially *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*; whom if the King would be pleaſed to commit toward, till his legall tryall might be had in Parliament, he would then not onely diſmiſſe his army, but come unto his preſence as a loyall ſubject. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerſet* is committed to priſon: The Duke of *Yorke* diſmiſſeth his army, and commeth in perſon to the King: in whoſe preſence, (contrary to his expectation) he found the Duke of *Somerſet*, which ſo moved him, that he could not hold, but preſently charged him

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with Treason: which the Duke of *Somerset*, not onely denieth, but recriminates the Duke of *Yorke*, to have conspired the kings death, and the usurpation of the Crown: whereupon, the king removeth to *London*, the Duke of *Yorke* as a prisoner ryding before him, and the Duke of *Somerset* at liberty, which was not a little mervailed at by many. And now the king calleth a Councell at *Westminster*, where the two Dukes are earnest in accusing each other; but while the Counsell are debating of the matter, there comes a flash of lightning out of *France*, which diverted them; for the Earl of *Kendall*, and the L' *Espar*, came Embassadours from *Burdeaux*, offering their obedience to the Crown of *England*, if they might but be assured to be defended by it: but withall, at the same time there came a report, that *Edward* Earle of *March*, sonne and heire to the Duke of *Yorke*, with a great power was marching towards *London*. Here was matter for a double consultation: and for this latter, it was resolved on, that the Duke of *York*, should in the presence of the king and his Nobility, at the high Altar in *Pauls*, take his Oath of submission and Allegiance to king *Henry*: which he accordingly did, and then had liberty to depart to his Castle of *Wigmore*. And for the former, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* with about three thousand men was sent into *Gascoigne*, who ariving in the Isle of *Medre*, passed forth with his power, and took *Fronsack* and other pieces, but having received in the night instructions from *Burdeaux* of certaine conspiratours, he makes all the speed he can thither; and was entred the Town before the *French* had notice of his comming: so that many of them were slaine by the Lord L' *Espar* in their beds. Shortly after there arrived, the Earle of *Shrewsbury*'s sonne, Sir *John Talbot*, with the bastard of *Somerset*, and two and twenty hundred men, by whose means *Burdeaux* is well manned with English: in which time the Earle was not idle, but went from place to place, to receive the offered submission of all places where he came: and having taken *Chatillon*, he strongly fortified it, whereupon the *French* king raiseth an army, and besiegeth *Chatillon*, to the rescue whereof, the Earle maketh all possible speed with eight hundred horse, appointing the Earle of *Kendall*, and the Lord L' *Espar* to follow with the foot: In his way he surprized a Tower the *French* had taken, and put all within it to the sword; and meeting five hundred *French* men, that had been foraging; many of them he slew, and the rest he chased to their Campe. Upon whose approach, the *French* left the siege, and retyred to a place which they had formerly fortified; whither the Earle followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them so home, that he got the entry of the Campe: where being shot through the thigh with an Harquebuse, and his horse slaine under him; his sonne desirous to relieve his father, lost his own life, and therein was accompanied with his bastard brother *Henry Talbot*, Sir *Edward Hall*, and thirty other Gentlemen of name. The Lord *Molins* with threescore other were taken prisoners, the rest fled to *Burdeaux*, but in the way a thousand of them were slaine. And thus on the last day of July, in the yeer 1453. at *Chatillon*, the most valourous Earle of *Shrewsbury*, the first of that name, after foure and twenty yeers service beyond the seas, ended his life, and was buried at *Roan* in *Normandie*; with this Inscription upon his Tombe: Here lyeth the right Noble knight *John Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *Wexford*, *Waterford*, and *Valence*, Lord *Talbot* of *Goodrich* and *Orchenfield*, Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Alton*, Lord *Cromwell* of *Wingfield*, Lord *Lovetoft* of *Worsoppe*, Lord *Furnivall* of *Sheffield*, knight of the Noble Orders of St. *George*, St. *Michael*, and the golden fleece, great Marshall to King *Henry* the sixth, of his Realme of *France*. The Earle of *Kendall*, the Lords *Montferat*, *Rosaine* and *Dangledas* entred the Castle of *Chatillon*, and made it good against the *French* the space of ten dayes; but then having no hope of succour, they delivered it, upon composition to have liberty to depart to *Burdeaux*: and now the *Gascoignes* were as ready to open their gates to the French, as they were before to the English; by means whereof, in short time, the French recovered againe all *Gascoigne* except *Burdeaux*, and that also at length, upon condition that both garrisons and inhabitants with all their substance, might safely depart for *England* or *Callice*, and that the Lords L' *Espar* and *Durant*, with thirty others, upon paine of death should never after be found in the Territories of *France*.

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At this time upon St. *Bartholomews* day, an ancient custome being, that the Major of *London*, and the Sheriffs should be present in giving prizes to the best wrestlers; it happened that at the wrestling place neere *Moore-fields*, the Prior of S. *Johns* was there to see the sports, when a servant of his, not brooking the disgrace to be foyled before his Master, against the custome of the place would have wrestled againe, which the Major denyed, whereupon the Prior fetcht Bowmen from *Clarkenwell*, to resist the Major, and some slaughter was committed, the Majors Cap was shot through with an Arrow, he nevertheless would have had the sport goe on, but no wrestlers came, yet the Major Sr. *John Norman* told his brethren, he would stay awhile, to make tryall of the Citizens respect towards him: which he had no sooner said, but the Citizens with Banners displayed came in great numbers to him, and fetcht him home in great triumph. Upon the neck of this, began the quarrell in *Holborne*, between the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery and some Citizens, in appeasing whereof, the Queens Attorney and three more were slaine.

And now the Duke of *Yorke*, by all meanes laboureth to stirre up the hatred of the Commons against the Duke of *Somerset*, repeating often, what dishonour *England* sustained by *Somersets* giving up the strong Towns of *Normandy*, and how he abuseth the Kings and Queens favour to his own gaine, and the Commons grievance, then he addresseth himselfe to those of the Nobility that could not well brook his too much commanding over the Kings and Queens affection: amongst others he fasteneth upon the two *Nevils*, both *Richards*, the father and the sonne, the one Earle of *Salisbury*, the other of *Warwick*; with whom he deales so effectually, that an indissoluble knot of friendship is knit betwixt them; by whose assistance, (the King lying dangerously sick at *Claringdon*) the Duke of *Somerset* is arrested in the Queens great Chamber, and sent to the Tower; and in a Parliament now convoked, appeached of Treason, and many heynous crymes objected against him: whereupon, the King though weake is brought to *London*, of purpose to dissolve the Parliament, and that dissolved, the Duke of *Somerset* is presently set at liberty againe, and not only so, but is made Captaine of *Callice* and *Guysnes*, the onely remainder the *English* had in *France*. Upon this, the Duke of *Yorke* and his party, with a great power march towards *London*: against whom, the King attended with the Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and his sonne, both named *Humfry*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, *James* Earle of *Wiltshire*, *Jasper* Earle of *Pembroke*, and two thousand men, marcheth forwards; at S. *Albans* both armies meet: the Duke in the morning sends a letter to the King, protesting his fidelity and synderity; onely he desires, the Duke of *Somerset* may be delivered, to stand or fall by the Judgement of his Peers; and this he would have, or dye in the pursuite. The King for answer, Commands him to disband, and submit to his mercy; and not expect, that he will deliver any in his Army, who have shewed their loves in standing to him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his friends, who hereupon fall every one to his quarter: The Earle of *Warwick* fell upon the Lord *Cliffords* quarter, where the Duke of *Somerset*, hasting to the rescue, was slaine, and with him the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Humfry* Earle of *Stafford*, the Lord *Clifford*, and about five thousand others, besides many that were hurt; the King himselfe shot in the neck with an arrow; the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Scales*, in the faces; the Earle of *Dorset* so hurt, that he was faine to be carryed home in a Cart: The Kings army had been increased after his comming forth, to eight thousand; but now they are all dispersed or slaine, and the King unguarded, is left in a poore thatcht house; whither, to be freed from the danger of arrows, he had withdrawn himselfe. The Duke of *Yorke* having notice where the King was, goes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, who all three upon their knees present themselves before him, making humble petition to him, for pardon of what was past: and now, seeing the common Enemy was slaine, they had what they aymed at. To whom the King throughly affrighted, said: Let there be no more killing then, and I will doe what you will have me. This first battell of S. *Albans* was fought upon the three & twentieth day of May, in the three & thirtieth year of King *Henries* raigne. The bodies of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earle of *Northumberland* and

and the Lord *Clifford*, were buried in the Chappell there. And now the Duke of *York*, in the kings name, commands a surceasse from further hostility: and in all reverent manner conveyeth the king to *London*; where they keep the feast of Pentecost together; at which time, a Parliament is summoned to begin at Westminster, the ninth day of July; and therein it is enacted, that the Duke of *Glocester* should be declared publikely a loyall Subject, and that none should misreport or dispute the actions of the Duke of *Yorke*, or of any in his company; and moreover, the Duke of *Yorke* is made Protector of the kings Person, and of the Realme, the Earle of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellor, and the Earle of *Warwicke* Captain of *Callis*, wherein they all carried themselves with unblameable demeanour.

In this meane time, the Queene not well pleased with these proceedings, seekes all means to incite the Lords of her party, and they as much seeke to incite her to make opposition; she puts the Duke of *Buckingham* in minde that these Traitours had slaine his hopefull Son at S. *Albans*; she tells the now Duke of *Somerset*, that by them his deare Father lost his life: And they againe put the Queen in minde of the unsufferable indignity done to her, in making her Husband only a king in name, setting a Tutor over him, as though he were a childe, whil'st the Duke of *Yorke* and his complices manage all: Upon which incitation, all the enemies of the Yorkshire Faction are assembled by the Queene at *Greenwich*; where it is debated of some course to be taken for restoring the king to his former liberty and Government; at length it is concluded, that the duke of *Yorke* should be commanded to give over his place of Protectorship, for that the king was of yeares and discretion sufficient to Rule of himselfe without a Guardian, and the Earle of *Salisbury* to surrender his place of being Lord Chancellor, for that the great Seal was never delivered him, seeing that which was now used, was made since the kings restraint, and therefore not sufficient; to which conclusion of theirs, the king easie to be wrought upon, yields his consent, and thereupon they are both discharged from their Offices, and summoned to appeare at the Councell Table at *Greenwich*; but the Lords were wiser than to put themselves into their hands, and therefore make answer, that none had power to displace them, nor to command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament, and so they continued about *London*, placing and displacing whom they pleased, and by their triumvirat authority, tooke *John Holland* Earle of *Exeter* out of Sanctuary, and sent him prisoner to *Pomfret* Castle. These proceedings gave occasion to the licentious multitude to raise commotions, and the Prentices of *London* upon a very slight occasion, fall upon out-landish Merchants, rifle and robbe their houses; and the Major assembling a company of substantiall Citizens to suppresse them, the Ring-leader of the disorder flyes to Sanctuary; Commissioners are sent to enquire and punish the offence, but when the Major and Commissioners were set, tydings came that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commissioners left the busines to be proceeded in by the Major, who so discreetly ordered the matter, that many of the offenders were punished, some by death, others by fine, and all things were quieted and appeased.

At this time the French having little to do against the English in *France*, would needs be doing something against them in *England*: They set out two Fleets, one under the conduct of *William* Lord *Pomyers*, the other of Sir *Peter Bressy*; the Lord fell upon *Fulney* in the West-Country, the knight upon *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where some hurt they did, but not of importance to countervaile their Voyage.

And now the Queen finding the little respect the Londoners bore to her party or the kings, perswades the king, as for his health and recreation, to make a Progresse into *Warwickeshire*, which he did, by the way hunting and hawking, and the Queen making show of minding nothing but pastimes; and this she did, with a purpose the easier to entrap the three Lords, of *Yorke*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwicke*, to whom shee writ most loving letters, earnestly inviting them to be at *Coventry* by an houre appointed; which they, not doubting any fraud, intended to have done, but hearing by the way of the mischiefe plotted against them, they caused their Retinue to goe on-ward the way to the Court, as though themselves were comming after; but they

provided

provided otherwise for their safety, the duke of *Yorke* with a Groome and a Page getting him to *Wigmore* Castle, the Earle of *Salisbury* to his Castle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earle of *Warwicke* to the Sea side, and so to *Callis*; but before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have entercourse of letters, yet their intentions kept undiscovered.

The king unwitting of this mischiefe intended against the duke of *Yorke* and his friends, returneth to *London*, where he calleth a Councell; and therein of his owne accord desireth that some course might be invented for a perfect reconcilement of all parties; promising upon his salvation (an asseveration not usuall with him) so to entertaine the duke of *Yorke* and his friends, that all discontents should be removed, and a perfect amity on all parts established: to which end messengers are disparched to the duke of *Yorke*, and all other of his party, commanding them upon urgent affairs of the Realm, and upon Royall promise of safe conduct, to repaire to his Court at *London*, at a day appointed. The duke of *Yorke* accordingly came, and with 400 men well apparelled, lodged at his house called *Baynards* Castle; The Earle of *Salisbury* with 500 men, lodged likewise at his house called the *Herbour*; The duke of *Exeter* (lately released) and the Duke of *Somerset* with 800 men, were lodged within *Temple-Barre*; The Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Egremont*, and the Lord *Clifford*, with 1500 men, were lodged in *Holborne*; The Earle of *Warwicke* with 600 in red jackets with ragged staves embroydered behinde and before, were lodged at the *Gray Friers* in *London*. Upon the seventeenth of *March* the King and the Queen came to *London*, and were lodged at the Bishops Pallace; the Major having five hundred well appointed men in readinesse, rode with a competent number all day long round the Citie, for preservation of the Kings Peace: The Lords lodging within the Citie, held their Councell at *Black-Friers*; the other, at the Chapterhouse at *Westminster*: Between both, the Reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Son of *Henry Bourchier* Earle of *Essex*, with some other of the most able Prelates interceded so, that by their mediation it was at last concluded, that all wrongs and misdemeanours on every side should be forgotten and forgiven, that each side should be friends to the other, and both be obedient to the commands of the king. Besides this in generall, there were some particular Articles to be performed by the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, and *Warwicke*, which afterward was ratified under the great Seale of *England*, the 24 day of *March*, in the 36 yeare of the Reigne of king *Henry* the Sixth. Upon the publication whereof, a solemne Procession was made in *Pauls* Church, at which the king was present with his Crown on his head; before him, hand in hand went the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, and so one of the one, and another of the other part, till they were all Marshalled; behinde the king came the Queen, the Duke of *Yorke* leading her by the hand, who in going made shew of favorable countenance towards him: Divine Service ended, they returne to the Court, in all outward appearance truly reconciled; but all was dissembled, as will presently appeare; for presently upon this, an affray fell out betweene a servant of the Earle of *Warwicke*, and a Courtier, who in the encounter is dangerously wounded, the Earles man flyeth; the kings servants seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earles comming from the Councell Table, and assaile him; many are hurt, but the Earle getteth a Wherry, and so escapes to *London*; the Queen incontinently commands the Earle to be committed to the Tower, but hee foreseeing the danger, posts to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of *Yorke*, and his father the Earle of *Salisbury* of all the occurrence, with the palpable discovery of the Queens canker'd disposition, advising them to stand upon their Guard, and to provide against the approaching storme. Himselfe speeds to *Callis*, and being then Lord Admirall, takes with him all the kings ships that were in readinesse, and scouring the Seas, meets with five great Carricks, three of *Genoua*, and two of *Spaine*; and after two dayes fight, takes two of them, with which hee returned to *Callis* where he unloaded their fraight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple commodities, besides the Ships and Prisoners.

In the meane time, the Earle of *Salisbury* with about five thousand men marcheth through *Lancaſhire*, to paſſe that way to the king, with a purpoſe to acquaint him with the affront offered to his Son, and the inveterate malice diſcovered in the Queen againſt him: The Queene with the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerſet*, hearing of his comming, gave order to the Lord *Audley* to uſe means to apprehend him; who thereupon levyeth ten thouſand men in *Cheſhire* and *Shropſhire*, and with them about a mile from *Drayton*, in a plaine called *Bloreheath* he attended the Earle, there being but a ſmall brooke of no great depth between them. Early in the morning the Earle made a ſeeming Retreat, which the Lord *Talbot* obſerving, preſently cauſeth his Troops to paſſe the River, but before they could be reduced againe into order, the Earle with his whole ſtrength falls upon them, and with the ſlaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and moſt of them that had paſſed the River, he diſcomfited the reſt, and ſlew about 24. hundred of them; Sir *John* and ſir *Thomas Nevill* knights the Earls Sons were ſorely wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington* travelling into the North Country, were apprehended and ſent as Priſoners towards *Cheſter*, but upon a meſſage from the *Marchmen* were preſently releaſed.

And now the Duke of *Yorke* thinking fit no longer to conceale his deſigne, makes preparation to take the Field, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* do the like; and amongſt others of approved valour, whom the Earle of *Warwicke* had brought from *Callis* with him, were two principall noted men, *John Blunt*, and *Andrew Trolloppe*. Likewiſe the King, with the Dukes of *Somerſet*, and *Exeter*, drawes his Forces to *Worceſter*, from whence *Richard Beauchamp* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, is ſent to offer the Yorkiſts a full and generall Pardon, if they would lay down Arms, and become loyall Subjects. Whereunto they anſwered, that there was no truſt to the Kings Pardons, as long as the Queen had a Predominant power; but if they might have aſſurance of ſafety, they would expreſſe their loyalty, and humbly render themſelves at his ſervice. Hereupon the King advanceth neerer, and approaching the Lords Armie, cauſed Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever would abandon the Duke of *Yorke*, ſhould be received to mercy, and have Pardon. Upon this, the night following, *Andrew Trolloppe*, with all the Callicians ſubmit to the King, and by him are all the counſells of the Duke of *Yorke* diſcovered; which ſo much diſcouraged him, that he with his young Son, the Earle of *Rutland*, fled firſt into *Wales*, and then into *Ireland*: The Earles of *March*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwicke* got into *Devonſhire*, where by the means of *John Dynham* Eſquire (the ſame man that afterward by king *Henry* the Seventh was made Lord Treaſurer of *England*) they were ſhipt from *Exmouth*, to *Gernſey*, and ſo to *Callis*. All the common ſouldiers the king Pardons, onely makes exemplary puniſhment of ſome few Captains, ſends the Dutcheſſe of *Yorke*, and her two younger children, to the Dutcheſſe of *Buckingham* her Siſter to be ſafely kept; and then having ſpoiled the Town and Caſtle of *Ludlow*, he diſmiſt his Armie. And now a Parliament is called at *Coventry*, wherein the Duke of *Yorke*, Edward Earle of *March* his Son, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *John* Lord *Clifford*, and many other the confederates of the Duke of *York*, are convict of Treaſon, and all their lands and goods ſeized on to the kings uſe. *Henry* D. of *Somerſet* by the Queens means is made Captain of *Callis*, whither comming to take poſſeſſion, he was, by reaſon of Ordnance ſhot at him from *Rice-banke* forced to Retire; which the Queen hearing, was ſo incenſed, that in great paſſion ſhe gave order to make ready all the kings Ships lying at *Sandwich*, to give aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Somerſet*: but the forementioned *John Dynham*, out of love to the Earle of *March*, boorded thoſe ſhips in the harbour, and tooke the Lord *Rivers* deſigned Admirall for that ſervice, and carried both him and the Ships to *Callice*, from whence the Earle ſayled to *Ireland*, to the Duke of *Yorke*, who having conferred and concluded what courſe to take, he returned to *Callice*, the new Admirall the Duke of *Exeter* not daring to ſtop his courſe. Sir *Simon Montford* was appointed to guard the Cinque Ports, having divers ſhips under his command to barre the Earle of *Warwickes* entrance; but the Earle by his eſpyalls having perfect intelligence of all paſſages, fell ſodainly upon Sir *Simon* before his ſhips were ready, tooke him priſoner, ranſacke

ransackt the Town of *Sandwich*, & carried his prisoner and the ships to *Calice*: By the way he understood how much the kentishmen desired his return and longed for his comming; whereupon he came the second time to *Sandwich*, to whom presently resorted the Lord *Cobham* and very many Gentlemen of the Country: so as now his army was five and twenty thousand strong; with which he marched towards London, against whom the Lord *Scales* was appointed to goe, and with some convenient troopes to assure London: but the Major directly refused to admit him; whereupon he resorted to the Tower, from whence afterwards he did the Londoners no small displeasure. The Earle of *Warwick* having notice, that his father the Earle of *Salisbury* was upon march to meet him: passeth over his men; and without impeachment, joyned with him and his friends neer *Exeter*.

The King with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham* with a great Army marcheth towards them, and neer to the Town of *Northampton* both Armies meet: The Earle of *March* with the advice of the Earle of *Warwick* prepares for the fight: The Queen (the King more intentive to devotion then fighting) did the like, the fight continued about two houres, wherein were slaine of both sides above ten thousand men; but upon the fall of *Humfry* Duke of *Buckingham*, the Kings side was discomfited, and *John Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas* L. *Egremont*, *John* L. *Beaumont* and some other of account were slaine: The Queen with the Duke of *Somerset*, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*: The King himselfe was taken, and as a prisoner conveyed to *London*: where the Tower is yeelded to the Earle of *Warwick*; The Lord *Scales* in disguised apparell endeavouring to escape, is taken by the water-men, and by them beheaded, and his Corpes carelesly left upon the sands. *Thomas Thorpe* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the habit of a Monke, his Crown shorne, purposing to flie to the Queen, is taken and committed prisoner to the Tower, and after by the Commons beheaded at Highgate. The Duke of *Yorke* being advertised of this good successe, leaveth *Ireland* and posts to *London*, where in the kings name he summoneth a Parliament, which being assembled, he in the presence of the Lords in the upper House, placeth himselfe in the Imperiall Seate, and with great boldnesse layes open his rightfull claime to the Crowne of *England*, as being the Sonne and heire of *Anne* daughter and heire of *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, Sonne and heire of *Philip* the sole daughter and heire of *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third sonne of *Edward* the third, and elder brother of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, Father of the usurper *Henry* the Fourth, Grandfather to *Henry* the Fifth, who was Father to him that at this time unruly stileth himselfe king *Henry* the sixth. And after relating the many miseries that had befallen the Realme since the time of this Usurpation, he concluded, that he would not expect nor desire possession of the Crown, except his discent were undisputable, and his title without exception. This being a businesse of importance, required deliberation: but in conclusion, the Duke having before hand prepared the Lords Spirituall, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his part, the Burgesses were easily perswaded: and it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, that king *Henry* during his life, should reteine the name and honour of a king; that the Duke of Yorke shuld be Proclaimed heire apparent to the Crown, and Protectour of the kings Person, his lands and dominions; and that if at any time, any of king *Henries* friends, allies or favourites, in his behalfe should attempt the disanulling of this Act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the noting, that while the Earle of *March* was declaring his title in the upper house, it happened in the nether house, that a Crowne which hung in the middle of the house, to garnish a branch to set lights upon, without touch or winde, fell suddenly down: as likewise at the same time, fell down the Crown which stood on the top of *Dover* Castle: a signe as some thought, that the Crowne of the Realme should be changed. Assoone as the Parliament was dissolved; the Duke dispatcheth letters into *Scotland*; requiring in the kings name, the Queen, the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, and all other of the Nobility, that remained in that kingdome, with all speed to repaire to his presence in *London*: but they had other worke in hand;

hand; for having goten together of Engliſh and Scots, to the number of eighteen thouſand, they came marching into *England*; againſt whom went the Duke of *Yorke*, with his younger ſonne the Earle of *Rutland*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, (leaving the king in the cuſtody of the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Earle of *Warwick*;) and approaching neer the Queens Army, he was certified by his ſcouts, that the Enemie farre exceeded his power, both in number and in all warlike preparation, (he not having in his Army above five thouſand men) and thereupon the Earle of *Salisbury* adviſed him to retyre, and to attend the comming of the Earle of *March*, who was gone into Wales to raiſe the March men; but the pride of his former victory made him deafe to all Counſell of declining the battell; and ſo haſtened on by his deſtiny, from *Sandall* Caſtle he marched on to *Wakefield* greene; where the Lord *Clifford* on the one ſide, and the Earle of *Wiltſhire* on the other were placed in ambuſcado; The Duke of *Yorke* ſuppoſing that the Duke of *Somerſet* who led the battell, had no more forces then what were with him, undauntedly marcheth towards him: but being entred within their danger, the ambuſhes on both ſides brake out upon him, and ſlew him, with three thouſand of his men, the reſt fled; the Earle of *Salisbury* is taken priſoner; and harmleſſe *Rutland*, not above twelve yeers old, who came thither but to ſee faſhions, is made a ſacrifice for his Fathers tranſgreſſion, who kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully ſtabbed to the heart by the Lord *Clifford*, in part of revenge (as he ſwore) of his Fathers death; and the Queen moſt unwomanly in cold blood, cauſed the Earle of *Salisbury*, and as many as were taken priſoners, to be beheaded at *Pomfret* Caſtle, and to have their heads placed on poles about the walls of *Yorke*. Thus dyed *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, who had taken to wife *Cicely* daughter of *Ralph Nevyll*, the firſt Earle of *Weſtmerland*, by whom he had iſſue, eight ſonnes and foure daughters; his eldeſt ſonne *Henry* dyed young, his ſecond ſon *Edward* was afterward king of *England*; his third *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*, was ſlaine with his father; *John*, *Thomas* and *William* died young, his ſeventh ſonne *George*, was after Duke of *Clarence*, his youngeſt ſonne *Richard*, ſirnamed *Crouchback*, was after king of England. *Anne* his eldeſt daughter was married to *Henry Holland* Duke of Exeter, his ſecond daughter *Elizabeth* was married to *John de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolk*, his third *Margaret* to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, his fourth *Vrſula* dyed young. This Duke being dead, had his head crowned with a paper Crown, together with many circumſtances of diſgracing him: but this act of ſpight was fully afterwards recompenſed upon their heads that did it.

The Earle of *March* hearing of his fathers death, laboured now ſo much the more earneſtly, in that he laboured for himſelfe, and parting from *Shrewsbury*, whoſe Inhabitants were moſt firme unto him, he increaſed his army to the number of three and twenty thouſand, and preſently took the field; and having advertiſment, that *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, with the Earle of *Ormond* and *Wiltſhire* followed after him with a great power of Welſh and Iriſh: he ſuddenly marcheth back againe, and in a plaine neer *Mortimers* Croſſe, on *Candlemas* day in the morning gave them battell, wherewith the ſlaughter of three thouſand and eight hundred, he put the Earles to flight. *Owen Tewther* who had married Queen *Catherine*, Mother to king *Henry* the ſixth, and divers Welſh Gentlemen were taken, and at *Hereford* beheaded. Before the battell, it is ſaid, the Sunne appeared to the Earle of *March* like three ſunnes, and ſuddenly it joyned all together in one; for which cauſe, ſome imagine, that he gave the ſunne in its full brightnes, for his badge or Cogniſance.

The Queen in the mean time encouraged by the death of the Duke of *Yorke*, with a power of Northern men marcheth towards *London*: but when her ſouldiers were once South of Trent, as if that river were the utmoſt limit of their good behaviour, they fell to forrage the Country in moſt babarous manner: Approaching S. *Albans*, they were advertiſed that the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Earle of *Warwick* were ready to give them battell; whereupon the Queens Vaward haſteth to paſſe through St. *Albans*; but being not ſuffered to paſſe, they encountred with their Enemies in the field called *Barnard heath*; who perceiving the maine battaile to ſtand ſtill, and not to move; which was done by the treachery of *Lovelace*, who with the kentiſh men had

had the leading of it: they soone made the Southerne men to turne their backs and fly; upon whose flight, the rest in doubt of each others well meaning, shifted away; and the Lords about the King perceiving the danger, withdrew themselves: Only the Lord *Bonvile* comming in a complementall manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his Majesty, but that necessity for safeguard of his life, enforced it; was importuned, and Sir *Thomas Kyriell* a knight of *Kent* likewise, by the king to stay; he passing his Royall word, that their stay should bee no danger to them; upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost: for the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorpe* at High-gate; she in revenge thereof, caused both their heads to be stricken off at S. *Albans*: so as there were slaughtered at this battaile the full number of three and twenty hundred, but no man of name, but onely Sir *John Grey*, who the same day was made knight, with twelve other at the village of Colney.

And now the King was advised, to send one *Thomas Hoe*, (that had been a Barrister) to the Victors, to tell them; that he would gladly come to them, if with conveyance it might be done: whereupon the Earle of *Northumberland*, appointed divers Lords to attend him to the L. *Cliffords* Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great joy: but it was now observed, as it were in the destiny of King *Henry*, that although he were a most Pious man, yet no enterprise of warre did ever prosper, where he was present; that we may know the prosperity of the world to be no inseparable companion to men of Piety. At the Queens request, the king honored with knighthood thirty gentlemen, who the day before had fought against the part where he was; the Prince likewise was by him dubbed knight; and then they went to the Abby, where they were received with Anthems, and withall an humble petition, to be protected from the outrage of the loose souldiers, which was promised, and Proclamation made to that purpose, but to small purpose; for the Northern men said, It was their bargaine to have all the spoyle in every place, after they had passed Trent: and so they robbed and spoiled whatsoever they could come at. The *Londoners* hearing of this disorder, were resolved, seeing there was no more assurance in the Kings promise, to keep the Northern men out of their gates; insomuch that when they were sent to, to send over to the Campe certaine Cart-loads of Lenton provision; which the Major accordingly provided: the Commons rose about *Cripplegate*, and by strong hand kept the Carts from going out of the City. Hereupon, the Major sends the Recorder to the Kings Counsell, and withall intreats the Dutchesse of *Bedford*, and the Lady *Scales*; to intercede for him to the Queen; and to excuse his not using force, considering how dangerous it might be in these doubtfull times, to stirre their fury, that would not easily be allayed. It was well advised to send women to intreate a woman, for by this means they prevailed, that some of the Lords of the Counsell, with a guard of foure hundred good souldiers, were appointed to goe for *London*, to enquire and certifie of these things: when suddenly news was brought, that the Earle of *March* with a great Army was marching towards them: for the Earle of *Warwicke* having gathered together his scattered troops, and joyned with the Earle of *March*, they hasted towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of *February*; and upon Sunday, the second of *March*, the Earle of *Warwick* mustred all his army in S. *John's* field, and having cast them into a ring, read unto them the agreement of the last Parliament, and then demanded, whether they would have King *Henry* to raign still? who all cryed, no, no: then he asked them, whether they would have the Earle of *March* eldest sonne of the Duke of *Yorke* (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to raigne over them? who with a great clamor cryed, yea, yea: Then went there certaine Captaines, and others of the Citty, to the Earle of *March* at Baynards Castle, to acquaint him with what was passed; who at first seemed to excuse himselfe, as unable to execute so great a charge: but animated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earle of *Warwick*, he at last consented to take it upon him; and thereupon, the next morning he went in Procession at *Pauls*, and offered there, and after *Te Deum* sung, he was in great state conveyed to *Westminster*,

and

and there in the great Hall, seated in the Kings seat, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* in his hand; and then again the people, of whom there was a great concourse, were aloud demanded, if they would acknowledge him to be their King? to which with great willingnesse they all cried, yea, yea. Then taking homage of divers Noblemen there present, he was with Procession and great solemnity conveyed to the Abbey, and placed in the Quire as King, whilst *Te Deum* was singing: That done, he offered at St. *Edwards* Shrine, and then returned by water to *Paules*, and was lodged in the Bishops Pallace; and upon the fourth of *March* he was generally Proclaimed King, by the name of *Edward* the Fourth. And here in the course of all Writers, ends the Reigne of King *Henry* the Sixth; that it may be truly sayd, never any came to be King so soone after his birth, nor left to be King so long before his death; for he came to be King at eight moneths old, and he left to be King, living twelve years after. There was indeed in that space of time, a certaine Vicissitude, sometimes a King, and sometimes no King; the passages wher of must be related in the following Kings Reigne.

Of his Taxations.

IN the first yeare of his Reigne, a Parliament was holden at *London*, where the Queen Mother, with the young king in her lap came and sate amongst the Lords; and there was then granted a Subsidie of five Nobles upon every sacke of wooll that should passe out of the Land, for three years, but if carried out by Merchant strangers, then to pay three and forty shillings for every sacke. In the third year of his Reigne, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, wherein was granted a Subsidie of twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandize comming in, or passing out of the Realme, and three shillings of a Tonne of Wine, for the terme of three years. In his sixth year in a Parliament at *Westminster* was granted a Subsidie, of every Tonne of Wine three shillings, and of other Merchandize except Wooll, Fell, and Cloth, twelve pence in the pound: Also of every Parish through the Realme (except Cities and Boroughes) the Benefice being in value ten Markes, Tenne of that Parish shall pay fixe shillings eight pence, and of every Benefice of the value of ten pounds, ten Parishioners should pay thirteen shillings foure pence, and so rateably of every Benefice, from the lowest to the highest. And for the Inhabitants of Cities and Boroughes, every man being worth twenty shillings above his houshold stuffe, and the apparell of him and his wife, should pay foure pence, and so after that rate to the richest.

Of Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

IN this kings time, the Lord Major of *London* first began to go by water to *London*, where before they used to go by land. Also in this Kings Reigne the Art of Printing was first found at *Mogunce* in *Germany*, by a knight called *John Cuttenberge*, and brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Mercer, who first practised the same in the Abbey at *Westminster*, in the yeare 1471. In the 23 yeare of his Reigne, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, that when Wheat was sold for six shillings eight pence the quarter, Rye for foure shillings, and Barley for three shillings; it should be lawfull for any man to carry the sayd kindes of Corn, into the parts beyond the Sea without license, so it were not to the kings enemies or Rebels; which Act was afterward confirmed by king *Edward* the Fourth.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

A Great Schisme was in the Church in this kings time by reason of Anti-popes; for remedy whereof, a Councell is called at *Constance*, to which the Emperors of *Constantinople* and *Trabizond* send their Ambassadors. In this Councell *John* the three and twentieth is convented, condemned, deposed, and imprisoned: *Gregory* the twelveth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth are deprived, and *Otho Colonna*, by the

the name of *Martin* the fifth, is chosen Pope. During these confusions in the Westerne Church, the Christians in the Easterne Church are utterly ruinated: The Emperor smothered to death in a preasse of people, and the great City of *Constantinople* wonne by the Turke, made ever since the seate of his Empire. In the sixe and thirtieth yeare of this king, *Reynold Peacocke* Bishop of *Chichester*, who had laboured many yeares in Translating the holy Scripture into English, was accused and convicted, for holding and publishing certaine opinions at that time held Heretical; which at last, openly at *Pauls* Crosse he revoked; That he had held there was no necessity to believe that Christ descended into Hell; also, no necessity to believe in the communion of Saints, or that the Universall Church cannot erre in matters of Faith, or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a Generall Councell shall determine: Also that he had held, that spirituall persons ought to have no Temporall Possessions, and that personall Tythes were not due by Gods Law: these Points he openly renounced, but was notwithstanding deprived of his Bishopricke; only a certaine Pension was assigned him to live on in an Abbey, where soone after he dyed.

Workes of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

THe king himselfe Founded two famous Colledges, the one in *Cambridge*, to our Lady and St. *Nicholas*, called the Colledge Royall, or the kings Colledge; the other of *Eaton* besides *Windsor*, called of our blessed Lady; to the maintenance whereof, he gave 3400 pounds by yeare. In the 28 year of his Reigne, his Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queens* Colledge in *Cambridge*. In the time of his Reigne also, *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury* Founded two Colledges in *Oxford*; one called *All-Soules* Colledge, the other *Bernard* Colledge. In his time also, *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester* (but others say, *Thomas Kempe* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) built the Divinity Schoolin *Oxford*; also the sayd Archbishop built *Pauls*-Crosse in forme as now it standeth; and *William Waynflete* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor of *England* Founded *Mary Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*. In his seventeenth yeare, *Ralph* Lord *Crumwell*, builded the Colledge of *Tatshall* in *Lincolnshire*. Also this yeare, *William Eastfield* Major of *London*, caused to be builded at his own charge the Water-Conduict in *Fleetstreet*. In his ninth year, *John Wells* Major of *London*, caused the Conduict commonly called the Standard in Cheape, to be builded. In his first yeare, the West Gate of *London*, sometime called Chamberlaine gate, and now *Newgate*, was begun to be new builded by the Executors of Sir *Richard Whittington* Lord Major of *London*. In his fifth yeare, *John Reynwell* Major of *London*, gave certaine lands to the Citie of *London*, for which the Citie is bound to pay for ever, all Fifteens that shall be granted to the King, (so as it passe not three Fifteens in one year) for three Wards in *London*; namely, *Dongate-Ward*, *Billingsgate-Ward*, and *Aldgate*. Also this yeare, the Tower at the Drawbridge of *London* was begun by the same Major. In his foure and twentieth yeare, *Simon Eyre* Lord Major of *London* builded the Leaden-Hall in *London*, to be a Storehouse for Graine and Fewell for the poore of the Citie, and a faire Chappell at the East end of the same, leaving in stocke a thousand pounds, which afterward King *Edward* the Fourth borrowed and never paid it again. Also in this kings time, *William de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Alice* his wife, Daughter to *Thomas Chawcer*, Son of *Geoffry Chawcer* the famous Poet; translated and encreased the Mannour place of *Ewelme* in *Oxfordshire*, and builded new the Parish Church of *Ewelme*, and an Hospitall or Almeshouse for two Priests, and thirteene poore men, to which he gave three Manours, *Rawruge* in *Hampshire*, *Comocke* in *Wiltshire*, and *Mersh* in *Buckinghamshire*: They also founded the Hospitall of *Donnington* Castle.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his Fifth yeare was so unseasonable weather, that it rained almost continually, from *Easter* to *Michaelmasse*. In his seventh yeare, the eight of *November*, the

Duke of *Norfolke* was like to have been drowned passing through *London-Bridge*, his Barge being let upon the piles, overwhelmed, so that thirty persons were drowned, and the Duke with others that escaped, were fain to be drawn up with ropes. In his 18 year, all the Lyons in the Tower dyed: Also this year, the 18 day of *July*, the Postern-Gates of *London* by *East-Smithfield* against the Tower of *London*, sanke by night more than seven foot into the earth. In his two and twentieth year, on *Newyears* day, neer unto *Bedford*, a very deep water, which ran betwixt the Towns of *Swelstone* and *Harlestwood*, stood suddenly still, and divided it selfe, so that by the space of three miles the bottome remained dry; which wonder, many thought to signifie the division of the people, and falling away from the king, which happened shortly after. In the three and thirtieth year of his Reign, besides a great Blazing Starre, there happened a strange sight, a monstrous Cock came out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people at *Portland*, made a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about clapping his wings, and beckning towards the North, the South, and the West; as also many prodigious births. In his six and thirtieth year, in a little Town in *Bedfordshire*, it rained bloud, wherof the red drops appeared in sheets hung out to dry.

Of his Wife and issue.

HE married *Margaret* Daughter of *Rayner* Duke of *Anjou*, and Titular king of *Jerusalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Arragon*; by whom he had small Portion, and little strength of Alliance; yet might have been a good match, if they could have changed conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and stirring spirit, and she his softly and milde disposition; She was his wife six and twenty years, and after her husbands depulsion from the Regall Throne, his Forces being vanquished at the Battell of *Tewkesberry*, in a poore Religious house, where she had fled for safety of her life, was taken prisoner and carried captive to *London*, where shee remained in durance, till Duke *Rayner* her Father purchased her liberty, unto whom she returned, and lastly dyed in her native Country. By her, king *Henry* had issue only one Son named *Edward*, who when the day was lost at *Tewkesberry*, sought to escape by flight, but being taken, was brought into the presence of king *Edward*, whose resolute answers provoked king *Edward* so much, that he dashed him on the mouth with his Gantlet, and then *Richard* the Crouchback ran him into the heart with his Dagger; his body was buried amongst the poore persons there slain, in the Monasticall Church of the *Black-Friers* in *Tewkesberry*.

Of his Death and Buriall.

UPon King *Edwards* recovering the Crown, he was committed to the Tower; where the 21 of *May*, in the yeare 1472, he was murthered by the bloudy hand of *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*: the day after he was brought to *Pauls* Church in an open Coffin bare-faced, where he bled; thence carried to the *Black-Friers*, where he also bled; from thence in a Boat to *Chersey* Abbey, without Priest or Clerk, torch or taper, saying or singing, and there buried; but afterwards at the appointment of King *Edward*, was removed to *Windsor*, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HEe was tall of stature, spare and slender of body, of a comely countenance, and all parts well proportioned. For endowments of his minde, he had virtues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God, as kings are said to be gods; for of that commanding power there being two parts, *Parcere subjectis & debellare superbos*; he wanted the latter. He was not sensible of that which the world calls Honour, accounting the greatest honour to consist in humility; His greatest imperfe-

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ction was, that he had in him too much of the Logge, and too little of the Storke; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured, than he would devoure. He was not so stupid, not to know prosperity from adversity; but he was so devout, to thinke nothing adverstitie, which was nor a hinderance to Devotion: He was fitter for a Priest than a King, and for a sacrifice than a Priest; and he could not choose but dye a Martyr, who all his life had beene a Confessor. He had one immunity peculiar to himself, that no man could ever be revenged of him, seeing he never offered any man injury. By being innocent as a Dove, hee kept his Crown upon his head so long; but if he had been wise as a Serpent, he might have kept it on longer. But all this is not sufficient, if we expresse not in particular his severall vertues: So modest, that when in a Christmas, a shew of women was presented before him with their breasts layd out, he presently departed; saying, fie, fie for shame, forsooth you be to blame. So pittifull, that when he saw the quarter of a Traytor over Cripplegate, he caused it to be taken down; saying, I will not have any Christian so cruelly handled for my sake. So free from swearing, that he never used other oath, but forsooth, and verily: So patient, that to one who strooke him when he was taken prisoner; he onely sayd, forsooth you wrong your selfe more than me, to strike the Lords annointed: So devout, that on principall Holy-dayes he used to weare sackcloth next his skinne: Once for all, let his Confessor be heard speak; who in ten years confession never found that he had done or sayd any thing, for which he might justly be injoyned Pennance. For which causes, King *Henry* the Seventh would have procured him to be Canonized for a Saint, but that he was prevented by death; or perhaps because the charge would have been too great, the Canonization of a king being much more costly than of a private person.

Of men of Note in his time.

THere were men of valour in this Kings Reigne, of extraordinary eminencie; as first, *John* Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, whom when a French Lord upbraided, that his sword was of lead; he made him answer, and made him feel that it was of steele. Next him was *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, whose very name was a sufficient charme to daunt a whole French Army. Then the next was *John* Lord *Talbot*, so great a terror to the French, that when the women would still their children from crying, they would use to say, *Talbot* comes. Then was *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Warwicke*, so much greater than a king; as that which makes, is greater than that it makes, and such a one was he. Many other besides these, not much inferior to these; that we may truly say, there never was a more heroicall King of *England* than *Henry* the Fifth; nor ever a King of *England* that had more heroicall Subjects, than *Henry* the Sixth. And though Arms and Letters seem to be of different conditions, yet they commonly grow up and flourish together; as in this kings Reigne, were *John Leland* sirnamed the Elder, who wrote divers Treatises for instruction of Gramarians: *William White* a Priest of *Kent*, professing the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*, for which he suffered Martyrdome by fire: *Alexander Carpenter*, who wrote a booke called *Destructorium vitiorum*, against the Prelates of that time: *Peter Basset* Esquire of the Privy Chamber to king *Henry* the Fifth, whose life he wrote: *John Pole* a Priest, who wrote the life of St. *Walburge* an English woman: Also, *Thomas Walden, alias Netter*, who wrote divers Treatises against the *Wickliffists*: *Peter Clerke* a Student in *Oxford*, and a defender of *Wickliffes* doctrine; for which he fled, and was put to death beyond Sea: *Thomas Walsingham* born in *Norfolk*, a diligent Historiographer: *Thomas Ringstead* the younger, an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: *Thomas Rudborne* a Monke of *Winchester*, and an Historiographer: *Peter Payne* an earnest professor of *Wickliffes* doctrine, for which he fled into *Bohemia*: *Nicholas Upton* a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, of colours in Armory, and of the duty of Chivalry: *John Capgrave* born in *Kent*, an *Augustine* Frier, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the *Legend of English Saints*: *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester*, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrologie, whereof he

he wrote a speciall Treatise, intituled *Tabula Directionum*: *John Whethamstead*, otherwise called *Frumentarius*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, who wrote divers Treatises; and amongst others, a booke of the Records of things happening whiles he was Abbot, which booke *Holinshead* had seen, and in some passages of his time followed: *Roger Onley* accused of Treason, for practising with the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* by sorcery to make the king away; and therof condemned, and dyed for it: he wrote one Treatise intituled *Contra vulgi superstitiones*; and another, *De sua Innocentia*: *Henry Walsingham* a Carmelite Frier of *Norwich*, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: *John Lidgate* a Monke of *Bury*, who had travelled *France* and *Italy* to learne languages, and wrote many workes in Poetry: *Thomas Beckington* Bishop of *Bath*, who wrote against the Law Salique of *France*: *Michael Trigurie* born in *Cornwall*, whom for his excellent learning king *Henry* the Fifth made Governor of the Universitie of *Caen* in *Normandy*, after he had conquered it: *Reynold Peacocke* Bishop of *Chichester*, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: *Robert Flenning*, who wrote a Dictionary in Greeke and Latine, and a worke in verse of sundry kindes: *Nicholas Montacute* an Historiographer: *John Stow* a Monke of *Norwich*, and Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*: *Nicholas Bungeie*, born in a Town of *Norfolke*, of that name, who wrote an History called *Adnotationes Chronicorum*: *Robert Balsacke*, who wrote a booke *De Re Militari*: *Thomas Dando* a Carmelite Frier of *Marleborough*, who wrote the life of *Alphred* king of the *West-Saxons*: *Robert Bale*, firnamed the Elder, Recorder of *London*, who gathered a Chronicle of the Customs, Lawes, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publique Assemblies of the Citie of *London*, with other matters touching the perfect discripcion of the same Citie; he wrote other workes also touching the state of the same Citie, and the Acts of King *Edward* the third.

THE

THE REIGNE OF KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

EDWARD Earle of *March*, born at *Roome* in *Normandy*, sonne and heire of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, slaine in the battell at *Wakefield*, succeeded his Father in the Right, but exceeded him in the possession of the Crown of *England*; and that by virtue of an act of Parliament lately made, wherein the said Duke of *York* not only was declared heire apparent to the Crown, and appointed Protector of the King and Kingdome; but it was further enacted, that if King *Henry*, or any in his behalfe, should attempt the disanulling of this Act; that then the said Duke or his heire should have the present Possession: which because his friends attempred to doe, therefore justly doth *Edward* Earle of *March* his sonne, by virtue of this act, take possession of the Crown; and is Proclaimed king of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the fourth, through the City of *London*, on the fifth day of *March* in the yeer 1460. But before he could have leasure to be Crowned, he was forced once againe to try his fortune in the field by battell: For King *Henry* in the North was raising a new army; against whom King *Edward*, upon the twelveth of *March*, marched with his forces from *London*, and by easie journeyes came to *Pomfret* Castle, from whence the Lord *Fitzwater* was sent to guard the passage at *Ferribridge*, to stop the Enemies approach that way; King *Henry* likewise advanceth forward, sending his power, under the conduct of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earle of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford*, whilest himselfe with his Queen and Sonne stay at *Yorke*. The Lord *Clifford* very early on *Palmsunday*, with a troop of Northern men, fals upon those that guarded *Ferribridge*, and defeated them with the slaughter of the Lord *Fitzwater* and the bastard of *Salisbury*. The Earle of *Warwicke* hearing of this defeate, comes posting to King *Edwards* Campe, and in his presence killing his horse, Protested his resolution to stand with him to the Death. Upon this Resolution of the Earles, the King made presently Proclamation, that all who were afraid to fight, should at their pleasure depart; but to those that would stay, he promised good reward, adding withall, that if any that stayed, should after turn his back or flee, then he that should kill him, should have double pay. After this, he gave order to the Lord *Fawconbridge*, and Sir *Walter Blunt*, to leade on the Vaward; who in their march about *Dandingdale*, encountred with the Lord *Clifford*; (who formerly in cold blood had slaughtered the young Earle of *Rutland*) and

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he being ſtricken into the throate with an arrow (ſome ſay) without a head; and preſently dying: the Lord *Nevill* Sonne and heire of the Earle of *Weſtmerland* was alſo ſlaine, with moſt of their companies, and the reſt put to flight. The next day likewiſe (the Duke of *Norfolke* being dangerouſly ſick, to whom that place was aſſigned) *Fauconbridge* and *Blunt* continue the leading of the Vaunt-guard; and on Palm-ſunday, by break of day, they came to a plaine field between *Towton* & *Saxton*, from whence they made a full ſurvey of king *Henries* Army, and certified king *Edward*, that the Enemy was threeſcore thouſand ſtrong; where his Army was but forty thouſand and ſix hundred: whereupon a ſecond Proclamation was made through the Campe, that no quarter ſhould be kept, nor priſoner taken. The Armies being both in ſight, the Lord *Fauconbridge* gave direction to the Archers (upon a ſignall by him given) to ſhoote every man a flight-arrow (for that purpoſe provided) and then to fall back three ſtrides, and ſtand. The Northern men in the mean time plyed their bowes, till all their ſheaves were empty; but their arrowes fell ſhort of the Enemy by threeſcore yards, and not onely did no hurt to the Enemy, but did hurt to themſelves; for their arrows being ſpent, and comming to hand-blows, their own arrows ſticking in the ground, galled their ſhins, and pierced their feet. Ten houres the battell continued doubtfull; till the Earle of *Northumberland* being ſlaine, with the Lord, *Beaumont*, *Gray*, *Dacres*, and *Wells*, Sir *John Nevill*, *Andrew Trollop*, and many other knights and Eſquires; the Earles of *Exeter* and *Somerſet* fled, leaving the Conqueſt to King *Edward*, but the bloodieſt that ever *England* felt, for there fell that day ſix and thirty thouſand ſeven hundred threeſcore and ſixteen perſons, no priſoner being taken but the Earle of *Devonſhire*. The battell ended, K. *Edward* haſtes to *York*, where he cauſed the heads of his father and other friends, to be taken down and buried with their bodies, ſetting in their places the heads of the Earle of *Devonſhire*, and three other, there at that time executed. The Earle of *Somerſet* acquainting King *Henry* with this overthrow, perſwades him, with his Queen and Son, to flie to *Barwick*; where leaving the Duke of *Somerſet*, they flie further for ſuccour to the King of *Scots*, who comforteth them with promiſe of reliefe, but maketh a ſure bargaine; for in lieu of a penſion to be allowed King *Henry* during his abode there, the Towne and Caſtle of *Barwick* were delivered to him. Queen *Margaret* and her Sonne are ſent into *France*, who obtained of *Lewis* the Eleventh her Coſin, that all of King *Edwards* friends were prohibited Stay or Traffick in the French kings Dominions: but all King *Henries* friends might live there freely. After this, king *Edward* comes to *London*; and upon his entrance to the Tower, makes foure and twenty knights, and the next day foure more; and upon the 28 day of *June*, in the yeare 1461. he rode from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, and was there Crowned in the Abby-Church.

Shortly after, a Parliament is ſummoned, which began at *Weſtminſter* the fourth of *November*; In which, all Acts of king *Henry* the Sixth, prejudiciall to king *Edwards* Title, are repealed: and therein, *John* Earle of *Oxford*, a valiant and wiſe man, (he who in a former Parliament had diſputed the queſtion concerning the precedency of Temporall and Spirituall Barons, a bold attempt in thoſe dayes; and by force of whoſe Arguments, Judgement was given for the Lords Temporall) with his Sonne *Aubry de Vere*, Sir *Thomas Tiddingham* knight, *William Tyrrell* & *Walter Montgomery* Eſquires, were, without anſwer, convicted of Treaſon, and beheaded. And to encourage others to well-deſerving, king *Edward* at this time advanced many in honour: his brother *George* he created Duke of *Clarence*; his brother *Richard*, Duke of *Glocester*; *John* Lord *Nevill* brother to the Earle of *Warwicke*, he made firſt Viſcount, then Marqueſſe *Montacute*; *Henry Bourchier* brother to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is made Earle of *Eſſex*; and *William* Lord *Fauconbridge*, Earle of *Kent*. And now their new honours are preſently put into imploiment; the Earls of *Eſſex* & *Kent*, accompanied with the Lords *Audeley* and *Clinton*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *Richard Walgrave* and others, to the number of ten thouſand, are appointed to ſcowre the Seas, who landing in *Britaine*, took the town of *Conquet*, and the Iſle of *Ree*, and then returned. At this time *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, *Ralph Percy* and divers others came

came in, and humbly ſubmitted themſelves to king *Edwards* mercy; who proteſted his propenſion of freely pardoning them, and as many other that would ſubmit themſelves as they did.

All this time King *Henry* was in *Scotland*, and Queen *Margaret* in *France*; where ſhe obtained of the *French* King, a company of five hundred men; with whom ſhe ſayled towards *Newcaſtle*, and landed at *Tinmouth*, but ſuddenly againe returned, and was herſelfe by tempeſt beaten to *Barwick*, but her company was driven on the ſhore before *Bamburg* Caſtle, where they ſet their Ships on fire, and fled to an Iſland called *Holy Iſland*, but were ſo aſſayled there by the baſtard *Ogle* and *John Manners* Eſquire, that many of them were ſlaine, and almoſt foure hundred taken priſoners, onely their Coronell *Peter Breſſie* happened upon a Fiſherman, who brought him to *Barwick* to Queen *Margaret*, and by her was made Captaine of the Caſtle of *Alnewick*, which he with his French-men kept, till they were reſcued. Shortly after, Queen *Margaret* having gotten together a great company of *Scots*, and other of her friends bringing her husband with her, and leaving her Sonne at *Barwick*, entred *Northumberland*, tooke the Caſtle of *Bamburg*, made Captaine thereof Sir *Ralph Grey*; and then came forward to the Biſhopprick of *Durham*: whither reſorted to her the lately Reconciled, and now againe revolted Duke of *Somerſet*; Sir *Ralph Percy* and divers others, who altogether made a competent army. King *Edward* hearing hereof, makes preparation both by ſea and land; and firſt he ſends Viſcount *Montacute* with ſome Companies into *Northumberland*; whom he in perſon followeth with his whole power: The Viſcount marcheth towards king *Henry*, and by the way encountreth the Lord *Hungerford* at *Hegley-moore*; but he, with Lord *Baſſe*, upon the firſt charge, ran away, leaving Sir *Ralph Percy* alone with his own Regiment, who there valiantly fighting, dyed. After this the Viſcount underſtanding that king *Henry* was encamped in *Levels plaine*, neer the river of *Dowell* in *Hexamſhire*, marcheth thither by night, and ſet upon him in his Campe, whoſe charge the Northern men receive with a deſperate reſolution, but were in the end with great ſlaughter overcome. *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lords *Baſſe*, *Molins*, *Hungerford*, *Weſtworth*, *Huſſey* and Sir *John Finderne* knight, with many others are taken priſoners: king *Henry* himſelfe by the ſwiftnes of his horſe eſcaped, but very hardly; for one of his Hench-men that followed him was taken, who had on his head king *Henries* Helmet, or as ſome ſay, his high Cap of Eſtate, called *Abacot*, garniſhed with two rich Crowns, which was preſented to king *Edward* at *Yorke* the fourth of *May*. The Duke of *Somerſet* was beheaded preſently at *Exam*; the other Lords and knights were had to *Newcaſtle*, and there, after a little reſpite, were likewiſe put to death. Beſides theſe, divers others, to the number of five and twenty, were executed at *Yorke* and in other places. This Duke of *Somerſet* was never married, but had a naturall Sonne named *Charles Somerſet*, who was afterward created Earle of *Worceſter*. Sir *Humfry Nevill*, and *William Tailbois* calling himſelf Earle of *Kyme*, Sir *Ralph Grey* and *Richard Tunſtall* with divers others that eſcaped from this battell, hid themſelves in ſecret places; but yet not ſo cloſely, but that they were eſpied and taken. The Earle of *Kyme* was apprehended in *Riddeſdale*, and brought to *Newcaſtle*, and there beheaded, Sir *Humfry Nevill* was taken in *Holdernesſe*, and at *York* loſt his head. After this battell, called *Exam-field*, king *Edward* came to the City of *Durham*, and ſent from thence into *Northumberland*, the Earle of *Warwick*, the Lord *Montacute*, the Lords *Fawconbridge* and *Scroope*, to recover ſuch Caſtles as his Enemies there held; which they effected, and taking in the Caſtle of *Dunſtanburg*, they found in it *John Gois* ſervant to the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was brought to *Yorke* and there beheaded: and taking in the Caſtle of *Bamburg*, they found in it Sir *Ralph Grey*, whom becauſe he had ſworn to be true to king *Edward*, and was now revolted to king *Henry*, they degraded from his Order of knight-hood at *Doncaſter*, by cutting of his gilt Spurs, renting his Coate of Arms, and breaking his ſword over his head, and then beheaded him.

In this mean time, king *Henry* (upon what occaſion, no man knows; but onely led by the left hand of deſtiny) ventring in diſguiſe to come into *England*, and ſhif-

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ting from place to place, was at length discovered, and taken by one *Cantlow*, or, as others say, by *Thomas Talbot* sonne to Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Bashall*, who deceived him being at his dinner at *Waddington* Hall in *Lincolnshire*, and brought him towards *London*, with his legs tyed under the horse belly; in whose company were also taken Doctor *Manning* Deane of *Windsor*, D. *Bedle*, and one *Elkerton*, whom the Earle of *Warwicke* met by the way, and brought them all to the Tower of *London*; whilst the distressed Queen with her sonne once again is driven to fly for shelter into *France*, whither the new Duke of *Somerset* and his brother *John* sayled also, where they lived in great misery; and the Earle of *Pembrooke* went from Country to Country little better then a Vagabond.

At this time, king *Edward*, to reward his followers, distributeth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with king *Henry* amongst them, but first made Proclamation that whosoever of the contrary faction would come in and submit, should be received to grace and restored to their Patrimonies.

In the fourth year of king *Edward*, in *Michaelmas* Tearm were made eight Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicholas Gency*, *Richard Neale*, *Thomas Brian*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Catesby* and *Guy Fairfax*; who held their feast in the Bishop of *Elyes* place in *Holborn*, where the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin* then Lord Treasurer of *England*, was placed before the Lord Major of *London*, being invited to the feast, which gave such a distaste to the Major, that he presently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, without tasting of their feast: and it was Registred to be a president in time to come.

And now king *Edward* no lesse intentive to perform the Office of a king in peace, then he had been before of a Captaine in warre, considering with himselfe that seditious and civill dissensions must needs breed disorders in a state, and that disorders bred by troubled times, are not like troubled waters, that will in time settle of themselves and recover cleernesse; but are rather like weeds, which once springing up and let alone, will in time over run the whole ground where they grow: He like a good Gardener seeks to weed them out before they grow too rank, and endeavours to make a generall reformation of abuses; and to that end in *Michaelmas* Term in the second yeare of his Reigne, Three daies together he sate publikely with his Judges in *Westminster-hall* on the Kings Bench, to acquaint himselfe with the Orders of that Court, and to observe what needed Reformation in it, either at Bench or at Barre: as likewise he ordered the officers of his *Exchequer*, to take more moderate Fees, and to be more intentive to the benefit of the Subject, than to their own unjust gaine: He also daily frequented the Councell Table, which he furnished for the most part, with such as were gracious amongst the Citizens, whom he imployes about references and businesses of private consequence; whilest mysteries of State were intimated only to such whom he selected to be of his more private Cabinet Counsaile; by whom, he being now of the age of three and twenty years, was advised that it was now time to provide for posterity, by taking a wife, and to provide also for the present time, by taking a fit wife, which they conceived to be no where so fitly found as in *France*, both thereby to bury old grudges between the two Nations, and also to avert assistance from Queen *Margaret*, the onely disturber of the State; and this being concluded, it onely remained to make choice of a fit man for that imployment, for which none was thought so fit as *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Warwick*; he therefore is presently sent into *France*, to treate of a Marriage to be had between king *Edward* and the Lady *Bona*, daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to the Lady *Carlote* then Queen of *France*: a Lady, no lesse for beauty and virtuous qualities, then for Nobility of blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Proposition is in *France* readily embraced, and willingly assented unto on all parts. But in the mean time king *Edward* being hunting in *Whichwood* Forrest besides *Stonystratford*; he chanced to come to the Manour of *Grafton*, where the Dutchesse of *Bedford* then lay, and where her daughter by Sir *Richard Woodvile*, the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* widdow of Sir *John Grey* of *Groby*, slaine at the last battell of St. *Albans*; became a suitour to him for some lands which her husband had given her in Joynture; with

with whose beauty and gracefull behaviour, king *Edward* was so taken, that hee presently became a Suitor to her; and when he could not obtaine his suit by termes of wanton love, he was forced to seeke it by terms of Marriage.

And here we may well thinke there was no small ccfl & in King *Edwards* minde, between the two great commanders, Love and Honor, which of them should bee most potent; Honor put him in minde, that it was against his Law to take to wife a meaner person than himselfe; but Love would take no notice of any difference of degrees, but tooke it for his Prerogative to make all persons equall; Honour perswaded him that it stood him much upon to make good the Ambassage, in which he had sent the Earle of *Warwicke* to a great Prince; but Love perswaded him that it stood him more upon, to make good the Ambassage sent to himself from a greater Prince: In conclusion, it appeared to be true which one observes, *Improbe amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* what is it that love will not make a man to do? Whether it be, that love brings upon the minde a forgetfulnesse of all circumstances but such as tend to its own satisfaction; or whether it be that love is amongst passions, as oyle amongst liquors, which will alwayes be supreme and at the top; Honour may be honoured, but love will be obeyed: And therefore king *Edward*, though he knew no Superior upon Earth, yet he obeys the summons of Love; and upon the first day of *May*, marries the sayd Lady *Grey* at *Grafton*; the first of our kings since the Conquest that married his Subject: At which marriage none was present but the Durchesse of *Bedford*, the Priest, two Gentlewoman, & a yong man to helpe the Priest at Masse: the yeare after, with great solemnity she was Crowned Queen at *Westminster*. It is not unworthy the relating the Speech which king *Edward* had with his Mother, who sought to crosse this match: Where you say "(saith he) that she is a widdow, and hath already children; by Gods blessed Lady, "I am a Batchelour, and have some too, and so each of us hath a proofe, that neither of us is like to be barren; And as for your objection of Bigamy, (for his "mother had charged him with being contracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*) Let "the Bishop (saith he) lay it to my charge when I come to take Orders, for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, but I never wist it was forbidden a Prince. Upon this marriage, the Queens Father was created Earle *Rivers*, and made High-Constable of *England*; her brother the Lord *Anthony*, was married to the sole Heire of the Lord *Scales*, and by her had that Barony; her Son sir *Thomas Gray* was created Marquesse *Dorset*, and married *Cicelie*, heire to the Lord *Bonvile*. It may be thought a happy fortune for this Lady to be thus matched; but let all things be considered, and the miseries accruing to her by it, will be found equivalent, if not over-weighing all the benefits: For first, by this match she drew upon her selfe the envy of many, and was cause that her Husband fled the Realm, and her selfe in his absence glad to take Sanctuary, and in that place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most unprincely manner. After which, surviving her husband, she lived to see her two Sonnes most cruelly murthered; and for a conclusion of all, she lived to see her selfe confined to the Monastery of *Berdmondsey* in *Southwarke*, and all her goods confiscate by her own Son in Law.

And now the Earle of *Warwicke* at his return, found that knot tyed in *England*, which he had laboured to tye in *France*; His Ambassage frustrated, the Lady *Bona* deluded, the king of *France* abused, and himselfe made a stale, and the disgracefull instrument of all this; which although he resented in a high degree, yet he had not been a Courtier so long, but in that time he had sufficiently learned the Art of dissembling; he passed it over lightly for the present, but yet carried it in his minde till a fit opportunity; and thereupon procures leave to retire himselfe to his Castle of *Warwicke*.

King *Edward* in the meane time, having just cause to suspect hee had made the French his enemies, seeks to make other Princes his friends: He enters into a League with *John* king of *Aragon*; to whom he sent for a Present a score of *Cotsall* Ews, and five Rams, a small Present in shew, but great in the event; for it proved of more benefit to *Spain*, and of more detriment to *England* than could at first sight have been

imagined. And to ſecure himſelfe at home, he tooke truce with the king of *Scots* for fifteen years. And where he had married before his two Siſters, *Anne* the eldeſt to *Henry Holland* Earle of *Exeter*; and *Elizabeth* to *John de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolke*; he now matched *Margaret* his third Siſter, to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*; which proved a greater aſſiſtance to him, than that which he had loſt in *France*.

By this time the Earle of *Warwickes* ſpleen began ſo to ſwell within him, that hee could no longer containe it; and having with much adoe drawne to his party his two brothers, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and the Marqueſſe *Montacute*; he ſeeks alſo to draw in the kings two brothers, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*; but he found *Gloceſter* ſo reſerved, that he durſt not cloſe with him; the Duke of *Clarence* he found more open, and to him he addreſſeth himſelfe, complaining of the diſgrace he had ſuſtained by the king, in his employment into *France*, and other wrongs: to whom the Duke preſently made anſwer, in as great complaint of his brothers unkindneſſe to himſelf; ſaying, he had married his Wives brother *Anthony* to the heire of the Lord *Scales*, and her Son *Thomas* to the heire of the Lord *Bourchier*, but could finde no match of preferment for him being his own brother: And upon this agreement in complaints, they agree to joyne againſt king *Edward*; and to make the knot the firmer, the Duke of *Clarence* takes to wife *Iſabel* the Earle of *Warwicks* Daughter, and with her hath aſſured unto him halfe of the Lands the Earl held in right of his Wife, the Lady *Anne*, Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* deceaſed. Upon this marriage, the Earle of *Warwicke* diſcovered to him what hitherto he had concealed; concerning his project for the reſtoring of k. *Henry*, to which *Clarence* gave approbation, with promiſe to aſſiſt him in it to his uttermoſt.

At this time, Sir *Thomas Cooke* late Major of *London*, was by one *Hawkins* appeached of Treaſon, for the which he was ſent to the Tower, and his place in *London* ſeized by the Lord *Rivers*. The caſe was this; the ſayd *Hawkins* came to Sir *Thomas*, requeſting him to lend a thouſand Marks upon good ſurety; who anſwered, he would firſt know for whom it ſhould be, and for what intent; and underſtanding it ſhould be for the uſe of Queen *Margaret*, he refuſed to lend a penny. The matter reſted two or three years, till the ſayd *Hawkins* was layd in the Tower, and brought to the Brake, called *the Duke of Exeters Daughter*; by means of which paine, hee confeſſed amongſt other things, the motion he had made to Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and accuſed himſelfe ſo farre, that hee was put death. Sir *Thomas Cooke* lying in the Tower from *Whitſuntide* till *Michaelmas*, had his place in *Eſſex* named *Gyddihall*, ſpoyled, his Deere in his Parke deſtroyed; and though arraigned upon life and death, he were acquitted of the Indictment; yet could not be delivered till he had payd eight thouſand pounds to the king, and eight hundred to the Queen.

And now the Earle of *Warwicke* ſendeth to his brothers the Archbiſhop and the Marqueſſe, to prepare all things ready to ſet on foot the intended revolt from king *Edward*, and to procure ſome rebellious commotion in the North, whil'ſt he and his new Son in law would provide to goe forward with the worke; which they accordingly did in Yorkeſhire, an occaſion being taken for the breach of an ancient cuſtome there, to give to the poore people of St. *Leonards* in the City of *Yorke*, certain quantities of Corn and Grain. This commotion the Archbiſhop and the Marqueſſe underhand fomented; yet to colour the matter, the Marqueſſe oppoſed the Rebels, and cut off the head of *Robert Hulderne* their Captain; but his head being cut off, the Rebels got them other Captains; *Henry*, Son and heir to the Lord *Fitzhugh*, and ſir *Henry Nevill* Son to the Lord *Latimer*; the one the Nephew, the other a Cozen-germane to the Earle of *Warwicke*, with whom they joyne the valiant Captaine Sir *John Conyers*: Theſe when they could not enter *Yorke*, came marching towards *London*, all the way exclaiming againſt king *Edward* as an unjuſt Prince, and an uſurper. King *Edward* hearing of this commotion, ſends Sir *William Herbert*, whom of *a meane Gentleman*, two years before, he had made Earle of *Pembrooke*, and his brother ſir *Richard Herbert*, together with the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick* to ſuppreſſe the Rebels; and they with an Army of ſeven thouſand, moſt Welchmen, march towards them; but the Lord *Stafford* being put from his Inne where he uſed

to lodge, by the Earle of *Pembrooke*, tooke such a distaste at it, that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the businesse; yet the Earle of *Pembrooke* though thus forsaken, with his own Regiment encountred the Rebels, slew Sir *Henry Nevill*, and divers others; when being upon the point of victory, one *John Clappam* a servant of the Earle of *Warwicke*, comming in with five hundred rascally fellows, and crying aloud, a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*; the Welchmen supposing the Earle had beene come, turned presently their backs and fled; five thousand of them were slain, the Earle of *Pembrooke* himselfe, and his much lamented brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, a most goodly personage, were taken prisoners, brought to *Banbury*, where both of them, with ten other Gentlemen were put to death. And now the Northamptonshire men joyning with the Rebels, in this fury, made them a Captain named *Robert Hilliard*, but they named him *Robin* of *Riddesdale*, & suddenly came to *Grafton*, where they tooke the Earle *Rivers* father to the Queen, and his sonne Sir *John Woodvile*; brought them to *Northampton*, and there without Judgement beheaded them. King *Edward* advertised of these mischances, wrote to the Sheriffs of *Somerset-shire* and *Devon-shire* to apprehend the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, (who had treacherously forsaken the Earle of *Pembrooke*) and if they could take him, to put him to death; who being soon after found in a Village within *Brentmarsh*, was brought to *Bridgewater*, and there beheaded. After this battell fought at *Hedgecote*, commonly called *Banbury* field, the Northern men resorted to *Warwick*, where the Earl with great joy received them; and hearing that king *Edward* with a great army was comming thither, he sent for his sonne in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, with all speed to repaire unto him; who joyning together, and using means cunningly, by having some communication of Peace, to make the king secure, and to take little heed of himselfe, they took advantage of his security, and in the dead of night set on his Campe, and killing the watch; before the king was aware, at a place called *Wolney* foure miles from *Barwick*, they took him prisoner in his bed, and presently conveyed him to *Middleham* Castle in *Yorkeshire*, to be there in safe custody with the Archbishop of *Yorke*. And now they had the Prey in their hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: but king *Edward*, whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwise winning them by faire promises, got so much liberty, sometimes for his recreation to goe a hunting; by which he caused Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas* of *Burgh* and divers of his friends, at a certaine time to meet him; who took him from his Keepers, and set him againe at liberty: whil'st the Earle of *Warwicke* nothing doubting his brother the Archbishops care in safe keeping him, & thinking the brunt of the warres to be now past, dismist his Army, and intended only to finde out King *Henry*, who was kept a prisoner, but few men knew where.

King *Edward* being now at liberty, posteth to *York*, and from thence to *Lancaster*; where his Chamberlaine the Lord *Hastings* had raised some forces, with which he marcheth to *London*, and is there joyfully received: The Earle of *Warwick* likewise sends to his friends, and makes preparation for a new army; whil'st in the mean time, by mediation of divers Lords, an enterview in *Westminster-hall* is agreed upon, and solemn Oath taken on both sides for safety, between King *Edward*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*; but each party standing strictly upon terms tending to their own ends; they parted as great Enemies as they met: and so from thence the K. went to *Canterbury*, the Duke and the E. to *Lincolne*: whither they had preappointed their forces to repaire, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Wels*, Son & heir of the L. *Wels*, a man of great valour and experience in the warres: K. *Edward*, to take off so able a man from the Earles part, sends for his Father the L. *Wels* to come unto him; who taking with him, his Son in Law Sir *Thomas Dymock*, and comming to attend the Kings pleasure, was told by his friends how wonderfully the King was incensed against them: whereupon for their safety, they take Sanctuary at *Westminster*. But upon the Kings Princely word, they come unto him, who commandeth the Lord *Wells* to write to his Sonne, to desist from adhering to the Earle of *Warwicke*, which the Lord *Wells* accordingly did: but Sir *Robert Wells* notwithstanding his Fathers letters, continuing firme to the Earle still, so much incensed

King *Edward*, that he caused both his Father and Sir *Thomas Dymock* to be beheaded. He supposed perhaps, that the Lord *Wells* was himself underhand a friend to the Earl, and had not dealt sincerely with him, in procuring his Sonne to leave that party. But now Sir *Robert Wells* seeing the King draw neer to *Stamford*, where he had pitched his Tents, and hearing of his Fathers beheading, was much distracted what to doe: to decline battell with the King, he thought would shew too much feare; and to give him battell before the Earle of *Warwicke* were come with his forces, would shew too much boldnesse; But his Veines were so filled with a desire of revenging his Fathers death, that he thought he could never shew boldnesse enough; and thereupon encountring with the Kings Army, farre greater then his own, oppressed with multitude was taken prisoner, together with Sir *Thomas de Lound* and divers others; who presently in the place were put to execution: as soone as Sir *Robert Wells* was taken, the *Lincolneshire* men to make themselves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coates, for which cause, this battell was afterward called *Lose-coate-field*, in which, it is reported, were slaine above ten thousand men.

The Earle of *Warwick* hearing of this Defeate, and not having present means to raise an army sufficient to oppose king *Edward*; when he could by no means draw the Lord *Stanley* to his party, he determined to saile into *France*, and hyring ships at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, he with his sonne in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, and their wives, took to Sea; and thinking to land at *Callice*, of which Town he himself was Captaine, he was by the Lord *Vawcleere* a *Gascoigne*, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled; and with so great inhumanity, that the Dutchesse of *Clarence* who was then in labour, was faine to be delivered in the ship, (all the courtesie in that distresse shewed, was only to send a flaggon or two of wine,) which fact of *Vawcleeres* when king *Edward* heard of, he was so well pleased with it, that he presently sent him a Patent to be Captaine of the Town himself: and the Duke of *Burgoigne* for the same service, sent unto him *Philip de Comines* (who hath written the History of these times) with a grant of one thousand Crowns pension during his life. Never man was beter paid for one act of dissembling; for the truth was, *Pro amore exclusit forte*, it was out of his love, that he suffered him not to enter the Town, for he knew there were many great ones in it so addicted to king *Edward*, and so maliciously bent against the Earle, that if he or any of his company should have come, they would in all likelihood have done them some mischiefe: And hereof he made a good proofe soon after: for when the Earle took to sea again, the Lord *Vawcleere* sent him word, he should take heed where he landed; for that the Duke of *Burgoigne* lay in waite to take him; which advertisement did the Earle more good, then the keeping him out of *Callice* did him hurt. The Earle upon this advertisement, landed at *Diepe* in *Normandie*, whereof when king *Lewis* heard, he sent and invited him to come to his Court at *Amboise*, where he received him with no lesse honour, than if he had been a king. In the mean time king *Edward* made enquiry for all such as were ayders to the Earle of *Warwick*, of whom some were apprehended as guilty, some fled to Sanctuary, and some submitted to the kings mercy; as *John* Marquesse *Montacute*, whom he courteously received. Queen *Margaret*, who at this time sojourned with Duke *Reyner* her father, hearing of the Earle of *Warwicks* arrivall, with her Sonne Prince *Edward*, came to *Amboise*, and with her also came *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, lately escaped out of prison and fled into *France*, between whom a new Combination is made; and for a foundation of firme amitie, king *Henries* sonne Prince *Edward*, marries *Anne* the Earle of *Warwicks* second daughter: after which marriage, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earles took a solemn Oath, never to leave the warre till either king *Henry* or his sonne Prince *Edward* were restored to the Crown. But notwithstanding this Oath, this marriage put new thoughts into the Duke of *Clarence* his minde, casting with himselfe that the issue of it could be no lesse then the utter extirpation of the house of *Yorke*: whereupon, making faire shew still to his Father in Law the Earle of *Warwicke*, he underhand fals off, and secretly gives advertisement to his brother king *Edward* of all their proceedings. And now the Earle of *Warwicke* having been six months in *France*; in this time he had

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procured from the king of *France*, both ships, and men, and money, and receiving letters out of *England*, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their lives in his quarrell, if he would come, (for the people generally held him in such admiration, that they thought the Sunne was taken from the world, when he was absent: and this in great part for his great Hospitality, who it is said, used to spend six Oxen at a breakfast) he with the Earles of *Oxford* and *Pembroke* took to sea, and though the Duke of *Burgoigne* had a Fleet at sea, to intercept him, yet his Fleet being by tempest scattered, and king *Edward* nulling to that Fleet, having provided no other, the Earle had a quiet passage to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, where being landed, he made Proclamation in king *Henry* the sixths name, that all good Subjects should prepare to fight against king *Edward*, who contrary to Right had usurped the Crowne. Upon which Proclamation, it is scarce to be believed, how many thousands of men resorted to him, with which forces, he made towards *London*: upon notice of whose approach, on the Sunday next after *Michaelmas* day, one Doctor *Goddard* a Chaplaine of His, preaching at *Pauls Crosse*, did so set forth his Earles pious intention, that many of his auditory were moved to favour the Earles proceeding: insomuch, that the Marquesse *Montacute*, who had in king *Edwards* behalf, levied six thousand men about *London*, found them all inclinable to goe with him to the Earle of *Warwick*, and accordingly went and joyned with him. King *Edward* hearing of the great flocking of people to the Earle, sent forth letters into all parts of the Realme for raysing an army; but few came, and those few, with no great good will: which when he perceived, he began to doubt his case; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of *Glocester* his brother, the L. *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, (who having married the Earle of *Warwicks* sister, yet continued ever true to king *Edward*) and the Lord *Scales* brother to the Queen; he departed into *Lincolnshire*, and coming to *Lyn*, he found there an English Ship, and two Hulks of *Holland* ready to make sayle: whereupon he, with the forenamed Lords, and about seven or eight hundred persons entred the Ship, having no provision with him but only the apparell they wore; and so bare of money, that he was faine to reward the Master of his Ship with one of his Garments: and thus making course towards the Duke of *Burgoignes* Country, they were presently chased by eight great Ships of Easterlings, open Enemies both to *England* and *France*; which drove him before a Towne in the Country called *Alquemare*, belonging to the Duke of *Burgoigne*: where by chance, the Lord *Grunture* Governour of that Country, at that time was, who defended them from the Easterlings, and brought them to the *Hage* in *Holland*, where they had all things ministred to them, by order from the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

At this time, upon news of the Earle of *Warwicks* approach, Queen *Elizabeth* forsaketh the Tower, and secredy taketh sanctuary at *Westminster*, where in great penury forsaken of all her friends, she was brought a bed of a sonne called *Edward*, who like a poore mans childe was Christened, the Godfathers being the Abbot and Pryor of *Westminster*, and the Lady *Scrope* Godmother.

And now the Earle of *Warwicke* entring the Tower, removes king *Henry* out of his hold of durance, where he had been almost nine years, into his own lodging, where he was served according to his Estate; which the Earle did more congratulate, then the king himselfe. Upon this sixth day of *October*, king *Henry* accompanied with the Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Pryor of S. *Johns*, the Bishop of *London*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Warwicke* and other Noblemen, apparelled in a long gown of blew Velvet, was conducted through *London*, to the Bishops Palace, where he rested till the thirteenth of that moneth, on which day he went in solemne procession about *Pauls* Church, wearing his Imperiall Crown; the Earle of *Warwick* bearing up his trayne; and the Earle of *Oxford* the sword before him. The next day, in all usuall places about *London*, king *Edward* was Proclaimed an Usurper, and all his partakers Traytors to God and the king; whereof *John* Lord *Tiptoft* Earle of *Worcester*, as a partaker with king *Edward*, was made the first example. This Lord had been Lievtenant for King *Edward* in *Ireland*, where having done something for which he fled, he was afterward found on the top of a high Tree, in the Forrest

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of *Weybridge*, in the County of *Huntington*, and being there taken, was brought to *London*, Attainted, and beheaded on the Tower hill, and after buried at the *Blackfryers*.

About this time happened an accident not unworthy to be related: Sir *William Hankeford* knight, one of the chiefe Justices at the Law; who dwelt at *Annery* in *Devonshire*, a man of great possessions, and having no sonne, the Lord *Fitzwarren*, Sir *John Sentleger*, and Sir *William Bollier* married his daughters, and were his heires: This man grew into such a degree of Melancholy, that one day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with negligence, in suffering his Deere to be stolne: and thereupon commanded him, that if he met any man in his circuit in the night-time, that would not stand or speak, he should not spare to kill him whatsoever he were. The knight having thus layd his foundation, and meaning to end his dolefull dayes, in a certaine darke night secretly conveyd himselfe out of his house, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his night-walk hearing one stirring, and comming towards him, asked, who was there? but no answer being made, he willed him to stand, which when he would not doe, the Keeper shot and killed him, and comming to see who he was, found him to be his Master.

On the twentieth day of *November*, a Parliament is held at *Westminster*, wherein King *Edward* and all his partakers are attainted of high Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to King *Henries* use. *George Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence*, is by authority of this Parliament, adjudged heire to *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* his father, and that Dutchy setled upon him and his heires, notwithstanding the Primogeniture of *Edward*: upon him also was entailed the Crown of *England*, in case heires males of the body of King *Henry* failed. *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and *John* Earle of *Oxford*, are fully restored to their Lands and Honours and *Warwick* and *Clarence* are made Governours of the King and kingdome. To this Parliament came the Marquesse *Montacute*, excusing himselfe, that for feare of death he had taken King *Edwards* part, which excuse was accepted. Queen *Margaret* is sent for into *France*, but by reason of contrary windes was kept back all that Winter.

About this time, *Jasper* Earle of *Pembroke* going into *Wales* to view his lands in *Pembrokeshire*, found there the Lord *Henry*, borne of *Margaret* the onely daughter and heire of *John* the first Duke of *Somerset*, not being then full ten years of age, kept in manner like a captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady *Herbert*; him he brings with him to *London*, and presents him to King *Henry*; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he said to the Lords about him: Loe, this is he, to whom both we and our adversaries, leaving the possession of all things, shall hereafter give place. Which if it be true, It shews a very Propheticall Spirit to have been in King *Henry*; that could so long before, foretell a thing so unlikely to happen: for this was he, that was afterward King *Henry* the Seventh, before whom at that time there were many lives in being, of both the houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of *Burgoignes* means, King *Edward* is furnished with eighteen tall ships, two thousand *Dutchmen*, and fifty thousand florens of gold; and thus furnished, he took to Sea, and landed at *Ravenspurre* in *Yorkeshire*, where he found but cold entertainment; never theleſſe he made a wary march to *Yorke*, where likewise he found no great expression of welcome, so as he was forced to change his pretence, swearing deeply and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to disturbe King *Henry*, but only to recover his own inheritance; and for the more shew thereof, wearing an *Estriche* feather, Prince *Edwards* livery; which proposition seemed so reasonable, that many who resisted him before, were as ready to assist him now: and if he be blamed for breaking his Oath; it must be considered, It was *Regni causa*, to recover his Kingdome, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing, but to recover his Inheritance: and so he brake not his Oath neither. From *Yorke* he marched towards *Wakefield* and *Sendall*, leaving the Castle of *Pomfret* upon his left hand, where the Marquesse *Montacute* with his Army lay, but did not offer to stop him: From *Wakefield* he came to *Doncaster*, and from thence to *Nottingham*, where there came to him

him Sir *William Parre* and Sir *James Harrington* with six hundred men; also Sir *Thomas Burgh* and *Thomas Montgomery* with their aydes, who caused him to make Proclamation in his own name: affirming they would serve no man but a King. From *Nottingham* he came to *Leicester*, where three thousand able men, and well armed came unto him: From *Leicester* he came before the wals of *Coventry*; into which City the Earle of *Warwick* had withdrawn himselfe, keeping himselfe close therein, with his people, being about six or seven thousand men; three dayes together king *Edward* provoked him to come forth to battell; but he stayed for more forces, and would not doe it: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward to *Warwicke* eight miles from *Coventry*, thinking thither at least he should have drawne the Earle of *Warwicke*, but neither would that doe it: Indeed the Earle looked for the comming of the Duke of *Clarence*, with twelve thousand men to joyn with him, but that expectation proved vaine, for the Duke was now fully reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*, and brought all his forces to joyn with him; onely he sought to make amity between King *Edward* and the Earle: but though King *Edward* offered generall Pardon, and other faire conditions; yet none would please the Earle, without restoring of King *Henry*. But now to repaire the defection of the Duke of *Clarence*, there came to the Earle of *Warwick* at *Coventry*, the Earle of *Oxford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Marquesse *Montacute*, by whose comming that side was not a little strengthened; yet all this ayde would not make the Earle of *Warwick* to come to battell: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward towards *London*: Both sides seek to make *London* their friend; the Earle of *Warwicke* sends to his brother the Archbishop of *York* to labour in it; who thereupon caused king *Henry* to mount on horseback, and to ride from *Pauls* through *Cheape* down *Walbrooke*, supposing that this shewing of the king, would have allured the Citizens to assist him: but this device prevailed little, brought not in above seven or eight thousand men, a small proportion to withstand king *Edward*; and when the Archbishop of *York* saw this backwardnes in the Citizens, or rather indeed an inclination to king *Edward*, he secretly sent to him, to receive him into grace; which upon Promise to continue faithfull hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of *April* in the year 1471, and the eleventh of his Reigne, king *Edward* made his entry into the City of *London*, ryding first to *Pauls* Church, and from thence to the Bishops Palace, where the Archbishop of *York* presented himselfe unto him, and having king *Henry* by the hand, delivered him to king *Edward* (six moneths after his readeption of the Crown) and then king *Edward* being seized of his person, went from *Pauls* to *Westminster*, and there gave God most hearty thanks for his safe return. The reasons alleadged here by *Philip Comines* for the Citizens receiving of king *Edward*, seeme scarce worthy of so good an Authour: one cause (saith he) was, because king *Edward* being extreamly indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they should have lost their debt; another, because he had won the love of many Citizens wives, who importuned their husbands to receive him.

The Earle of *Warwicke* having intelligence that king *Edward* was received into *London*, and king *Henry* delivered into his hands, marched out and encamped at St. *Albans*, and after some refreshing of his Army, removed towards *Barnet*, and in a large plaine there, called *Gladmore heath*, pitched his Campe; which king *Edward* hearing, on Easter Eve the thirteenth of *April*, he marched forth, and came that evening to *Barnet*, where he would not suffer a man of his Army to stay in the town, but commanded them all to the field, and lodged with his Army more neer to the Enemy then he was aware, by reason of a Mist, (raised some say, by one *Bungey* a Conjurer) which made it so darke, that it could not be well observed where they were encamped. In taking his ground, he caused his people to keep as much silence as was possible, thereby to keep the enemy from knowing of their approach. Great Artillery they had on both parts, but the Earle more then the King; and therefore in the night time, they shot from his Campe almost continually, but did little hurt, because they still overshot them, as lying neerer then was conceived. On Easter-day, early in the Morning, both Armies are ordered for battaile; The Earle of *War-*

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wick appointed the Command of the Right wing, which consisted of Horse, to his brother the Marquesse *Montacute*, and the Earle of *Oxford*; The Left wing consisting likewise of horse, was led by himselfe and the Duke of *Exceter*; and the main Battell consisting of Bills and Bows, was conducted by the Duke of *Somerset*. On the kings part, the Vaward was commanded by the Duke of *Gloucester*; the battell (in which was king *Henry*) was led by king *Edward* himself; and the Lord *Hastings* brought on the Reere. After exhortations for encouragement of their Souldiers, the fight began; which with great valour was maintained by the space of six houres, without any apparent disadvantage on either side; onely the Earles Vaward, by the valiancy of the Earle of *Oxford*, seemed somewhat to over-match the kings; which made some flying towards *London* to carry news, that the Earle of *Warwick* had wonne the field; and he had perhaps done so indeed, but for a strange misfortune which happened to the Earle of *Oxford* and his men; for they having a Starre with streams on their liveries, as king *Edwards* men had the Sunne, the Earle of *Warwicks* men, by reason of the Myst, not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the Earle of *Oxfords* men, that were on their part: whereupon the Earle of *Oxford* cryed, Treason! and fled with eight hundred men. At length after great slaughter made on both sides, king *Edward* having the greater number of men, (as some write, though other say the contrary) caused a new power of fresh men (which he had kept of purpose) to come on: which the Earle of *Warwick* observing, being a man of an invincible courage, nothing dismaied, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he adventured so farre, that amongst the presse he was stricken down and slaine. (Though some write, that the Earle seeing the desperate estate of his Army, leapt on a horse to fly; and comming to a Wood where was no passage, one of king *Edwards* men came to him, killed him, and spoyled him to the naked skin.) The Marquesse *Montacute*, thinking to succour his brother, lost likewise his life, and left the Victory to king *Edward*. On both sides were slaine, as *Hall* saith, ten thousand at the least; *Fabian* saith, but fifteen hundred, but then he means onely of the kings side. Upon the kings part were slaine the Lord *Cromwell*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Montjoyes* Sonne and heire, Sir *Humfry Bourchier* sonne and heire to the Lord *Berners*, and divers other knights and gentlemen. On the Earls part were slaine, the Earle himselfe, the Marquesse *Montacute*, and three and twenty knights, of whom Sir *William Tyrrell* was one. The Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earle of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*, to *Jasper* Earle of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exceter* being stricken down, and so wounded that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known; but comming to himselfe, he got up, and escaped to *Westminster*, and there took Sanctuary. The dead bodies of the Earle and Marquesse were brought to *London* in a Coffin, and by the space of three dayes lay open-faced in the Cathedrall Church of St. *Paul*, and then buried with their Ancestours, in the Priory of *Bisham*. This Earle of *Warwick* was *Richard Nevill*, sonne and heire of *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Salisbury*, who married the daughter of *Richard Beauchamp* the sixth Earle of *Warwick*, and in her right was Earle of *Warwick*, in his own, of *Salisbury*: he was also Lord *Montbermer*, great Chamberlaine, and high Admirall of *England*, Lord Warden of the North Marches towards *Scotland*, and high Steward of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*: he had issue two Daughters, *Isabell* married to *George* Duke of *Clarence*; and *Anne*, first married to Prince *Edward* king *Henry* the sixths Sonne, and after to *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*.

Wee may here observe a Constellation of disastrous influences, concurring all to the overthrow of this great *Warwicke*; whereof, if any one had been missing, the wheele of his fortune had perhaps not turned: For if the City of *Yorke* had not too credulously believed king *Edwards* Oath, not to disturbe king *Henry*; or if the Marquesse *Montacute* had stopped (as he might) his passage at *Pomfret*; or if the Duke of *Clarence* had not at the very point of the battell at St. *Albans*, deserted his party and joyned with king *Edward*; or if Queen *Margaret* had not by tempest been kept from comming into *England* in time; or if the *Londoners* had not been retrograde and deceived his expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as

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he was: But *Fata viam invenient*; destiny will finde waies that were never thought of, will make way where it findes none; and that which is ordained in heaven, shall be effected by means of which Earth can take no notice.

Queen *Margaret*, when it was too late, accompanied with *John Longstrother* Prior of Saint *Johns*, and the Lord *Wenlock*, with divers Knights and Esquires tooke shipping at *Harflew*, the foure and twentieth of *March*, but by tempest was kept back till the thirteenth of *April*; and then with her sonne Prince *Edward*, shee landed at *Weymouth*, and from thence went to an Abby hard by called *Cern*, and then to *Bewly* in *Hampshire*, [whither there came unto her *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, and *Thomas Courtney* Earle of *Devonshire*, with divers others; amongst whom, it is resolved once more to try their fortune in the field; but then the Queen would have had her sonne Prince *Edward* to be sent into *France*, there to remaine in safety, till the next battell were tryed; but they being of a contrary minde, and specially the Duke of *Somerset*, shee at length consented, though afterward she repented it. From *Bewly* she with her sonne and the Earle of *Somerset* passeth on to *Briflow*, intending with what power they could raise in *Glocestershire*, to march into *Wales*, to joyn with *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, who was there making preparation of more forces. King *Edward* hearing of these things, resolves to crosse this Conjunction, and followes Queen *Margaret* with a great Power so close, that neere *Tewkesbury* in *Glocestershire* he overtakes her forces, who resolutely turn and make head against him; where *Somerset*, on the Queens part, leading the Vaunt-guard, performed the part of a valiant Commander; but finding his souldiers through wearines begin to faint, and that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the conduct of the battaile on the Queens part, moved no, the rode unto him, and upbrayding him with cowardise or treachery, never staid, but with his Pollaxe beat out his braines; and now before he could bring in his men to the rescue, their Vaward was routed, and *John* Earle of *Devonshire*, with above three thousand of the Queens part were slaine: The Queen her selfe, *John Beaufort* the Duke of *Somersets* brother, the Prior of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Gervis Clifton* and divers others were taken prisoners; all which except the Queen, were the next day beheaded. At which time Sir *Richard Crofts* presented to king *Edward* king *Henries* Son *Edward*, whom he had taken prisoner; to whom king *Edward* at first shewed no uncourteous countenance; but demanding of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his Realm with Arms? and he answering, though truly, yet unseasonably, *To recover my Fathers Kingdome and Heritage*; King *Edward* with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some say) strooke him with his Gantlet; and then presently *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, *Thomas Grey* Marquesse *Dorset*, and *William* Lord *Hastings* standing by, fell upon him in the place, and murdred him. His body was homely interred with other ordinary Corpses, in the Church of the Monastery of the *Black-fryers* in *Tewkesbury*. After the Victory thus obtained, king *Edward* repaired to the Abbey Church of *Tewkesbury*, to give God thankes for his good successe; and finding there a great number of his enemies, that were fled thither to save themselves, he gave them all free Pardon; onely *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, *John Longstrother* Pryor of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Tresham*, Sir *Gervis Clifton* and divers other Knights and Esquires, who were apprehended there, and brought before the Duke of *Glocester*, sitting that day as Constable of *England*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* as Marshall, were all arraigned, condemned and judged to Dye, and accordingly upon the Tuesday being the seventh of *May*, they were all, and twelve other knights more, on a Scaffold set up in the middle of the Town, beheaded, but not dismembred, and permitted to be buried. The same day Queen *Margaret* was found in a poore house of Religion, not farre from thence, into which she was fled for safeguard of her life; but she was after brought to *London*, and there kept a Prisoner, till her Father ransomed her with great summes of money. This was the last pitcht battell that was fought in *England*, in king *Edward* the fourths dayes, which happened on the fourth of *May*, being Saturday, in the Eleventh yeere of his reigne, and in the yeere of our Lord 1471.

King *Edward* being assured, that as long as any partakers of king *Henry* lived and were

were at liberty, he should never be free from plots against his life; sent *Roger Vaughan*, a Gentleman much reckoned of in his own Country, to entrape *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, who had escaped from the last encounter: but he having notice of the plot before, prevented it by striking off *Vaughans* head.

After these great Clouds were thus dispersed, there arose a little Cloud, which gave the Realme, at least the City of *London* no small disquiet. For now, *Thomas* bastard *Fauconbridge*, who had been imployed by the Earle of *Warwick* to scowre the Seas, hearing of these defeats; having enriched himselfe by Piracy, gathered together an Army of seventeen thousand men, and comming to *London*, imperiously commanded admission into the City, and releasement of King *Henry* out of prison: but being denyed entrance, and hearing that king *Edward* with a great power was comming towards him, he brings up his shipping to Saint *Katherines*, and taking with him his most desperate men, with them he marcheth to *Kingston-bridge*, but finding that bridge broken down, and all the places of passage guarded, he withdrew his forces into Saint *Georges* field, from whence he prepared to assault the City of *London*; for the effecting whereof, he landed all his ship Ordinance, and planted them all alongst the Banks-side, with which he battered down many houses, and much annoyed the City; but the Citizens on the other side, lodged their great Artillery against their Adversaries, with which they so galled them, that they durst not abide in any place alongst the water side, but were driven even from their own Ordinance: Then he appointed his men to set fire on the bridge, and withall caused three thousand to passe over the Thames, and some of them to assault *Aldgate*, and some *Bishopsgate*, but were in all places, by the industry of the Citizens repelled, and chiefely by *Robert Basset* and *Ralph Jocelyne* Aldermen: Upon this he retyred to *Black-heath* and there encamped by the space of three dayes; but then hearing that king *Edward* was comming with a great Army, he got him to his ship, but the rest fled some one way, some another. The one and twentieth of *May*, the king comming to *London*, thanked the Citizens for their pains and care, and dubbed the Major, the Recorder *Urswicke*, and *Basset* and *Jocelyne* Aldermen, Knights.

And now the time was come for king *Henry* to be delivered out of all his troubles; for the bloody Duke of *Gloucester* entring the Tower, where he found king *Henry*, nothing at all troubled with all his Crosses, struck him into the heart with his Dagger and there slew him. And now we have had within the space of half a yeer, one Parliament Proclaiming king *Edward* an Usurper, and king *Henry* a lawfull king; and another Proclaiming king *Edward* a lawfull king, & king *Henry* an Usurper: that we may know in humane affairs, there is nothing certaine, but uncertainty; nothing stable, but instability.

King *Edward* presently after the interment of king *Henry*, drawes his forces towards *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where some of the followers of *Fauconbridge*, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Castle there strongly fortified themselves, but upon their asking Pardon and submitting themselves to the king, with promise to be faithfull Subjects ever after, they had their Pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Castle and Ships to the number of thirteen, to the kings use. But how this Composition was observed, may be imagined; when *Fauconbridge* who was comprised in the same Pardon, was afterward taken and executed at *Southampton*, *Spicing* and *Quintine* the Captaines that assailed *Aldgate* and *Bishopsgate*, and were in *Sandwich* Castle, at the surrender thereof; were presently beheaded at *Canterbury*, and their heads placed on poles, upon those gates: and by a Commission of *Oyre* and *Terminer*, many both in *Essex* and *Kent*, were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

And now king *Edward*, desiring to be secured from all suspected persons, sent the Archbishop of *Yorke*, brother to the Earle of *Warwick*, over to *Guisnes*, there to be kept in safe custody; and there he remained a long time, till at length by friendship he was delivered, and shortly after dyed. Likewise *John* Earle of *Oxford*, who after *Barnet Field* yeelded himselfe to king *Edward*, had his life pardoned; but yet was sent over sea to the Castle of *Hammes*, where for the space of twelve years he

was

was shut up in strong prison, and narrowly looked too. As for the Earles of *Pembrooke* and *Richmond*, who were fled out of the Realme, to the Duke of *Britaine*, king *Edward* sent to the Duke, requiring to have them delivered up unto him, upon promise of great rewards; to which the Duke made answer, that he could not with his honour deliver them up, whom he had taken into his Protection; but that for king *Edwards* sake, he would take such care of them, that he should need to take no care for them; and to that end, he sequestred their own servants from them, and appointed *Britaines* to attend upon them.

It was now the thirteenth year of king *Edwards* reigne, in which a Parliament was called at *Westminster*: wherein all acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived; and all their Lands and Goods confiscated, that had taken part against him and were fled and all their lands and goods restored to such as had taken part with him.

King *Edward* being destin'd to be alwayes in troubles; now that he had quietnesse at home, was drawn into new broyles abroad; for the Duke of *Burgoigne* at this time having warres with *France*, thought he could no way make a better harvest to himselfe, then by sowing seeds of dissention between *France* and *England*; and to this end, he sends Ambassadours to king *Edward*, to sollicite him to set on foot his Title to the Crown of *France*; making great offers, with Protestation to assist him in it, both with Purse and Person. This proposition being seriously debated by the Kings Privy Counsell, is at last approved of, as being both lawfull and behovefull, for the honour of the King, and good of the kingdome. Onely means to beare the charges of the warre, were wanting; to supply which by a Parliamentary course, would ask too much time: a new course therefore is devised, to procure mony from the Subject by way of Benevolence; and this course was taken.

About this time, *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceter* and Earle of *Huntington*, dis-inherited by Act of Parliament, in the fourth yeer of this King, (though he had married King *Edwards* Sister; yet grew to so great misery, that passing over into *Flanders*, he was there forced all ragged and bare-foot to beg his bread:) was found dead, and stripe naked, between *Dover* and *Callice*: but how he came to his death, no enquiry could bring to light.

Provision for this French expedition being throughly made; and order taken for the quiet government of the kingdome in his absence, and the stop of incursions, if any by the *Scots* should be made: King *Edward* with an Army of fifteen hundred men at arms, all of the Nobility and Gentry, fifteen thousand Archers on horseback, eight thousand Common souldiers, and three thousand Pioners, came down to *Dover*, whither the Duke of *Burgoigne* had sent five hundred flat bottom'd boates, to transport the Horse to *Callice*; yet for all that helpe, it was two and twenty dayes before the kings forces were all past over. Before the kings departure from *Dover*, (to the end he might not seem to surprize him) he sent an Herauld named *Genter*, a Norman by birth, with a letter of Defiance to the French king, (so well written, saith *Comines*, that he thought it not of any English mans enditing; as though Englishmen could not endite aswell as the French) Requiring him to yeeld unto him the Crown of *France*, his unquestionable Inheritance; which if he should dare to deny, he would then endeavor to recover it by the Sword. This letter the French king read, & thereupon withdrawing himselfe, caused the Herauld to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of *Burgoigne* and the Earle of Saint *Paul* the Constable, (by whose instigation, he knew the king of *England* was drawn to this Designe) would but delude him, for that they were Dissemblers, and Impostors: and therfore said, It would conduce more to the honor of the king of *England* to continue in League with him, though an old Adversary; then to hazard the fortune of the warres, upon the promised assistance of new-come Deceivers: and so commend me (saith he) to the king thy Master, and say what I have told thee: and then with an honourable reward of three hundred Crowns, dismist him: The Herauld promised to doe all that in him lay, and (beyond his Commission) shewed the French king wayes, (by working upon the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*) by

which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not, would fort to a good Conclusion. The French king glad to hear it, gave the Herauld, besides the other reward, a piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty yards long; and withall sent to king Edward the goodliest Horse he had in his Stable, as also an Asse, a Wolph, and a wilde Bore, beasts at that time rare in England: and then the Herauld returning to Callice, delivered to king Edward the French kings answer.

And now to make good the French kings allegation to the Herauld; the Duke of Burgoigne, who had promised in the word of a Prince, to bring to Callice by this time, two thousand Launces and foure thousand Strachots or light horse, failed to come: whereupon the Lord Scales is by king Edward sent to the Duke, to put him in minde of his promise, and to hasten his comming with his promised forces: But the journey was to little purpose; onely it occasioned the Duke with a small troop of horse to come to the king, formally to excuse himselfe for having been so backward; but the cause (he said) was, for that having been imbroiled in the siege of Nuz, he could not depart thence without infinite disgrace, if neither composition nor submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespasse upon his patience, he was enforced to doe, by the obstinacy of the besieged: but promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily. The Constable likewise by his letter perswades the king of England to proceede in the action, and not to doubt both from the Duke and himself, to be sufficiently every way accommodated.

King Edward thus encouraged, passeth on, but in his way found no performance of promises, either on the Dukes or Constables part; for the Duke did not accommodate the souldiers at their comming to Peronne, with victuals or lodging in such manner as was requisite and expected; and the Constable in stead of surrendring up Saint Quintins according to agreement, made a sally out upon such as were sent from the king of England to take possession, and plaid upon them with his great Ordinance: whereupon k. Edward began to suspect the truth of the French k. description of the Dukes and Constables conditions; and from thence forward stood upon his own guard, and gave no further credit to their Protestations, which the Duke of Burgoigne resenting, pretended occasions for the hasting forward his forces, & promising speedy return together with them, taketh his leave and departeth, which did not a little increase the kings suspition.

The French king having intelligence of the Duke of Burgoignes departure, forecasting the danger, if they should unite their forces; resolved with himselfe, to allay what might be done to mediate a Peace in the Dukes absence; and yet so to treate, that if it took not effect, he might disclaime the knowledge of the overture: whereupon he privately dispatcheth a messenger, in shew an Herauld; but was indeed a fellow of no office or estimation, and not known to any of the Kings household, but to Villiers the Master of the Horse, who only was acquainted with the plot and party. This counterfeit Pursuivant at Arms, with a coate made of a Trumpets Banner-rowle, addressed himself to the king of England, and upon admission to his presence, insinuates the French Kings desire, which was, to have Commissioners on both parts assigned, to conferre of the means to reconcile the differences between the two Kings; or at least to conclude a cessation from arms for some time: And so well this Messenger delivered his errand, that it was credited, and the kings request granted; and thereupon letters of safe conduct, are sent of both sides, for such Commissioners as to this purpose should meet at Amyens. For king Edward, came the Lord Howard, Sir Anthony Woodvile, and Doctor Morton, after made Lord Chancelour of England. For king Lewis, came the Admirall of France, the Lord Saint Piere, and Hebert Bishop of Eureux. After long Conference, Articles of Peace were concluded on to this effect: That the French king should pay presently to the king of England, threescore and fifteen thousand Crowns, and from thence forth, annually, fifty thousand Crowns, during the life of king Edward: That within one yeare, the French king should send for the Lady Elizabeth the king of Englands daughter, and joyn her in marriage to the Dolphin: That the Lord Howard, and Sir John Cheyney Master of the

Horse,

horſe, ſhould remaine in hoſtage there, till the Engliſh army had quitted *France*, and a generall peace for nine yeers; wherein the Dukes of *Burgoigne* and *Brittaine*, are included, if they will accept thereof: This Concluſion was the more eaſily compaſſed, by the king of *France* his following the Heraulds Counſell; for he diſtributed fifteen thouſand Crowns amongſt king *Edwards* Counſellours and Favorites, two thouſand Crowns to the Lord *Haſtings* the kings Chamberlaine, and to the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony Seatleger*, and *Montgomery*, the reſidue; beſides great ſtore of Plate and Jewels, diſtributed amongſt inferiour Officers of the Court. The Duke of *Glocester* onely oppoſed this accord, as not ſuiting with his deſigne; Nevertheleſſe it proceeded, and notice thereof is preſently ſent to the Duke of *Burgoigne*; who thereupon onely with fifteen horſe, comes poſting to the Engliſh Campe, whom king *Edward* perſwades to enter into the peace, according to the reſervation; but he in a great chafe, reproacheth king *Edward* for entring into it himſelfe; ſaying, that his predeceſſours had by many brave exploits gotten fame and reputation upon the French; and now he had brought his ſouldiers onely to ſhew them the Country, and returne as they came; adding withall, that to make it appeare he was able without helpe of the Engliſh to ſubſiſt of himſelfe; he utterly diſclaimed any benefit by that Truce, untill three months after the Engliſh were returned to their own Country; and ſo in a great fruffe returned home.

For the better Confirmation of what was agreed upon between the two kings, an enterview is deſired; but before the ſame is effectuated, the French king ſends to the Engliſh army an hundred Tonne of *Gaſcoigne* wine, to be drunke out amongſt the private ſouldiers, and therewithall, free licence for Commanders and Gentlemen to recreate themſelves in *Amyens*, where they were lovingly entertained by the Burgers of the Town, by the kings expreſſe command. The place of enterview of theſe two kings, is agreed on to be at *Picquency*, a Town three miles diſtant from *Amyens*, ſeated in a bottome, through which the river of *Some* runneth, over which a ſtrong bridge was built, and in the midſt thereof a grate made overthwart with barres, no wider under than a man might well thruſt in his arme, covered with boardes overhead, to void the rain-foure of the Bed-chamber on both ſides, are appointed to ſearch the rooms, to prevent traps or inſtruments of treachery: and being by them certified that all was cleere, the kings advance themſelves. King *Edward* being come in ſight of the place, made a ſtand; being told, that the circumſtance of comming firſt to the place, was a matter of great diſparagement in point of State: but the French king more regarding ſubſtance then circumſtance, gave the king of *England* the advantage to come at his pleaſure, and went firſt to the barre appointed for conference, and there did attend king *Edwards* leaſure. He had in his Company, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, with his brother the Cardinall, and eight hundred men at Arms. King *Edward* had with him, his brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlaine and Chancellour, and at his backe his whole Army in battell. The kings lovingly ſalute each other, and complements of courteſie reciprocally paſſed which finiſhed, They with their Noblemen there preſent, take all their Oathes upon the holy Evangeliſts, in all to their power, to obſerve the Articles of Accord agreed on. After which, In private the French king importunes king *Edward*, that the Duke of *Brittaine* might be left out of theſe Articles: but after much ſpeaking to that purpoſe, king *Edward* gave his reſolute anſwer, that if king *Lewis* deſired the friendſhip of *England*, he ſhould not moleſt the Duke of *Brittaine*; for that he was reſolved, at any time to come in perſon to relieve him, if he were diſturbed: King *Edward* pretended the many kindneſſes he had formerly received of the Duke of *Brittaine*: but it was conceived, that the deſire of compelling the Earles of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, now in the Duke of *Brittaines* Country, were the greateſt motives of his ſtanding ſo firmely for him. The money to be payd to king *Edward* by the Articles, is accordingly payd; and thereupon the French Hoſtages are delivered, and the Engliſh Army retires to *Calice*, and from thence is tranſported into *England*: and then the Engliſh Hoſtages are likewiſe delivered. This Peace was ſaid to be made only by the holy Ghoſt, becauſe on the day of meeting, a white Dove

came

came and ſate upon the king of *Englands* Tent: though the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Burgoigne* thought it was made by no good ſpirit.

King *Edward* being returned into *England*, had his minde running ſtill upon the danger that might grow from the Earle of *Richmond*: he therefore diſpatched D. *Stillington* and two other his Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Britaine*, to ſend him over to him, under this ſubtle pretence, that he meant to match him in mariage with the Lady *Cicille* his younger daughter; and withall, ſent alſo no ſmall ſtore of Angels to ſpeake for him: which ſo prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earle of *Richmond* to the Ambaſſadors, who conducted him thence to Saint *Malos*, where whil'ſt they ſtayed for a winde, the young Earle, by the cunning plotting of *Peter Landois* the Dukes Treaſurer (more out of ſcorne that he was not gratified by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour to the proportion of his place, than for any love to the Earle) eſcapes into Sanctuary; from whence neither prayers nor promiſes could get him out: Nevertheleſſe, upon *Peter Landois* his promiſe he ſhould be ſafely kept there, the Ambaſſadors departed, and returned home, acquainted *K. Edward* with the Duke of *Burgoigns* courteſie in delivering him, and their own negligence in ſuffering him to eſcape, onely making amends with the promiſe of *Peter Landois*; which might be to *K. Edward* ſome contentment, but was no ſatisfaction.

At Chriſtmas following, being the ſixteenth yeere of his Reigne, he created his eldeſt ſonne *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*: his ſecond ſonne he made Duke of *Yorke*; giving the order of knighthood to the ſonne and heire of the Earle of *Lincolne*, and many others. He created alſo foure and twenty knights of the Bath, whereof *Brian* Chiefe Juſtice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the Common Pleas, were two.

About this time, there were two examples of ſeverity ſeene; not unworthy the relating, if but onely to make us ſee how dangerous a thing it is *Ludere cum ſanctis*, to ſpeake words that may be taken as reflecting upon the king. The firſt was of one *Walter Walker*, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the ſigne of the Crown in Cheapſide: This man one day when his childe cryed, bid him be quiet, and he would make him heire of the Crowne: which words being ſubject to interpretation, he was called in queſtion about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to death. The other was of *Thomas Burdet* of *Arrow* in *Warwickeſhire* Eſquire: It happened that *K. Edward* hunted in his Parke, he being from home; and there killed a white Buck, whereof Mr. *Burdet* made ſpeciall account: ſo as comming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wiſhed it hornes and all in his belly that had counſelled the king to kill it: and becauſe none counſelled the King to kill it but himſelfe; it was thought thoſe words were not ſpoken without a malignant reflecting upon the King: and thereupon *Burdet* was arraigned and condemned, drawne to Tiburne, and there beheaded: though *Markham* then Chiefe Juſtice, choſe rather to loſe his place, than aſſent to the Judgement.

And now began ambition to boyle in *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*; whereof the firſt heate fell upon his brother the Duke of *Clarence*, how to rid him out of the way; to which end, he ſeeks to raiſe jealouſies in King *Edwards* head againſt him, telling him that ſome of *Clarence* his followers were Sorcerers and Necromancers, and had given forth ſpeeches, that one whoſe name begun with *G.* ſhould diſinherit his Children and get the Crown: and for a colour of this ſuggeſtion, one of the Duke of *Clarence* his ſervants, who came with him out of *Ireland*, from *Dublin*, where the Duke was born; is in his Maſters abſence, by the procurement underhand of the Duke of *Glocester*, indicted, arraigned, condemned and executed at *Tyburne* for a Conjurer, and all within the ſpace of two dayes: and the Duke of *Glocester*, to make ſhew that he had no hand in this fellows death, ſet on the Duke of *Clarence* to complaine of it to King *Edward*; and in the mean time finds matter, at leaſt colour of matter, to make him be committed to the Tower; and then againe, to make ſhew he had no hand in his impriſonment, bids him be of good cheere, for it ſhould not be long ere he would ſee him releaſed: and he kept his word; for not long after, by his procurement, he was drowned in a But of Malmeſey, (and this was his releaſement) and

then

then laid in his bed, to make the people believe that he died of discontent; whose death, King *Edward* though perhaps consenting to it, so much resented, that afterwards when he was sued unto for any mans Pardon, he would sighing break out into such words: Oh unfortunate brother! for whose life not one man would open his mouth. Being dead, he was buried at *Tewkesbury* in *Glocestershire*, by the body of his Dutchesse, who great with childe, dyed of Poyson a little before.

It was now the two and twentieth yeere of King *Edwards* Reigne, when *James* King of *Scotland* sent Ambassadors to treate of a Mariage between his eldest sonne *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, and *Cicely* king *Edwards* second daughter. This overture for a March, was by the king and his Councell readily imbraced, and a great part of the Portion was delivered to the *Scots*, with this Proviso, That if the mariage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of *Edenbourgh* should be bound to repay it againe. But the Scotish king, who had other fantasies in his head, and would take counsell of none but his owne will, and diverted also perhaps by the king of *France*, not onely dallyed the proceeding in the match, but affronted those of the Nobility that perswaded him to it; in so much that his Brother the Duke of *Albany* was enforced to abandon the Country, and to flie for refuge into *England*: by whom king *Edward* being informed of king *James* his fickle disposition, was so much incensed, that under the conduct of the Duke of *Glocester*, accompanied with the Duke of *Albany*, he sent an Army of twenty thousand against *Scotland*; who in their way took in *Barwick*, and besieged the Castle; which being resolutely defended by the Earle *Bothwell*, the Duke left the Lord *Stanley* to continue the siege, whil'st he, with the rest of the Army, marched towards *Edenbourgh*; where within the Castle of *Maydens*, king *James* had immur'd himselfe. But the Nobility of *Scotland*, seeing the danger they were in, endeavoured by humble submission, to procure a peace, at least a cessation from war; which with much importunity they obtained, upon these Conditions: That full satisfaction should be presently given, for all dammages sustained by the late incursions: That the Duke of *Albany* should be fully restored to grace and place, with an abolition of all discontents between his brother king *James* and him: That the Castle of *Barwicke*, (which had been now out of the Possession of the English, one and twenty yeers) should immediately be surrendred into the Generals hands; and from thence no reduction of that or the Town attempted: That all such summes of money as upon the proposition of the marriage, had been delivered, should be repaid. All which, except the first Article, were accordingly performed.

When this busines with *Scotland* was indifferently accomodated; King *Edward* receives intelligence from his Ambassadour-Leidger in *France*, that the French King not only denied the payment of the annuall Tribute of fifty thousand crowns, agreed upon and sworn to upon the ratification of the late concluded Peace; but had also married the Dolphin of *France* to the Lady *Margaret*, daughter of *Maximilian* Sonne of the Emperour; which so much incensed K. *Edward*, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the advise of his Counsell, open warre was presently Proclamed against *France*: but whil'st King *Edward* is making prepatation, and intentive to the busines, he is attached by the hand of death; and upon the ninth of *April*, in the yeer 1483, at *Westminster* ended this mortall life.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second yeer, he sent his Privy Seale through *England*, to move men to give him a certaine summe of money towards resisting the *Scots*, which was granted and given liberally. In his seventh yeer, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were resumed all manner of gifts, which the King had given, from the first day he tooke possession of the Realm, to that time. In his eighth yeer, at a Parliament, were granted two Fifteens and a Demy. In his thirteenth yeer, a Parliament was holden, wherein, a Subsidie was granted; and the yeer following, towards warre to be undertaken in *France*, a new way of raysing money is devised, called a Benevolence, by which great

great ſummes of money were gotten of the Subject: and it is not unworthy the relating, what an old rich Widdow at this time did; whom King *Edward*, amongſt others having called before him, merrily aſked, what ſhe would willingly give him towards his great charges? By my troth (quoth ſhee) for thy lovely countenance, thou ſhalt have even twenty pounds. The King looking ſcarce for half that ſumme, thanked her, and lovingly kiſt her; which ſo wrought with the old widdow, that ſhe preſently ſwore, he ſhould have twenty pound more, and payd it willingly. Not long before his death, he was by ill Counſellours put upon a diſtaſtefull courſe for rayſing of mony; which was, by fining men for delinquencies againſt Penall Statutes: by which courſe ſome money was gathered; but before it came to full execution, he dying, that alſo dyed with him.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

IN his fourth yeer, he newly deviſed the Coyne both of Gold and Silver, as at this day it is; the Gold, he named Royals and Nobles; the Silver, Groats and halfe Groats: the new Groate weighing ſcantly three pence; and the Noble of ſix ſhillings eight pence, appointed to goe for eight ſhillings foure pence. In his fifth yeer, it was Proclamed in *England*, that the Beakes or Pykes of Shooes and Boots, ſhould not paſſe two Inches, upon paine of Curſing by the Clergie, and forfeiting twenty ſhillings, to be paid one noble to the King, another to the Cordwayners of *London*, and the third to the Chamber of *London*; and for other Countries and Towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and ſince the yeer 1382. the Pykes of Shooes and Boots were of ſuch length, that they were faine to be tyed up to the Knees with chaines of Silver and gilt, or at leaſt with ſilken laces.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN this Kings time, the Jubile which was before but every fiftieth yeer, was by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, brought to be every five and twenty yeer. Alſo, where before this time, the Scottiſh Biſhops had no Merropolitane, but the Biſhop of *York* was Merropolitane and Primate of *Scotland*; now in this Kings time, Pope *Sixtus* appointed the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* to be Metropolitane of *Scotland*, who had twelve Biſhops under his obedience.

Of Workes of Piety done in his time.

THIS King laid the foundation of the new Chappell at *Windſor*, and his Queen *Elizabeth* founded the Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, and endowed it with large Poſſeſſions. About his fifteenth yeere, Doctor *Woodlarke* Provoſt of Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, Founded *Katherine-hall* there. In his ſeventeenth yeer, the Wall of the City of *London*, from *Cripplegate* to *Biſhopſgate*, was builded at the charges of the Citizens, alſo *Biſhopſgate* it ſelfe was new built by the Merchants *Almans* of the *Styliard*. Alſo in this yeere dyed Sir *John Groſby* Knight, late Major of *London*; who gave to the repairing of the Pariſh-Church of St. *Helens* in *Biſhopſgate* ſtreet, where he was buried, 500 Marks: to the repairing of the pariſh Church of *Hennorth* in *Middleſex*, forty pounds: to the repairing of London-wall, an hundred pounds: to the repairing of Rocheſter-bridge, ten pounds: to the Wardens and Commonalty of the *Grocers* in *London*, two large Pots of ſilver chaſed halfe gilt, and other Legacies. About this time alſo, *Richard Rawſon* one of the Sheriffs of *London*, cauſed an houſe to be builded in the Church-yard of St. *Mary* Hoſpitall without *Biſhopsgate*, where the Major and Aldermen uſe to ſit and heare the Sermons in Eaſter-holy-daies. In his nineteenth yeere, *William Tailour* Major of *London*, gave to the City certaine Tenements; for the which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every Fifteene granted to the King, for all ſuch as ſhall dwell in *Cordwainers-ſtreet-ward*, ſeſſed at twelve-pence apiece, or under. And about the ſame time, one *Thomas Ilam*

Sheriffe

Sheriffe of *London*, builded at his own costs the great Conduit in *Cheapside*. In his three and twentieth yeere, *Edmund Shaw* Goldsmith, who had been Major of *London*, at his own costs re-edified *Cripplegate* in *London*, which gate in old time had been a Prison.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his third yeare, the Minster of *Yorke*, and the Steeple of Christs Church in *Norwich* were burnt. In his seventeenth yeere, so great a Pestilence reigned in *England*, that it swept away more people in foure moneths, than the Warres had done in fifteen yeeres past. Also in his nineteenth yeere was another Pestilence; which beginning in the later end of September, continued till the beginning of November twelve-moneth following, in which space of time innumerable people dyed.

Of his wife and issue.

KIng *Edward* had been contracted to *Eleanor* daughter of *John Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, maried after to Sir *Thomas Butler* Baron of *Sudely*: but he maried *Elizabeth* the widdow of Sir *John Grey*, daughter of *Richard Woodvile* by his wife *Jaquetine* Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*: ſhe lived his wife eighteene yeeres and eleven moneths; by whom he had three ſonnes and ſeven daughters. *Edward* his eldeſt ſonne, borne in the Sanctuary at Weſtminſter: *Richard* his ſecond ſonne, borne at *Shrewsbury*: *George* his third ſonne, borne alſo at *Shrewsbury*, but dyed a childe. *Elizabeth* his eldeſt daughter, promiſed in mariage to *Charles* Dolphin of *France*; but maried afterward to King *Henry* the Seventh: *Cicely* his ſecond daughter, promiſed in mariage to *James* Duke of *Rothſay*, Prince of *Scotland*; but was maried afterward to *John* Viſcount *Wells*, whom ſhe outlived, and was againe re-maried, but by neither huſband had any iſſue: ſhe lyeth buried at *Quarene* in the Iſle of *Wight*. *Anne* his third daughter was maried to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle Marſhall, and High Treaſurer of *England*; by whom ſhe had two ſonnes, both dying without iſſue: ſhe lyeth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolk*. *Bridget* his fourth daughter, borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, became a Nunne in the Nunnery of *Dartford* in *Kent*, which king *Edward* had founded. *Mary* his fifth daughter, was promiſed in mariage to the King of *Denmarke*, but dyed in the Tower of *Greenwich*, before it could be ſolemnized: ſhe lyeth buried at *Windſor*. *Margaret* his ſixth daughter, dyed an Infant. *Katherine* his ſeventh daughter, was maried to *William Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*; to whom ſhe bare Lord *Henry*, who by King *Henry* the eighth was created Marqueſſe of *Exeter*.

Concubines he had many, but three ſpecially; and would uſe to ſay, that he had three Concubines, who in their ſeverall properties excelled: One, the merrieſt; another, the wylieſt; the third, the holyeſt harlot in his Realme; as one whom no man could lightly get out of the Church to any place, unleſſe it were to his bed: The other two were greater perſonages than are fit to be named: but the merrieſt was *Shores* wife; in whom therefore he tooke ſpeciall pleaſure: This woman was borne in *London*, worſhipfully deſcended, and well maried: but when the King had abuſed her, anon her huſband (as he was an honeſt man, and did know his good, not preſuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

By theſe he had naturall iſſue; *Arthur* ſirnamed *Plantagenet*, (whoſe mother, as is ſuppoſed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*) created Viſcount Liſle, by King *Henry* the Eight, at Bridewell in London: And *Elizabeth*, who was maried to Sir *Thomas Lumley* knight; to whom ſhe bare *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did deſcend.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was (ſaith *Comines*) the goodlieſt Perſonage that ever mine eyes beheld; exceeding tall of ſtature, faire of complexion, and of moſt Princely preſence:

and we may truly say, he was of full age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen yeeres old when his Father dyed, he sued out his livery presently: so as he began the race of his fortune just like *Augustus Cæsar*, each of them at the same age succeeding an Ancestour after a violent death; and each of them left to set on a roofe, where but onely a foundation was laid before. For his conditions, he was of an erected composure both of body and minde, but something sagging on the Fleshes side; and never any man that did marry for Love, did so little love Marriage; for he tooke as much pleasure in other mens wives as in his owne. He was never more confident, than when he was in danger; nor ever more doubtfull, than when he was secure. Of the foure Cardinall virtues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally; Temperance and Justice, but to serve his turne. He was politick even to irreligion; for to compasse his ends, he would not stick to sweare what he never meant. Yet he was Religious beyond Policy; for before Battailes, he used to make his Prayers to God; after Victories, to give him Thanks. He was farre from being proud, yet very ambitious; and could use familiarity, and yet retaine Majestie. He was a great Briber; and what he could not get by force, he would by Rewards; as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in errour, sometimes to the hurt of himselfe, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Rose to flourish as long as *Henry* the Fourth made the Red, if he had not made it change colour with too much blood. He had been fortunate in his children, if he had not been unfortunate in a brother: but he was well enough served, that would thinke a Wolfe could ever be a good Shepheard. He had an excellent art in improving his favours; for he could doe as much with a small courtesie, as other men with a great benefit: And that which was more, he could make advantage of disadvantages; for he got the love of the Londoners by owing them money; and the good will of the Citizens by lying with their wives.

Of his Death and Buriall.

WHether it began from his minde, being extreamely troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of *France*; or from his body, by intemperance of dyet, to which he was much given; he fell into a sickneſſe, (some say a Catarche, some a Feaver) but into a sickneſſe whereof he dyed. In the time of which sickneſſe, & at the very point of his death, Sir *Thomas Moore* makes him to make a speech to his Lords, which I might thinke to be the speech of a sick man, if it were not so sound, and of a weake man, if it were not so long: but it seemes, Sir *Thomas Moore* delivers rather what was fit for him to say, than what he sayd; the Contents being onely, to exhort his Lords, whom he knew to be at variance, to be in love and concord amongst themselves; for that, the welfare of his children, whom he must now leave to their care, could not otherwise be preserved but by their agreement. And having spoken to this purpose as much as his weaknes would suffer him, he found himselfe sleepy; and turning on one side, he fell into his long sleep, the ninth of *April*, in the yeere 1483. when he had lived one and forty yeeres, Reigned two and twenty and one moneth; and was buried at *Windsor*, in the new Chappell, whose foundation himselfe had laid.

Of men of Note in his time.

MEN of valour in his time were many, but himselfe the chiefest, the rest may be observed in reading his story. For men of letters, we may have leave at this time to speake of some strangers, having been men of extraordinary fame; as *Johãnes de Monte Regio*, *Purbachius* and *Blanchinus*, all great Astronomers; *Ludovicus Pontanus*, *Paulus Castrensis*, and *Anthonius Rossellanus*, all great Lawyers; *Servisanus*, *Savanarola*, and *Barzizius*, all great Phisitians; *Bessarion* and *Cusanus*, both great Cardinalls; *Argyropole*, *Philelphus*, *Datus*, *Leonardus Aretinus*, and *Poggius*, all great men

men in humane literature. And of our own Countrimen; *John Harding* an Esquire, borne in the North parts, who wrote a Chronicle in English verse, and among other speciall points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submissions and Homages made by the Scottish kings, even from the dayes of King *Athelstan*: whereby it may evidently appeare, how the Scottish kingdome, even in manner, from the first Establishing thereof here in *Britaine*, hath been appertaining unto the kings of *England*, and holden of them as their chiefe and superiour Lords. *Julian Bernes*, a Gentlewoman of excellent gifts, who wrote certaine Treatises of Hawking and Hunting; also a book of the Lawes of Armes, and knowledge pertaining to Heraulds. *John Fortescue* a Judge, and Chancellour of *England*, who wrote divers Treatises concerning the Law and Politick Government. *Rochus* a *Charterhouse*-Monk born in *London*, who wrote divers Epigrams. *Walter Hunt* a Carmelite Fryer, who for his excellent learning, was sent from the whole body of the Realme, to the Generall Counsell holden first at *Ferrara*, and after at *Florence*, by Pope *Eugenius* the fourth; where he among[st] others disputed with the *Grekes* in defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the *Latine* Church. *William Caxton*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Fructus Temporum*, and an *Appendix* unto *Trevisa*, besides divers other bookes and translations. *John Milverton*, a Carmelist Frier of *Bristow*, and provinciall of his Order, who because he defended such of his Order as preached against endowments of the Church with Temporall possessions, was committed to prison in the Castle of Saint *Angelo* in *Rome*, where he continued three yeers. *David Morgan* a Welshman, who wrote of the Antiquities of *Wales*, and a description of the Country. *John Tiptoft*, a nobleman born, who wrote divers Treatises, but lost his head in the yeer 1471. *Robert Hegge* a born in *Norfolk*, who wrote certaine vaine Prophesies. *Thomas Norton* born in *Bristow*, an Alchymist. *Scogan* a learned Gentleman, and a Student for a time in *Oxford*, who for his pleasant wit and merry conceits, was called to Court. But most worthy of all to be remembred, *Thomas Littleton* a reverend Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great part of the Law into a Method, which lay before confusedly dispersed, and his book called *Littletons Tenures*.

THE REIGNE OF KING EDWARD THE FIFTH.

KING *Edward* the Fourth being dead, his eldest Sonne *Edward*, scarce yet eleven years old, succeeded in the kingdome, but not in the Crown, for he was Proclaimed king, but never Crowned: and indeed it may not so properly be called the Reigne of *Edward* the fifth, as the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third, for from the time of king *Edwards* death, though not in Name, yet in effect, he not onely ruled as king, but raged as a Tyrant. Prince *Edward* when his Father dyed, was at *Ludlow* in *Wales*, where he had lived some time before, the better by his presence, to keep the Welsh in awe; He had about him of his Mothers kindred many; but Sir *Anthony Woodvile*, the Earle *Rivers* his Uncle, was appointed his chiefe Counsellour and director. The Duke of *Gloucester* was at this time in the North, but had word presently sent him, from the Lord *Hastings* Lord Chamberlaine, of his brother king *Edwards* death; who acquainted him withall, that by his Will, he had committed the young king, his Queen and other children, to his care and government; and thereupon putting him in minde, how necessary it was for him speedily to repaire to *London*: But the Duke of *Gloucester* needed no spurre to set him forward, who was already in a full carriere; for he had long before projected in his minde, how he might come to attaine the Crown; and now he thought the way was made him. For as it is said, the very night in which king *Edward* dyed, one *Miffelbrooke*, long ere morning, came in great haste to the house of one *Potter* dwelling in *Red-crosse-streete* without *Cripplegate*; where he shewed unto *Potter*, that king *Edward* was departed: to whom *Potter* answered, By my troth man, then will my Master the Duke of *Gloucester* be king: what cause he had so to thinke, is hard to say; but surely it is not likely he spake it of nought. And now the young king was comming up to *London* with a strong guard, partly to make first expression of his greatnesse, and partly to oppose any disorders that might be offered. But the Duke of *Gloucester* finding this proceeding like to be a rub in his way, at least not fit for his designes, he presently fals to undermining; writes most loving letters to the Queen, protesting all humble and faithfull service to the king and her, but withall perswading her, that this great guard about the king might be presenly dismissed; which did but minister matter of suspition, and would be apt to breed new jealousies in them who were now throughly reconciled. The Queen of a nature easie to be wrought upon, gives credit to his glozing letters; and thereupon

upon seads in all haste to her Sonne, and to her brother the Lord *Rivers*; requiring them by all meanes, for some causes to her known, to dismisse their guard, (not mentioning by whose advice she writ them; which if she had done, they would never have done) but now upon her letters, they presently did; and came forward with onely a sober company. And now is *Glocester* in the nook done, but he knowing that the worke yet behinde was too great to be done by himselfe alone, gets the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings*, two of the greatest men of power at that time in the kingdome, to joyn with him in opinion, that it was not fit the Queens kindred should be so wholly about the king, and others of better blood and desert, to be estranged from him; and therefore by all means, fit to endeavour to remove them: to which the Duke of *Buckingham* is easily wrought, upon a promise to have the Earledome of *Hartford* conferred upon him: and the Lord *Hastings* not hardly, upon a hope by this means to cut off many, whom in king *Edwards* daies he had justly offended. And now another great worke was done, It remaines in the next place, to put it in execution, which was presently thus effected: The young king had been at *Northampton*, and from thence was gone to *Stonystratford*, whither the two Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* arrived, but pretending the Town to be too little for the entertainment of their Companies, they went back to *Northampton*, and alighted at the same Inne where the Earle *Rivers* had taken up his lodging for that night, intending the next morning early to overtake the king. Upon this their accidentall meeting, great shews of courtesie passed between them, and supper ended, the Dukes pretending wearines, revire to their lodgings, the Earle to his; but the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into consultation with their private friends, in which they spent a great part of the night, and then secretly get the keyes of the Inne gates, suffering none to passe either in or out; whereof the Earle having notice by his Host, though he suspected the worst, yet useing a good countenance upon the matter, and trusting to his own Innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of *Glocesters* Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the rest closely set in counsell; with whom he expostulates the reason of this course, to imprison him in his Inne against his will? but they in stead of answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many crimes, whereof themselves were onely guilty: And then taking order for his safe imprisonment, they speedily took horse, and came to *Stonystratford*, at such time as the king was taking horse, whom in all reverent manner they saluted; but presently in the kings presence, a quarrell is pickt against the Lord *Richard Grey*, the kings halfe brother: The Duke of *Buckingham* making relation to the king, that he and the Marquesse his brother, with the Earle *Rivers* the Queens brother, had endeavoured and almost effected to draw to themselves the whole managing the affaires of the kingdome, and to set variance between the Peeres of the Realme: and particularly, that the Lord Marquesse without any warrant, had taken out of the Tower of *London* both Treasure and Armour, to a great quantity; but to what purpose, though they were ignorant, yet there was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was thought expedient by the advise of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him forth-comming to make his answer for these and many other his own bold actions; The king unable to sound the depth of these plots, mildly said unto him: What my brother Marquesse hath done, I cannot say; but for my Uncle and brother here, I dare answer, that they are innocent of any unlawfull practises either against me or you. Oh (saith the Duke of *Buckingham*) that hath been their cunning, to keep their treachery from your Graces knowledge: and thereupon instantly in the kings presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the king and all his company back to *Northampton*, putting away all his old servants, and placing in their rooms creatures of their own, whom they had power to command. At which dealing, the young king wept, but it booted nothing; and to colour the matter, the Duke of *Glocester* at dinner, sent a dish from his own table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good cheer, for all shortly should be well: but the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messen-

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ger to carry it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but as for himselfe, he had all his dayes been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better beare it. But for all this comfortable courtesie of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* into the North Country, into divers places to prison, and afterward to *Pomfret*, where in Conclusion they were all beheaded.

And now the Duke of *Gloucester* having thus gotten the custody of the King, set forwards toward *London*, giving out by the way, that the Marquesse and the Queens kindred had plotted the destruction of the king, and of all the antient Nobility of the Realme, and to alter the Government of the Commonwealth; and that they were onely imprisoned to be brought to their tryall according to Law: and the better to settle these suggestions in the apprehension of the Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour, (of their own providing) with Dry-fats and great Chests, wherein they reported to be treasure for the payment of souldiers; with which they so possest the common-people, that all was believed for truth which was thus rumored: But the finest devise of all was, to have five or the Duke of *Gloucesters* instruments matacled and pinioned like Traytors; and these in every place where the King lodged, to be dispersed and given out to be men of great birth, drawn into this vile plot of Treason by the Queens brother; who must seem to be penitent for their offence, and to confesse their own guilt: and this devise continued acting till the king came to *London*, where their visards were pull'd off, and the disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen in the mean time having intelligence of these dolefull accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow, with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at *Westminster*: and the young king hearing of these things, with teares and sighes expressed his griefe; but the Dukes making Protestation of their fidelity, and care of his safety, seemed onely to mervaile why he should be melancholy.

At this time a messenger came from the Lord Chamberlaine, to the Archbishop of *Yorke* Lord Chancellour of *England*, to signifie to him, that there was no feare of any thing, for that he assured him all should be well. Well (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will; I assure him, It will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the messengers departure, he calleth up his servants (being then in the night) and taking the great Seale with him, came before day to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone alow on the Rushes, all desolate and dismaied; whom he comforted the best he could, assuring her that if they Crowned any king but her Sonne whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his brother whom she had with her; and therewithall delivering to her the great Seale, departed: but soon after, bethinking himselfe better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the great Seale to the Queen; and therefore sent for it againe, and had it delivered him; yet shortly after reproved for delivering it, by the Counsell Table, he had it taken from him, which was then delivered to Doctor *Russell* Bishop of *Lincolne*, the most learned man of that time.

And now the Duke of *Gloucester* so respectively carries himselfe towards the King, with so much shew of care and faithfulnes, that by a generall consent of the Counsell he is appointed and established Protectour of the king and kingdome; and by this means he hath the king in his custody: It remains now how to get his brother the Duke of *Yorke*, for without having both, he were as good (as to his purpose) have neither: and to effect this, he makes the Effect to become a Cause: for where by his undue dealings he had made the king Melancholy, he now makes that Melancholy a cause to require his brothers company to make him merry; and therefore wishes some course may be taken, either by perswasion or otherwise, to procure the Queen to send the Duke of *Yorke* to keep his brother the king company: Here the Archbishop of *Yorke* the Lord Cardinall, the man thought most fit to be sent in this imployment, riseth up and saith, He would doe his best endeavour to perswade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted against her will, for that it would turn to the high displeasure of God, if the priviledge of that holy

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place should now be broken, which had so many yeers inviolably been kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more then five hundred yeers agoe, by Saint *Peter* in his own person, accompanied with great numbers of Angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for proof whereof, there is yet in the Abby Saint *Peters* Cope to shew: that from that time hitherward, there never was so undevout a King that durst violate the sacred place, nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume to Consecrate it: and therefore (saith he) God forbid, that any man for any earthly thing, should enterprise to breake the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary; and I trust with Gods grace, we shall not need it, at least my endeavours shall not be wanting; if the Meehers dread and womanish feare be not the let. Womanish feare, nay womanish frowardnes (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it upon my Soule, she well knoweth there is no need of any feare, either for her sonne or for herselfe: and prosecuting his discourse, declareth at large, that as there was no just cause for the Queen to keep her Sonne, so there was great cause for them to require him; and that for breach of Sanctuary in this case there could be none; for that he had often heard of Sanctuary men, but never heard of Sanctuary children. And to this purpose having spoken much, It was all assented to by the Lords that were present, and with this Instruction is the Archbishop (upon whom the Queen specially relyed) sent unto her; who after humble salutations, acquaints her with his message, earnestly perswading her not to oppose the Lord Protectours request, and giving her many reasons, first that she ought not, and then that she could not keep him in Sanctuary: she answered all his reasons, though with great mildenesse, yet with great earnestnes; so as the Archbishop finding little hope to prevaile with her by perswasion, turns the tenour of his speech another way; telling her plainly, that if she did not consent to send her Sonne, he doubted some sharper course would speedily be taken. This warning sank so deep into the Queens minde, that after a little pausing, taking her Sonne by the hand, she said, My Lord Archbishop, here he is, for my own part I will never deliver him; but if you will needs have him, Take him, and at your hands I will require him; and therewith weeping bitterly, Deer childe (saith she) let me kisse thee before we part, God knows whether ever we shall meet againe; and so the childe weeping as fast as she, went along with the Archbishop to the *Starchamber*, where the Lord Protectour and other Lords had staid all the while looking for his comming back: and as soone as he was entred the roome, the Protectour spying the childe, riseth up and embraceth him saying, Deere Nephew, Now welcome with all my heart: next to my Soveraigne Lord your brother, nothing gives me so much contentment as your Presence: and we may believe him, he spake as he thought; for now he had the prey which he so much desired. A few dayes after, pretending to have them lodged in a place of more security, untill the distempers of the Commonwealth might better be quieted; he caused them in great pompe and state to be conveyed through *London* to the *Tower*, there at pleasure to remaine, till the time of Coronation; whereof there was great shew of preparation made.

But now the great work is to be donē; the Princes are to be made away: and how to have it done, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*: there must be potent Instruments; and none so potent as the Duke of *Buckingham*; and he, by a match to be concluded betwixt their children, and an equall partition of the Treasure of the Realme betwixt them two; not onely is drawne to condiscend, but is most forward to contrive and plot stratagems to effect it. The first rub in the way was the Lord *Hastings*; who being found so firm to his old Masters King *Edwards* sons, that nothing could remove him, it was fit to remove him out of the way; which was done in this manner: All the Lords of the Privy Councell, in the Protectors name, are convoked to the Tower; where fitting preparations for the Coronation of the young King are proposed, untill the Protectour came in; who taking his chaire, very affably saluted them, merily jesting with some, and more than ordinarily pleasant with them all: when after a little talke, he said to the Bishop of *Ely*; My Lord, I heare you have very good Strawberries at your Garden in Holborne; I pray let us have a messe of them. Most gaddly

gladly (said the Bishop) and presently sent for some: and then the Protectour rising up, prayed the Lords to spare his absence a little; and so departed. Within the space of an houre he returned, but so changed in countenance, and with such inward perturbations, which with sighings and other passionate gestures he expressed so, that it made them all to mervaile. After long silence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he confusedly interrogates, What they deserved that nefariously had practised his destruction? This unexpected interrogation strooke such amazement amongst the Lords, that they all sate gazing on one another, and were, as it were, stricken dumbe: At length the Lord *Hastings*, by *Buckinghams* instigation, as one presuming of his intimacy with the Protector, boldly answered, That they deserved the punishment of Traytors; which all the rest by their silence approved: whereat the Protectour riseth up, and with a sterne looke upon the Lord *Hastings*, replyed: Why it is the old sorceresse my brothers widow, and her partner that common Strumpet *Jane Shore*, that have by incantation conspired to bereave me of my life; and though by Gods grace I have escaped the end of their malice, yet see the mischiefe they have done me; for behold (and then he bared his left arme to the elbow, and shewed it) how they have caused this deare limbe of mine to wither, and grow useless; and so should all my body have been served, if they might have had their will a little longer. Those to whom the Queenes religious courses were not unknown, and who knew his withered arme to have been such from his birth, sate gazing one upon another, not knowing what to thinke or say; untill the Lord *Hastings*, thinking thereby to leave all blame upon the Queen, and excuse his Paramour Mistris *Shore*, (whom ever since the death of King *Edward*, he had entertained for his bed-fellow, and had but that morning parted from her) with a sober looke submissely said, *If the Queene have conspired*—: which word was no sooner out of the Lord *Hastings* mouth, when the Protectour clapping his hand upon the boord, and frowningly looking upon him, said: Tellest thou me of If & And? I tell thee, They, and none but they have done it; and thou thy selfe art partaker of the villany. Who I my Lord, quoth he? yea Thou traytor, quoth the Protectour; and therewith, upon a watch-word given, those prepared before for that purpose, in the outer Chamber, cryed, Treason, Treason! when presently a great number of men in armes came rushing in as it were to guard the Protectour, one of which with a Pollax strook a maine blow at the Lord *Stanley* and wounded him on the head; and had slain him outright, if he had not avoided the stroake by slipping backward, and falling down to the ground. Forthwith the Protectour arrested the Lord *Hastings* of high Treason, and wilst him to make haste to be Confessed, for he swore by S. *Paul* (his usuall Oath) that he would not touch bread nor drinke till his head were off. It booted not to ask, why? for he knew the Protectours actions were not to be examined. So he was led forth unto the Greene before the Chappell within the *Tower*, where his head was laid downe upon a long logge of Tymber, and there strucken off. His body afterward with his head were interred at *Windsor*, beside the body of King *Edward*. In this mans death we may see how inevitable the blowes of Destiny are: for the very night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a secret messenger to him at midnight, in all the haste, to acquaint him with a Dreame hee had, in which he thought that a Bore with his tusks so goared them both by the heads, that the blood ran about their shoulders: and for-as-much as the Protectour gave the Bore for his Cognisance, this Dreame made so fearefull an impression in his heart, that he was throughly resolved to stay no longer; and had made his horse ready, requiring the Lord *Hastings* to goe with him, and that presently, to be out of danger, before it should be day. But the Lord *Hastings* answered the messenger: Good Lord! leaneth your Master so much to such trifles, to put such faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasieth, or else doe rise in the nights rest, by reason of the dayes thoughts: Goe back therefore to thy Master, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no feare; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man he wotteth of, as of my own hand. The man he meant, was one *Catesby*, well learned in the Lawes of the Land; who by his favour was growne into good authority in *Leicestershire*,

shire, where the Lord *Hastings* Estate lay. Of this man he made himselfe so sure, that he thought nothing could be plotted against him, which he would not presently reveale unto him. But this man deceived him; and was growne so inward with the Protectour, that being set by the Protectour to draw him to be a party in his designes, and finding he could not doe it, was himselfe the first mover to rid him out of the way. Another warning the Lord *Hastings* had: the same morning in which he was beheaded, his horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to falling; which though it often happen to such to whom no mischance is toward, yet hath it of old beene observed as a token foregoing some great misfortune. Also at the Tower-wharfe, neere to the place where his head soone after was strucken off, he met with one *Hastings* a Pursuivant of his own name; to whom he said: Ah *Hastings*, dost thou remember I met thee here once with a heavy heart! Yea my Lord, saith he, I remember it well; and God be thanked, that time is past. In faith, man, said the Lord *Hastings*, I never stood in so great dread of my life, as I did when thou and I met here: and loe how the world is changed! now stand my Enemies in the danger, as thou mayest hap to heare hereafter; (for the Enemies he meant were the Lord *Rivers*, and other of the Queens kindred, who that very day were beheaded at *Pomfret*.) and I never so merry, nor in so good surety as now I am. That we may know, there is not a greater Omen or signe of ill fortune, than to presume of good. And indeed, such is the uncertainty of our estate in this life, that we seldome know when we are in a Tempest at Sea, nor when we are in a Calm on shore; thinking our selves oftentimes most safe, when we are most in danger; and oftentimes to be in danger, when we are most safe: He onely is in the true Haven, that can say as Christ teacheth us, *Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven.*

But this Lord being thus put to death; the Lord Protectour, to colour the matter, immediately after dinner, in all haste sent for many substantiall Citizens; at whose comming, himselfe with the Duke of *Buckingham* stood harnessed in old rusty Brigandines, to make a shew they were forced by the sudden danger to take such as they could first come by: and withall, a Herald of Armes is sent with a Proclamation in the Kings name, signifying, that the Lord *Hastings* with some others had conspired the same day to have slaine the Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as they sate in Counsell; and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdome at their own pleasures. Now was this Proclamation made within two houres after the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded; and was so curiously indited, and so faire written in Parchment, and withall so long, that every childe might perceive it was prepared before: which made one that was Schoolemaster of *Pauls*, standing by when the Proclamation was read, to say, *Here is a gay goodly Cast, foule cast away for haste*: To whom a Merchant answered, *It was written by Prophesie.* And now by and by, as it were in revenge of her offence, the Protectour sent the Sheriffs of *London* into the house of *Shores* wife, and spoyled her of all her goods, above the value of three thousand markes; and then conveying her through *London* to the Tower, there left her Prisoner: where he laid to her charge, that she went about to bewitch him, and was of counsell with the Lord *Hastings* to destroy him. In conclusion, she was laid into *Ludgate*, and by the Bishop of *London* put to open Penance for incontinency; going before the Crosse in Procession, upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand: in which, although she were out of all array, save her kirtle only; yet went she so faire and lovely, and withall so womanly and demurely, that many who hated her course of life, yet pitried her course usage, and were not a little grieved to see her misery. And indeed, this may be said in her behalfe: that being in extraordinary favour with King *Edward*, yet she never used it to the hurt of any, but to the reliese of many, and was ever a Mediatour, an Oppressour never.

Now it was so contrived by the Protectour, that the very day in which the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded at *London*, and about the very same houre, there were beheaded at *Pomfret*, the Lord *Rivers* and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stonistratford*, which was done in the presence, and by the order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* knight, whose service the Protectour

ctour specially used in that busineſſe; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not ſuffering them to declare their innocency, leſt their words might have inclined men to hate the Protectour, cauſed them haſtily without Judgement or Order of Proceſſe to be beheaded.

When theſe were thus rid out of the way, then thought the Protectour that now was the time to put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the Crown: but all the ſtudy was, by what means this matter being ſo heinous in it ſelfe, might be broken to the people, in ſuch wiſe, as that it might be well taken: for which purpoſe, It was thought fit to call to this Counſell *Edmund Shaw* knight the then Major of *London*; who upon promiſe of advancement, ſhould frame the peoples inclination to it. And becauſe Spirituall men are beſt hearkened to for matters of Conſcience, ſome of them were uſed alſo; amongſt whom, choice was made of *John Shaw* Clerk, brother to the Major, Fryer *Penker*, Provinciall of the Order of the *Auguſtine* Fryers: both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then learning. Theſe two were appointed to preach, the one at *Pauls* Croſſe, the other at the *Spittle*, in praiſe of the Protectour: *Penker* in his Sermon ſo loſt his voice, that he was faine to leave off and come downe in the midſt: *Shaw* by his Sermon loſt his reputation, and ſoon after his life, for he never after durſt come abroad, for very ſhame of the world.

But now was all the labour and ſtudy, to finde out ſome convenient pretext, for which the people ſhould be content to have the Prince depoſed, and the Protectour be received for King; to which purpoſe many things were deviſed; the cheife was to alleadge baſtardy either in King *Edward* himſelfe, or in his children, or in both. To lay baſtardy to King *Edward*, ſounded openly to the reproach of the Protectours own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that point ſhould more favourably be handled: but the other point concerning the baſtardy of his children, he would have enforced to the uttermoſt: The ground whereof was, that King *Edward* had been formerly contracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*, by whom he had a childe; though the ſaid Lady, having been examined about it, confeſſed plainly, they were never aſſured. Yet upon this pretext, Doctor *Shaw* taking for his Text, *Baſtard Plants ſhall take no deep roote*; in his Sermon declared, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, husband to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*, and ſo his children baſtards. And beſides that, neither King *Edward* himſelfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were reckoned very ſure for the children of the noble Duke *Richard*, as thoſe that by their favours more reſembled other known men; but the Lord Protectour (ſaith he) is the fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his viſage, the plaine expreſſe likenes of that noble Duke. Now, It was before deviſed, that juſt at the ſpeaking of theſe words, the Protectour ſhould have come, to the end that theſe words meeting with his preſence, might be taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghoſt had put them in the Preachers mouth, and ſo ſhould move the people even then to cry, King *Richard*, King *Richard*! that it might be after ſaid, he was ſpecially choſen by God, and in a manner by Miracle: but this deviſe failed; for whither by the Protectours ſlacknes in comming, or the Doctors haſte in Preaching, he had paſſed thoſe words, and was gone to cleane another matter, before the Protectour came; ſo as afterward ſeeing him come, he was faine to leave the matter, he had in hand, and out of all order and frame begin to repeate thoſe words againe: This is the very noble Prince, the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his viſage, the plaine expreſſe likenes of that noble Duke. While theſe words were in ſpeaking, the Protectour accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, paſſed through the people into the place where the Doctors ſit, and there ſate to heare the Sermon: but the people were ſo farre from crying King *Richard*, that they cryed ſhame on the Preacher, for abuſing his ſacred function with ſo ſhamefull a Sermon.

The Tueſday following this Sermon, the Duke of *Buckingham* with divers Lords and Knights came to the *Guildhall* in *London*; and there before the Major and whole aſſembly of Citizens, made a very ſolemne and long Oration, wherein he recited many grievances of the late King *Edwards* Government, his many unneceſſary Taxa-

tions

rions and unjuſt ſeverities; thereby to bring his children into hatred: and then remembred them of the late Sermon made at *Pauls* Croſſe, by a learned Doctor; who clearly ſhewed the baſtardy of King *Edwards* children; and that *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* was the onely rightfull and indubitate heire to the Crowne of *England*: which the Lords of the Kingdome having taken into their conſideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himſelfe was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their conſents. Which Oration ended, all men ſtood wondring at the motion, but no man offered to ſpeak a word. At which the Duke marvelling, as ſuppoſing the Major had prepared them before; he asked the Major privately, what this ſilence meant? who anſwered, that perhaps they had not heard or underſtood what it was he ſaid. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible voice repeated the ſame matter againe, in a more earneſt and plain expreſſion; yet neither did that move them to ſhew any inclination to the motion. Then the Duke whiſpering with the Major, It was thought, that the Citizens being uſed to have ſuch motions made them by their Recorder, they would better it from him; and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: but the Recorder (called *Fitzwilliams*) being an honeſt man and newly come to his place; repeated onely as neer as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; ſo as neither did this move the people to breake their ſilence. At laſt, the Duke ſeeing their reſolved ſullenneſſe, told them plainly; that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realme were agreed to chooſe the Protectour for their King, as the true and undoubted heire; ſo as he needed not to have moved them to it, but onely for the great reſpect they all bare to this honourable City; and therefore required them plainly to ſpeak their mindes, whether they would joyn with them in this choice or no. At this, certaine ſervants of the Dukes, and other of their procuring, ſtanding at the lower end of the Hall, caſt up their Caps, and cryed aloud, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; whereat, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelled what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, as of an unanimous conſent: A goodly cry (ſaith he) and thanked them all for their univerſall approbation; promiſing he would acquaint the Protectour with the great love they ſhewed toward him: and then requiring the Major and chiefe Citizens to meet him the next morning at *Baynards* Caſtle, where the Protectour then lay; there to joyn with him, in Petitioning the Protectour to accept of this their freely profered ſubjection; he tooke his leave and ſo departed.

The next morning according to appointment, they all meet at *Baynards* Caſtle; where the Duke of *Buckingham* ſends up word to the L. Protector, that himſelf with the L. Major & his Brethren, were come to preſent a Supplication to him, concerning a buſines of great importance: but the Protectour though (preacquainted with all paſſages, yet) made it ſtrange what their Supplication ſhould be; and anſwered, that though he ſuſpected nothing which the Duke of *Buckingham* preſented to him; yet he deſired at leaſt ſome ſome ſlight intimation to what it might tend. To this it was anſwered, that the buſines they came about was to be made known to himſelf in Perſon; and therefore humbly beſought him of admiſſion in his preſence: Upon this, as if not yet well aſſured of their well meaning towards him; he appeares unto them in an upper Gallery, making ſemblance as though he would prevent all danger, by ſtanding ſomething aloofe and in his Fort: To whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, in behalfe of the Major and Nobility there preſent; in moſt reſpective and reverent manner makes requeſt, that his Grace would pardon what he ſhould deliver to him: and much circumſtance he uſed, before he would diſcover their cauſe of comming: but though long firſt, yet at laſt, he told it: That in reſpect of the urgent neceſſities of the Common-wealth, they all humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdome, as in his own Right, to whom they all tendred their Allegiance. At which words, the Protectour ſtarting back, as if he had heard ſomething moſt unpleaſing to him, paſſionately anſwered: I little thought, good Cozen, that you of all men would have moved me to a matter which of all things in the world I moſt decline: Farre be it from to accept of that, which with-

our apparent wrong to my deare deceased brothers sweet children, and my own upright Conscience, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceede in his premeditated dissimulation; the Duke in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his knee, sayd; Your Grace was pleased to give me free liberty to deliver unto you, in the name of this worthy assembly, the tender of their dutifull obedience to you: but I must further adde, that it is unanimously resolved on, that your late brother King *Edwards* children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of *England*; and therefore if your Grace shall neither regard your selfe, nor us so much, as to accept it, we are directly determined to conferre it upon some other of the House of *Lancaster*, that will be more sensible of his own and our good. These words wrought so powerfully upon the Protectours passions; that with some change of Countenance, and not without a seeming reluctation, he said; Since I perceive the whole Realme is so resolved, by no means to admit my deer Nephews, being but children, to Reigne over you; and seeing the Right of succession belongs justly to me, as the indubitate Heire of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, my Illustrious Father: Wee are contented to condiscend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royall Government of the Kingdome, and will to the uttermost of my power endeavour to procure and maintain the welfare thereof. And having so said, he came downe from his Gallery, and very formally saluted them all: which so pleased the giddy multitude, that presently they fell to acclamations, Long live King *Richard* our dread Soveraigne Lord! and then every man departed.

THE

THE REIGNE OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

IT was now the eighteenth day of *June*, in the yeer 1483. when *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* tooke upon him the Crown: so as the imaginary Raigne of *Edward* the fifth, continued but just tenne weeks. The next day, King *Richard* with a great train went to *Westminster-hall*, and placed himselfe in the Court of the Kings Bench, saying, he would take the Crown upon him in that place where the King himselfe sitteth and ministreth the Law; because he considered that it is the chiefest duty of a King to administer the Laws: And here to get the love of the people by a feigned clemency; he sent for one *Fogge* out of Sanctuary, who for feare of his displeasure was fled thither; and there in the sight of all the people, caused him to kisse his hand.

After his return home, he tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, youngest daughter of the great *Warwicke*, and the relict of Prince *Edward*, sonne of *Henry* the sixth; though he could not be ignorant, that he had been the Author both of her husbands and fathers death. But womens affections are Eccentrick to common apprehension; whereof the two Poles are Passion and Inconstancy.

Assoone as his Coronation he had sent for five thousand men out of the North; and they being come under the leading of *Robin* of *Riddesdale*, upon the fourth of *July*, together with his new bride, he went from *Baynards* Castle to the Tower by water, where he created *Edward* his Sonne a childe of ten yeers old, Prince of *Wales*; *John* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, his Sonne Sir *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surry*, *William* Lord *Berckley* Earle of *Nottingham*, *Francis* Lord *Lovell* Viscount *Lovell*, and his Chamberlane, and the Lord *Stanley* (who had been committed prisoner to the Tower, in regard his Sonne the Lord *Strange* was reported to have levied forces in *Lancashire*) not only that day was released out of prison, but was made Lord Steward of his Household. The Archbishop of *Yorke* was likewise then delivered, but *Morton* Bishop of *Ely* (as one that could not be drawne to the disinheriting of King *Edwards* children) was committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*, there to be in custody. The same night were made seventeen knights of the Bath, *Edmund* the Duke of *Suffolkes* sonne, *George* *Grey*

Grey the Earle of *Kents* ſonne, *William* the Lord *Zouches* ſonne, *Henry Aburgeuny*, *Chriſtopher Willoughby*, *Henry Babington*, *Thomas Arundell*, *Thomas Boteign*, *Gervis Clifton*, *William Say*, *Edmund Bedingfield*, *William Eoderby*, *Thomas Lewkner*, *Thomas of Ormond*, *John Browne*, and *William Berckley*. The next day, being the fifth of *July*, the King rode through the City of *London* to *Weſtminſter*, being accompanied with the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Buckingham*, and *Suffolk*; the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Arundell*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Wiltſhire*, *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, and *Lincolne*, the Viſcounts *Liſle* and *Lovell*, the Lords *Stanley*, *Audley*, *Dacres*, *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Powis*, *Scroope* of *Upſale*, *Scroope* of *Bolton*, *Grey* of *Codnor*, *Grey* of *Wilton*, *Stanley*, *Cobham*, *Morley*, *Burgeveny*, *Zouch*, *Ferrers* of *Croby*, *Wells*, *Lumley*, *Matrevers*, *Herbert* and *Beckham*, and foureſcore Knights. On the morrow, being the ſixth of *July*, the King with Queene *Anne* his wife, came downe out of the White-Hall, into the Great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, and went directly to the Kings Bench, and from thence, going upon Ray-cloath, bare-footed, went unto St. *Edwards* ſhrine, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his degree. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* bore the Croſſe before the Cardinall: Then followed the Earle of *Huntington*, bearing a paire of gilt-ſpurres, ſignifying Knighthood: Then followed the Earle of *Oxford*, bearing St. *Edwards* ſtaffe, for a Relique: After him came the Earle of *Northumberland* bare-headed, with the poindeſſe ſword naked in his hand, ſignifying Mercy: The Lord *Stanley* bare the Mace of the Conſtableſhip: The Earle of *Kent* bare the ſecond ſword, on the right hand of the King, naked, with a point; which ſignifyed Juſtice to the Temporalty: The Lord *Lovell* bore the third ſword on the Kings left hand, with a point; which ſignifyed Juſtice to the Clergie: The Duke of *Suffolk* followed with the Scepter in his hand, which ſignified Peace: The Earle of *Lincolne* bore the Ball and Croſſe, which ſignified Monarchy: The Earle of *Surry* bore the fourth ſword before the King, in a rich ſcabbard; which is called the ſword of Eſtate: Then went three together; in the midſt went *Garter* king of Armes, in his rich Coat; and on his right hand went the Major of *London*, bearing a Mace; and on his left hand went the Gentleman-Uſher of the Privy Chamber: Then followed the Duke of *Norfolk*, bearing the kings Crown between his hands: Then followed king *Richard* in his roabes of Purple-velvet, and over his head a Canopy, borne by foure Barons of the Cinque-Ports; and on each ſide of the king went a Biſhop; on one ſide, the Biſhop of *Bath*; on the other, of *Durham*: Then followed the Duke of *Buckingham*, bearing the kings traine, with a white ſtaffe in his hand, ſignifying the office of High Steward of *England*. Then followed the Queenes traine, before whom was borne the Scepter, the Ivory rod, with the Dove, (ſignifying innocency) and the Crown: herſelfe apparelled in roabes like the kings, under a rich Canopy, at every corner thereof a bell of gold: On her head ſhe wore a circlet, ſet full of precious ſtones, the Counteſſe of *Richmond* bearing her traine; the Dutcheſſes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* in their Coronets, attending; with twenty Ladies of Eſtate moſt richly attired. In this order they paſſed the Palace into the Abbey: and going up to the High Altar, there ſhifted their roabes, and having other roabes open in divers places from the middle upward, were both of them Anoynted and Crowned: and then after the Sacrament received, (having the hoſt divided betwixt them) they both offered at St. *Edwards* ſhrine; where the king left St. *Edwards* Crowne, wherewith he had been Crowned, and put on his owne: and this done, in the ſame order and ſtate as they came, they returned to *Weſtminſter-hall*, and there held a moſt Princely feaſt: at the ſecond courſe whereof, there came into the Hall Sir *Robert Dymock* the kings Champion, making Proclamation, that whoſoever would ſay that king *Richard* was not lawfull king of *England*, he was there ready to prove it againſt him; and thereupon threw down his Gantlet: and then all the Hall cryed, king *Richard*, king *Richard*. And thus with ſome other Ceremonies, the Coronation ended; and the king and Queen returned to their lodgings.

Preſently after this, king *Richard* ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſage to *Lewis* king of *France*, to conclude a League and Amity with him: but the French king ſo abhorred him and his cruelty, that hee would not ſo much as ſee, or heare his Am-

Ambassadors; but sent them away with shame, in disgrace of their Master.

At this time, with his Queen, he made a Progresse to *Glocester*, under colour to visit the place of his old Honour; but indeed, to be out of the way, having a speciall busines to be acted: for though he had satisfied his Ambition, by depriving his deare Nephews of their livelihoods; yet it satisfied not his Feare, if he deprived them not also of their lives. For effecting whereof, his old friend the Duke of *Buckingham* was no fit instrument; it must be one of a baser metall: and to finde out such a one, he needed not goe farre; For upon inquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next Chamber to him; Sir *Thomas* and Sir *James Tyrrell*; two brothers, like Jacob and Esau, not more neere in blood, than different in conditions; of equall goodnesse of personage both; but not of equall goodnesse of minde; Sir *Thomas* a man of an honest and sober disposition; but Sir *James* of a turbulent spirit, and one that gaping after preferment, would not stick to make a fortune out of any villany. Being told of this man, as he was sitting at the close-stoole, he presently rose and went to him: where being met, the match is soon made up between them; for he found Sir *James* more ready to undertake the work, than he was himselfe to set him downe it. It onely remained, to procure him free passage to the place where the worke was to be done: for King *Richard* had formerly sent a trusty Privado of his, named *John Greene*, to Sir *Robert Brackenbury* then Lieutenant of the Tower; thinking that he, having been raised by him, would not have refused to doe the deed himselfe: but when he heard how averse he was from it, Good Lord (saith he) whom may a man trust? Once he saw plainly, that whilst he was Lieutenant, there was no possibility to effect it. To remove therefore this Rub, he sends his Letters Mandatory to *Brackenbury*, to deliver presently the keyes of the Tower to Sir *James Tyrrell*: who being now Lieutenant for the time, and having the two innocent Princes under his custodie, gets two other, as very villaines as himselfe; the one *Miles Forrest*, the other *James Dighton* his horse-keeper, a bigge sturdy knave: and both he makes his under-agents; who comming into the childrens chamber in the night, (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one Black-*Will*, or *William Slaughter*, a bloody rascall) they suddenly lapped them up in their clothes, and keeping down by force the featherbed and pillowes hard unto their mouths, so stifled them, that their breath failing, they gave up their innocent soules to God: whom when the murtherers perceived, first by their struggling with the paines of death, and then by their long lying still, to be throughly dead; they laid their bodies upon the bed, and then fetched Sir *James* to see them; who presently caused their bodies to be buried under the staires, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian burial, by a Priest of Sir *Robert Brackenbury*; who dying within a few dayes after, and none knowing the place but himself, was cause that it hath not been known to this day; and gave occasion afterward to the Imposture of *Perkin Warbeck*, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Raign. Some report, that king *Richard* caused their bodies to be taken up, and closed them in lead, and then to be put in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with Iron; and so cast into a place called the Black Deepes, at the Thames mouth; to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen againe. And now see the Divine revenge upon the actors of this execrable murther: *Miles Forrest*, at St. *Martins le Grand*, peece-meale rotted away: *Dighton* lived at *Callice* a long time after, but detested of all men, dyed in great misery: Sir *James Tyrrell* was beheaded afterward on the Tower-hill for Treason: and king *Richard* himselfe, after this abhominable fact done, never had a quiet minde; troubled with fearfull dreames, and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the Chamber in great fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him: that it was verified in him, *Ultrix Tisiphone vocat agmina sæva sororum.*

Confederacies in evill are seldome long-lived, and commonly end in a reciprocall destruction: and so was it now with king *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham*: They had confederated together to the destruction of many; and now their confederacy dissolves in both their ruines: but what the cause was of their dissolving, is not

not so certaine: whether it were that the Duke thought not himselfe so well rewarded, as his great services had deserved; or whether it were, that King *Richard* thought not himselfe absolute King, as long as the Duke, by whose means he came to be King, was in such a height of greatnesse; or whether it were (as was rather thought) that the Duke being a man ambitious and of an aspiring spirit; though he had himselfe been the means to bring King *Richard* to the Crown; yet when the Crown was put upon his head, so envied at it, that he turned his head another way, as not enduring the sight; and for the same cause, was willing not to have been present at the Coronation, pretending sicknes in excuse of his absence; but that King *Richard* sent him a sharpe Message, requiring him to come or he would fetch him: whereupon the Duke went, but with so ill a minde, that he bore it in minde ever after. Whatsoever it was, certaine it is, that presently after the Coronation, there grew great jealousies between them; and the Duke retired himselfe to his Castle at *Brecknock*, where he had the Bishop of *Ely* in custody. And here we may observe the unsearchable depth of the divine Providence; the bottome whereof, the soundest judgement of Man can never sound, as working effects by contrary causes: for where King *Richard* had committed the Bishop to the Duke, as to one that would have a most watchfull eye over him; This which the King did for the Bishops greater punishment, proved a means afterward of the Bishops greater advancement, and a means at the present of King *Richards* ruine. For the Duke being returned home, and having his head so full of thoughts, that of necessity it required vent; for his own recreation, would sometimes fall in talke with the Bishop; with whose discourse (as he was a man of great wit and solid judgement) the Duke was so taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more then to be conferring with him. One time it happened, that the Duke had opened his minde something freely to him; and the Bishop following him in his own way, and cunningly working upon that humour of the Duke, which he found most working in the Duke; which he conceived to grow out of envy to king *Richard*: he said to this purpose; My Lord, you know I followed first the part of king *Henry* the sixth, and if I could have had my wish, his Sonne should have had the Crown, and not king *Edward*: But after that God had ordained king *Edward* to Reigne; I was never so mad, that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. And so was I to king *Edward* also a faithfull Chaplaine, and glad would have been that his childe had succeeded him: How be it, if the secret Judgement of God have otherwise provided; I purpose not to labour to set up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protectour, and now King--; and even there he left: saying, he had already meddled too much with the world; and would from that day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to heare what he would have said; because he ended with the king, and there suddenly stopped: and thereupon intreated him to be bold to say whatsoever he thought; whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good then he would thinke; and withall, that himselfe intended to use his secret Counsell; which (he said) was the only cause for the which he had procured of the king to have him in his custody. The Bishop humbly thanked him, and said: In good faith my Lord, I love not to talke much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault, for so much as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I thinke on *Æsops* Tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed on paine of death, that no horned beast should abide in a certaine Wood; one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a geart pace: the Fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste? who answered, in faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of the Proclaimation made of horned beasts: why foole, (quoth the Fox) thou mayest abide well enough, the Lyon meant it not by thee, for it is no horn that is in thy head: No mary (quoth he) that wote I well enough; but what if he call it a horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and said; My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lyon nor the Bore shall picke any matter at any thing here spoken; for it shall never come neere

their

their eare. Then ſaid the Biſhop, In good faith Sir, if it did, the thing I was about to ſay, taken as well as a fore God I meant it, could deſerve but thank; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turne me to little good, and you to leſſe. Then longed the Duke much more, to heare what it was: whereupon the Biſhop ſaid, My Lord, as for the late Protectour, ſith he is now king in Poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his title; but for the weale of the Realme, I could wiſh he had in him thoſe excellent virtues which God hath planted in the perſon of your Grace: and there left again. The Duke ſomewhat marvelling at his ſudden pauſe, ſaid, My L. I cannot but note your ſudden ſtopping in your ſpeech, ſo as your words come not to any direct ſentence, whereby I may have knowledge, either what your inward intent is now toward the king, or what your affection is toward me: I therfore intreate you to uſe no more ſuch obſcurity, but plainly to diſcloſe your minde unto me, who upon mine honor will be as ſecret in the caſe, as the deafe and dumb perſon is to the ſinger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bp. then upon confidence of the D. promiſe, ſaid, my Lord, I plainly perceive, the kingdome being in the caſe as it is, under ſuch a King as now we have, muſt needs decay and be brought to confuſion; but one hope I have, that when I conſider and daily behold your noble Perſonage; your Juſtice, your ardent love towards your Country, and in like manner the great love of your Country towards you; I muſt needs thinke this Realme fortunate, that hath ſuch a Prince in ſtore, meet and apt to be a Governour; in whoſe perſon conſiſteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the preſent king with many cruelties and oppreſſions, he concluded, ſaying: And now my Lord, if either you love God, your Linage, or your native Country, you muſt your ſelf take upon you the Crown and Imperiall Diadem of this Realme; but if your ſelfe will refuſe to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the faith you owe to God, and by the love you beare to your native Country, to deviſe ſome way, how the Realme may by your Princely policy be reduced to ſome convenient Regiment, under ſome good governour by you to be appointed: And if you could deviſe to ſet up againe the Linage of *Lancaſter*; or advance the eldeſt daughter of King *Edward* to ſome puiſſant Prince: not onely the new Crowned king ſhould little enjoy the glory of his dignity, but all Civill Warre ſhould ceaſe, and Peace and Profit ſhould againe flouriſh. When the Biſhop had ended his ſaying, the Duke ſighed, and ſpake not of a good while; which ſore abaſhed the Biſhop, and made him change colour: which the Duke perceiving, he ſaid; Be not afrayd my Lord, all promiſes ſhall be kept: ſo for that time they parted. The next day, the Duke ſent for the Biſhop, and having rehearſed unto him the Communication had between them the day before, he went on and ſaid: My Lord of *Ely*, ſince I perceive your true heart and ſincere affection toward me; I will now diſcover unto you, all that hath paſſed my own imaginations. After I had found the diſſimulation and falſeneſſe of king *Richard*, and ſpecially after I was informed of the murther of the two young Princes, to which (God be my Judge) I never condiſcended; I ſo much abhorred the ſight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but feigning a cauſe to depart, I tooke my leave of him (he thinking nothing leſſe, then that I was diſpleaſed) and ſo returned to *Brecknok* to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inſpiration, or elſe through ſome melancholike diſpoſition, I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnaturall and bloody Butcher of his Royall ſeat and dignity. Firſt, I fantaſied, that if I liſt to take upon me the Crown, Now was the time, when this Tyrant was abhorred and dereſted of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I reſted two dayes at *Tewkeſbury*; in my journey from thence, I muſed and thought, that it was not beſt nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was ſure that all men and ſpecially the Nobility would oppoſe me; but at laſt there ſprung up a branch in my head, which I ſurely thought would have brought forth faire flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: For I ſuddenly remembred that the Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, my Grandfather, was with king *Henry* the ſixth, in two or three degrees of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*; ſo that I thought

certainely, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmond*, that I was next heire to king *Henry* the sixth, of the House of *Lancaster*: This Title pleased well such as I made of my Counsell, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent; but while I was in a maze, whether I were best suddenly to set this title open amongst the Common people, or else keep it secret a while, see what chanced: As I rode between *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*, I met with the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the daughter and sole heire to *John* Duke of *Somerset* my Grandfathers elder brother (which was as cleane out of my minde, as if I had never seen her) so that she and her sonne the Earle of *Richmond* have both of them Titles before mine, and then I cleerly saw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantasticall imaginations concerning the obtayning the Crown my selfe, and found there could be no better way to settle it in a true establishment, then that the Earle of *Richmond*, very heire of the house of *Lancaster*, should take to wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to king *Edward*, the very heir of the house of *York*; that so the two Roses may be united in one: & now (saith the Duke) I have told you my very minde. When the Duke had said this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the marke he had himselfe aymed at: and thereupon, after some complements of extolling his device, he said: Since by your Graces incomparable wisdome, this noble conjunction is now moved; It is in the next place necessary to consider, what friends we shall first make privy of this intention. By my truth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Countesse of *Richmond* the Earles Mother; who knoweth where he is, either in captivity or at large in *Brittaine*. And thus was the foundation laid of a league, by these two great men; by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged: and it was not talkt of onely, but presently put in execution; for now is *Reynold Bray* imployed by the Bishop, to his Mistresse the Dutchesse of *Richmond*; Doctor *Lewis* the Dutchesses Phisitian was imployed by her to the Queen *Elizabeth*; *Hugh Conway* and *Thomas Rame* were imployed to the Earle of *Richmond*; to acquaint them, but in most secret manner, with the intended plot, and to procure their promises to the propounded marriage; which was no hard matter, to make them all willing to their own wishes. This done, Instruments are imployed, to draw in parties to the confederacy; *Bray* by his credit drew in Sir *Gyles Daubeny*, Sir *John Cheyney*, *Richard Guilford*, *Thomas Rame* and others; *Urswick* likewise drew in *Hugh Conway*, *Thomas Colepepper*, *Thomas Roper* with some others; Doctor *Lewis* drew in *Edward Courtney* and his brother *Peter* Bishop of *Exceter*. It is memorable, that *Thomas Conway* being sent most part by Sea, and *Thomas Rame* most part by Land; yet came to the Earle of *Richmond* in *Brittaine*, within the space of little more then an houre; upon whose information of the plot, the Earle acquaints the Duke of *Brittaine* with it, who, though by *Hutton* King *Richards* Ambassadour, he had by many great offers been sollicited to detaine him in prison; yet he both readily promised and really performed both his advice and ayde to the Earles proceedings. In this meane time Bishop *Morton*, not without asking the Dukes leave, though without obtaining it, secretly in disguise, gets him into his Isle of *Ely*; and there having done the Earle good Offices by procuring of friends, he thence passeth into *Brittaine* to him; from whence he returned no more, till afterward the Earle being king, sent for him home and made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

But though all these things were carried closely, and Oath taken by all for secresie, yet came it to King *Richards* knowledge; who notwithstanding dissembling it, sends for the Duke of *Buckingham* to come unto him; and he putting off his comming with pretended excuses, is at last peremptorily sent for to come upon his Allegiance: when he returned this resolute answer, that he owed no Allegiance to such a perjur'd inhumane Butcher of his owne Flesh and Blood: and so from that time, preparation for Arms is made on both sides. The Duke had gotten a good power of *Welshmen*; and the Marquesse *Dorset* having gotten out of Sanctuary, was labouring in *Yorkeshire* to raise forces; the like did the two *Courtneys* in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, and *Guilford* and *Rame* in *Kent*. King *Richard* setting forward with his

his forces; the Duke of *Buckingham* doth the like, intending at *Glocester* to have passed Severn, and so to have joyned with the two *Courteneys*; but such abundance of raine at that time fell, that the Severn was broken out, and impossible to be passed over; which the *Welshmen* seeing, and taking it for an ill signe, they secretly slipt away: so as the Duke left well neer alone, without either Page or so much as a Footman, repaired to the house of one *Humfry Bannister* neere to *Shrewsbury*; who having been raised by him, and his father before him; he thought himselfe safe under his roofe: but *Bannister*, upon Proclamation made by king *Richard*, that whosoever could apprehend the Duke, should have a thousand pound for his labour; like an ungratefull and perfidious wretch, discovered him to *John Mitton* High Sheriffe of *Shropshire*, who took him in a pilled black Cloak, as he was walking in an Orchard behinde the house; and carried him to *Shrewsbury*, where king *Richard* then lay; and there without Arraignment or Legall proceeding, was in the Market place beheaded. Whether *Bannister* received the Proclaimed reward from the hand of the King, is uncertaine; but certaine it is, that he received the reward of a Villaine from the hand of Divine Justice; for himself was afterward hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest daughter was deflowred by one of his Carters, or as some say, strucken with a foule Leprosie; his eldest Sonne in a desperate Lunacy murthered himselfe, and was found to have done so, by the Coroners inquest; and his younger Sonne in a small puddle was strangled and drowned.

Upon this disaster of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his complices shifted for themselves; some taking Sanctuary, some keeping themselves in unknown places, but many convayed themselves into *Brittaine* to the Earle of *Richmond*; of whom the Marquesse *Dorset*, *John* Lord *Wells*, the Bishop of *Exeeter* and his brother Sir *John Bourcher*, Sir *Edward Woodvile* brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, Sir *John Cheyney* and his two brethren, Sir *William Berckly*, Sir *William Brandon* and his brother *Thomas*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, *Hollowell* and *Poynings* Captaines, were the chiefe. Whil'st these things are in doing, king *Richard* receives intelligence from *Hutton* his Ambassadour leiger in *Britaine*; that the Duke not onely refuseth to restraine the Earle of *Richmond*, but intendeth also to give him assistance: whereupon the king tooke present order for preparing his Navy to stop the Earles landing in any Port of *England*.

Upon the twelveth day of *October* in the yeer 1484. The Earle of *Richmond* with forty Ships, and five thousand waged Brittain tooks, to sea; but that Evening, by tempest of weather, his whole Fleet was dispersed, so as only the Ship wherein the Earle himselfe was, with one little Barke, was driven upon the Coast of *Cornwall*; where discovering upon the shore great store of Armed Souldiers to resist his landing; he hoysed sayle, and returning toward *France*, arrived in *Normandy*; from whence sending Messengers to *Charles* the Eighth King of *France*, he was by him not onely kindely invited to come to his Court, but was ayded also with good summes of money to beare his charges. After this, the Earle returning into *Brittaine*, received there the news of the Duke of *Buckinghams* death, and the dispersing of the Confederates forces; with which though he was at first much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he saw the Marquesse *Dorset* and those other Lords and Captaines come unto him: soon after whose comming, upon *Christmasse day* before the high Altar in the great Church of *Rheims*, the Earle of *Richmond* gave Oath, to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, as soone as he should be quietly setled in the Government of *England*: and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present, did him homage, and in the same place, each to other Religiously Vowed, taking the Sacrament upon it; never to cease prosecuting warre against king *Richard*, till either his Deposition or Destruction.

King *Richard* being informed of these things, makes diligent enquiry after all such as might be suspected to be favourers of *Richmonds* association; of whom Sir *George Brown*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* with foure other Gentlemen are apprehended and executed at *London*: Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who married *Anne* the Duke of *Exeters* widdow, this kings own sister, and *Thomas Rame* Esquire were executed at *Exeter*.

ceter. Thomas Marquesse Dorset, and all such as were with the Earle of Richmond; were at a Parliament then holden attainted of Treason, and all their Goods and Lands seized on to the kings use: Besides these, a poore Gentleman called Collingborne, for making a small ryme of three of his wicked Counsellours; the Lord Lovell, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby: which ryme was thus framed: The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog; rule all England under a Hog: was put to death, and his body divided into foure quarters.

At this time, a Truce is concluded betwixt England and Scotland, for three yeares, and for a setling a firmer Amity betweene the two kingdomes, a marriage is treated of betweene the Duke of Rothsay, eldest Sonne to the king of Scots; and the Lady Anne de la Poole, daughter to John Duke of Suffolk, by Anne sister to king Richard, which sister he so much favoured, that after the death of his own sonne, who dyed some time before; he caused John Earle of Lincolne, her sonne and his Nephew, to be proclaimed Heire apparent to the Crown of England.

And now King Richard, to take away the Rope of his feare, once againe sent Ambassadors to the Duke of Britaine, with order (besides the great gifts they carried with them) to make offer, that king Richard should yeerly pay and answer the Duke of all the Revenues and Profits of all lands and possessions, as well belonging to the Earle of Richmond, as of any other Nobleman or Gentleman that were in his company; if he after that time would keep them in continuall prison, and restraine them from liberty. But the Duke of Britaine being at that time fallen into such infirmity, that the Ambassadors could have no audience; they addressed themselves to Peter Landois, the Dukes chief Treasurer: and he taken with this golden hook, faithfully promised to satisfie their Request, and had done so indeed, but that B. Morton, sojourning then in Flanders, had by his friends Intelligence of his purpose, and presently informed the E. thereof. The E. was then at Vannes, who, upon the Bps. information, taking with him only five servants, as though he went but to visit some friend, when he was five miles forward on his way, suddenly turned into a Wood adjoyning; and there changing apparell with one of his servants, followed after as their attendant; and never rested, till by wayes unknown he came to his company abiding at Angiers: yet was not his departure so secret nor so sudden, but that Peter Landois had notice of it; who sending Posts after him, was so neer overtaking him, that he was scarce entred one houre into France, when the Posts arrived at the Confines, and then durst goe no further. In the mean time, Sir Edward Woodvile and Captaine Bewmings, who with their companies were left behinde in Vannes, had been in danger of Peter Landois his malice; but that the Duke being informed by the Chancellour of their case, not only protected them, but furnished them with all necessaries for their journey to the Earle: and was so incensed against Landois for this action of his, that for this and some other over-bold presumptions, he was afterward hanged.

The Earle having passed this danger in Britaine, and being arrived in France, addresseth himselfe to the French king, imploring his ayde; and hath it promised and performed: and in this time John Vere Earle of Oxford, who had long time been kept prisoner in the Castle of Hammes, so farre prevailed with James Blunt Captaine of the Fortresse, and Sir John Fortescue Porter of the Town of Callice; that not onely they suffered him to be at liberty, but accompanied him also to the Earle of Richmond, to whom Captain Blunt gave assurance that the Fortresse remained wholly at his devotion. At this time also there resorted to the Earle, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the Universitty of Paris, profering him their service; amongst whom was Richard Fox, at that time famous for his learning; with whom afterward the Earle advised in all his affaires, made him one of his most Privy Counsell, and at last Bishop of Winchester.

But now king Richard having been disappointed of his designe in Britaine, hath another way in his head, to disapoint the Earle of Richmond of his marriage with the Daughter of Queen Elizabeth: and to this end, he sent to the Queen, (being still in Sanctuary) divers messengers, who should first excuse and purge him of all things formerly attempted and done against her; and then should largely promise promo-

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tions innumerable, not onely to her selfe, but also to her sonne Lord *Thomas* Marquesse *Dorset*; by force of which promises, the messengers so prevailed with her, that not onely she began to relent, but in fine was content to submit her selfe wholly to the kings pleasure. And thereupon putting in oblivion the murther of her innocent Children, the butchering of her own Brother and Sonne, the infamy of her royall Husband, the aspersion of Adultery cast upon her selfe, the imputation of Bastardy laid on her Daughters, forgetting also her Oath made to the Earle of *Richmonds* Mother, seduced by flattering words, she first delivered into king *Richards* hands her five Daughters, and after sent letters to the Marquesse her Sonne, being then at *Paris* with the Earle of *Richmond*; willing him by any means to leave the Earle, and with all speed to repaire into *England*, where for him were provided great Honours and Promotions: Assuring him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and she incorporated in the kings favour. If we wonder at this credulity in the Queen, we may conceive she was moved with the two great motives of Feare and hope; she feared (no doubt) that if she denyed the kings request, he would presently take some sharpe course both against her and her Daughters; and she hoped that if she yeelded to his request, he would undoubtedly performe his promise, seeing it was as easie for him to keep it as to breake it.

But now king *Richards* purpose being to marry one of his brother king *Edwards* daughters, there was but impediment which directly hindred it; that he had a wife living; and how to be rid of her, that he might not bring new aspersions upon himselfe, he could not well tell; yet this he resolved, that be rid of her he would by some way or other: but before he would use extremity, he would first try milder wayes; and first he abstayned both from her bed and company, and complained to divers of her barrennesse; which comming to her eare, he hoped might cause her to dye with griefe: And when this device failed, he then caused a rumour to be spread among the people, that she was suddenly dead; hoping the very conceite thereof would kill her: when this device also failed, (for the Queen hearing of it, and mistrusting the worst, with a most sorrowfull countenance came into him, demanding what she had done, that he should judge her worthy to dye? who answered with faire words, bidding her be of good cheere, for (to his knowledge) she should have no other cause:) he then made sure worke; for within few dayes after, whether by poyson or by what other means, it is not certainly known, she departed this life; and with all solemnity, not without some formall tears of king *Richard*, was interred in St. *Peters* Church at *Westminster*.

King *Richard* now by his wives death, having made himself way to marry another; useth all the alluring means he can devise, to win the love of the Lady *Elizabeth* his Neece; but meaning at last to purchase his desire by Rape, if he could not otherwise; and had perhaps done it, but that the stormes threatned from beyond the seas, growing every day more strong then other, forced him to prorouge the execution of his desires, and look to the prevention of his present danger. The Lord *Stanley* is commanded presently to levy forces for the kings ayde, as he will justifie his integrity to him; but yet is not permitted to goe down into the Country, untill he had left *George* Lord *Strange* his eldest Son, as a Pledge of his Loyalty, behinde him. And now king *Richard* being informed (though the information was craftily suborned by his Enemies) that the Earle of *Richmond* was out of hope of any great assistance from *France*, discharged the ships which he had appointed to guard the seas, and likewise all the souldiers; onely order is given for diligent watching of the Beacons.

At this time, one *Morgan Kidwelly*, a Student at the Innes of Court, with great hazard of his life, passed over to the Earle; Informing him, that King *Richard* by all meanes laboured to match himself with the Lady *Elizabeth*: which so wrought with the Earle, that he saw there was no lingring: and the more, being by him further informed, that *Rice ap Thomas* and *John Savage*, two powerfull men in their Countries, were ready with great forces to assist him: Whereupon not having above

two

two thousand Mercenaries, and but indifferent shipping to convay him over: about the middle of *August* he put to sea, and by the advice of the said *Kidwelly*, steered his course for *Wales*, and on the seventeenth day after his departure from *Harfleur*, arrived at *Milford* Haven; and there landing his forces without trouble or impeachment, from thence marched peacably to *Hereford*, where by the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he receiveth news by Captaine *Arnold Butler*, that the Earle of *Pembrooke* with all his retinue, was upon the way to joyne with him; also thither came to him *Richard Griffith* and *John Morgan*, with a band of brave *Welsh* men; and the same day, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with all the Earle of *Shrewsburyes* Tenants, (being about two thousand well appointed men) came unto him: with these he marched towards *Shrewsbury*; at which time word is brought him, that Sir *Robert Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas*, were ready with a great power to stoppe his passage: which somewhat troubled him, that his friends so suddenly should revolt: but it was but a trick of *Rice ap Thomas* to make his bargaine the surer: for soon after, *Rice ap Thomas* meets him, and offers him his service, so as the Earle will pledge his faith to performe his promise formerly made; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make *Rice* sole Governour of *Wales*: which was now assented to, and afterward performed. At this time the Lord *Stanley* with five thousand men, had taken up his lodging at the Town of *Leicester*; but hearing of the Earles march that way, he left *Leicester* and went to *Atherston*, not daring to shew himselfe openly for the Earle, for feare the King should put his Sonne the Lord *Strange* to death, whom he had left an Hostage with him.

All this time King *Richard* lay at *Nottingham*, and was as it were fatally taken with a spirit of security, hearing that the Earle had but small assistance either from *France* or in *England*; and therefore slighting him as little able to doe any great matter: but when he heard that part of his own forces was revolted to him, then he began to looke about him, and sends present direction to the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Surry*, with Sir *Thomas Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, with all speed to bring their forces to him at *Lutterworth*, from whence upon their arrivall, hearing that the Earle was encamped at *Lichfield*: he marcheth thitherward: At which time, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and some others, withdrew themselves from King *Richards* part: and Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Bryan Stanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, with their severall Forces, joyned with the Earle.

King *Richard* tooke the advantage of a large Plaine neere *Bosworth*, adjoyning to a Hill called *Ambe Beame*, where he encamped: And observing by his Adversaries manner of approach, that they meant to give him battell; He the next morning put his Forces in order: The Vaumtguard was led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bow-men, flanked with two hundred Cuyrassiers, under the conduct of the Earle of *Surrey*: The Battaile King *Richard* led himselfe, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men, empaled with two thousand Pikes: The Reereward was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, consisting of two thousand mingled weapons, with two wings of Horsemen, containing fifteen hundred, all of them cast in to square maniples; expetting the Lord *Stanley's* comming with two thousand, most of them Horsemen: But the Lord *Stanley* caried himselfe so warily, that he might neither give cause of suspition to the King, nor yet cause of disadvantage to the Earle: that when, early in the morning, the Earle sent unto him, desiring his present repaire; he answered, that he must looke for no ayde from him, till the Battailes should be joyned; and therefore advised him, with all possible speed to give the Onset. This Answer somewhat staggered the Earle, because his number did but little exceed one halfe of the Kings: Yet to make the best shew he could: by the advice of his Counsell of War, he made his Vaward open and thin; of which *John* Earle of *Oxford* had the leading: The Earle himselfe led the Battaile: Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanding the Right wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left: whose souldiers being all alike clad in white Coates and hoods of Frize, by the reflection of the Sun upon them, made them appeare in the view of their Enemies, double the number. The Reereward was governed by the Earle of *Pembrooke*, which consisted most

of

of horſe, and ſome Pikes and Black bills. King *Richard* to incourage his ſouldiers, made a ſolemne ſpeech unto them: but alas! what hope could he have to put them in heart, whoſe hearts he had loſt? or to riſe alacrity in others, who had none in himſelfe? For now the remembrance of his fore-paſſed villanies, and ſpecially a fearfull dreame he had the night before, (wherein it ſeemed to him he ſaw divers Images like Devils, which pulled and haled him, not ſuffering him to take any reſt or quiet) ſo damped his ſpirits, that although he ſet a good face upon the matter, yet he could not chooſe but have a preſaging feare that the date of his dayes was not farre from expiring. The Earle of *Richmond* on the other ſide, having a cleere conſcience in himſelf, and ſpeaking to men that followed him for love, had the eaſier means to give them encouragement: which he did with ſo cheerfull a countenance, as though already he had gotten the victory. After their military exhortations ended, King *Richard* commanded to give the onſet. Between both Armies, there was a great Marſh, which the Earle left on his right-hand, that it might be a defence for his ſouldiers on that ſide; and beſides by ſo doing, he had the Sunne at his back, and in the faces of the enemy. When king *Richard* ſaw that the Earles company was paſſed this Mariſh, he commanded with all ſpeed to ſet upon them. Then were the Arrowes let fly on both ſides, and thoſe ſpent, they came to hand-ſtrokes; at which encounter comes in the the Lord *Stanley*, and joyns with the Earle. The Earle of *Oxford* in the mean time, fearing leſt his company ſhould be compaſſed in with the multitude of his enemies, gave charge in every ranke, that no man ſhould goe above ten foot from the Standard: whereupon they knit themſelves together, and ceaſed a while from fighting: which the Enemy ſeeing, and miſtrulting ſome fraud, they alſo pauſed and left ſtriking. But then the Earle of *Oxford*, having brought all his Band together, ſet on the Enemy afreſh; which the Enemy perceiving, they placed their men ſlender and thinne before, but thick and broad behinde; and reſolutely againe began the Fight. While theſe two Vantguards were thus contending, King *Richard* was informed, that the Earle of *Richmond* with a ſmall number was not farre off: whereupon he preſently makes towards him; and being of an invincible courage, whereof he was now to give the laſt proofe, he made ſo furious an aſſault, that firſt with his own hands he ſlew Sir *William Brandon*, who bore the Earles Standard; next, he unhorſt and overthrew Sir *John Cheyny*, a ſtrong and ſtout man at Armes; and then aſſaulted the Earle of *Richmond* himſelf, who (though no man would have thought it, yet) for all the Kings fury, held him off at his Launces point, till Sir *William Stanley* came in with three thouſand freſh men; and then oppreſt with multitude, King *Richard* is there ſlaine. It is ſaid, that when the Battell was at the point to be loſt, a ſwift horſe was brought unto him, with which he might have ſaved himſelfe by flight: but out of his undaunted courage he refuſed it, ſaying He would that day make an end of all Battells, or elſe loſe his life. In this Battell, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, who led King *Richards* Reereward, never ſtruck ſtroke; as likewiſe many other, who followed King *Richard* more for Feare than Love: and ſo King *Richard* who had deceived many in his time, was at this time deceived by many: which was not unforeſeen by ſome, who cauſed a Rhyme to be ſet upon the Duke of *Norfolks* gate the night before the Battell, which was this:

Jack of Norfolke be not too bold,
For Dickon thy Maſter is bought and ſold.

Yet notwithſtanding this warning, the noble Duke continued firme to king *Richard*, and more conſidering what he was towards him, then what towards others, followed him to the laſt, and in his quarrell loſt his life. This *John Howard* was the ſonne of Sir *Robert Howard* knight, and *Margaret* eldeſt daughter of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, in whoſe right he was created Duke of *Norfolke* by king *Richard* the Third, in the yeere 1483. having been made a Baron before by king *Edward* the Fourth. The whole number ſlain in this battell of king *Richards* part was not above a thouſand perſons; whereof of the Nobility, beſides the Duke of *Norfolke*, only *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Lievtenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more. Sir *William*

Catesby

Catesby, one of the chiefe Counsellours of king *Richard*, with divers others, were two dayes after beheaded at *Leicester*. Amongst those that ranaway, were *Francis* Viscount *Lovell*, *Humfry Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his brother, who took Sanctuary in Saint *Johns* at *Glocester*. Of Captives and Prisoners there were great number. *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, who though on king *Richards* side, interminted not in the battell, was incontinently taken into favour, and made of the Counsell: But *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surry*, though he submitted himselfe, yet as having been specially familiar with king *Richard*, was committed to the Tower; where he remained a long time: but at last was delivered and highly promoted. On the Earle of *Richmonds* part were slaine scarce a hundred persons; (some say, but ten) of whom the principall was Sir *William Brandon*, the Earles Standard-bearer. This battell was fought at *Rodmer*, neer *Bosworth* in *Leicestershire*, the two and twentieth day of *August*, in the yeer 1485. having continued little above two houres. Presently after the battell, the Earle knighted in the field, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Robert Poynts*, Sir *Humfry Stanley*, Sir *John Turbervile*, Sir *Hugh Persball*, Sir R. *Edgecombe*, Sir *John Bykenill*, and Sir *Edmund Carew*: and then kneeling down, he rendred to Almighty God his hearty Thankes for the victory he had obtained; and commanded all the hurt and maimed persons to be cured: whereat the people rejoycing, clapped their hands and cryed, king *Henry*, king *Henry*: which good will and gladnesse of the people when the Lord *Stanley* saw, he tooke the Crown of king *Richard*, which was found amongst the spoiles in the field, and set it on the Earles head, as though he had been elected King by the voice of the people. It may not be forgotten, that when king *Richard* was come to *Bosworth*, he sent to the Lord *Stanley* to come presently to his presence; which if he refused to doe, he swore by Christs Passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before he dined: whereto the Lord *Stanley* answered, That if he did so, he had more sonnes alive, and he might doe his pleasure; but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which answer when king *Richard* heard, he commanded the Lord *Strange* immediately to be beheaded; but being at the very time when both Armies were in sight of each other; his Lords perswaded him, it was now time to fight, and not to put to Execution: and so the Lord *Strange* escaped.

Of his Taxations.

WEE must not looke for Taxations in kinde, in this kings reigne; for he drew from his Subjects not money so much as blood; and the money he drew was most by blood, which drew on confiscation: whereof, let never any Prince make a president: for where Taxations properly doe but *Tondere*, these did *Deglubere*. Yet in his second yeere, he called a Parliament, wherein besides the great confiscations of those that were then attainted, he imposed upon the people a great Tax, which what it was, is not Recorded.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

HAving gotten the Crowne by Pestilent courses, he sought to Establish it by wholsome Laws: for in no Kings reigne were better Laws made, then in the reign of this man. Amongst other of his Laws, It was enacted, that from thence forth, the Commonalty of the Realme should in no wise be charged by any imposition called a Benevolence, nor any such like charge; and that such exactions called a Benevolence, before this time taken, shall be taken for no example to make any such like charge hereafter; but shall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Laws were by him made; that we may say, he took the wayes of being a good King, if he had come to be King by wayes that had been good.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN his time, the troubles of the Temporalty kept the Clergie at quiet; and though there were complayning in the ſtreets, there was none in the Church. Only *Shores* wife might complaine, why ſhee ſhould doe Penance for offending lightly againſt onely the ſeventh Commandement; and king *Richard* doe none for offending heavily againſt all the ten; but that perhaps he had gotten ſome good fellow to be his Confeſſour.

Workes of Piety done by him.

AS bad as this King was, yet ſome good workes he did: he founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *Yorke*; and a Collegiate Chauntry in *London*, neere unto the Tower, called our *Lady of Barking*: He endowed the Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, with five hundred Marks of yeerly revenue; and diſforeſted the great field of *Whitchwood*, which king *Edward* his brother had incloſed for Deere.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his ſecond yeer, at the time when the Duke of *Buckingham* meant to paſſe with his Army over Severn; ſo great an inundation was of water, that men were drowned in their beds, houſes were overturned, children were carried about the fields ſwimming in Cradles, beaſts were drowned on hills: which rage of water continued ten dayes; and is to this day in the Countries there about, called the great water, or the Duke of *Buckinghams* water.

Of his wife and iſſue.

HEE marryed *Anne* the ſecond Daughter of *Richard Nevill* the great Earle of *Warwicke*, being the widdow of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Sonne of king *Henry* the ſixth: ſhe lived his Wife to the laſt yeer of his reigne; and then to make way for another, was brought to her end, and layd arreſt in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*: by her he had onely one Sonne, born at *Middleham* neer *Richmond* in the County of *Yorke*; at foure yeers old, created Earle of *Salisbury* by his Uncle king *Edward* the fourth; at ten yeers old, created Prince of *Wales* by his Father king *Richard*, but dyed ſoon after.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

THere never was in any man a greater uniformity of Body and Minde then was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of Body he was but low, crooke-backt, hook-ſhouldred, ſplay-footed, and goggle-eyed, his face little and round, his complexion ſwarfie, his left arm from his birth dry and withered: born a monſter in nature, with all his teeth, with haire on his head, and nailes on his fingers and toes. And juſt ſuch were the qualities of his minde: One quality he had in ordinary, which was, to look fawningly when he plotted, ſternly when he executed. Thoſe vices which in other men are Paſſions, in him were Habits: and his cruelty was not upon occaſion, but naturall. If at any time he ſhewed any virtue, it was but pretence; the truth of his minde was onely lying and falſehood. He was full of courage and yet not valiant; valour conſiſting not only in doing, but as well in ſuffering, which he could not abide. He was politick and yet not wiſe, Policie looking but to the middle, wiſdome to the end: which he did, and did not. And it was not ſo much ambition that made him deſire the Crown, as cruelty, that it might be in his power to kill at his pleaſure: and to ſay the truth, he was ſcarce of the number of men who conſiſt of fleſh and blood, being nothing but blood. One Miracle

wee may say hee did; which was, that he made the truth of History to exceed the fiction of Poetry, being a greater Harpy than those that were feigned. He would faine have been accounted a good King, but for his life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible thing to be one without the other. He left no issue behinde him: and it had been pitty he should, at least in his own Image; One such Monster was enough for many Ages.

Of his Death and Buriall.

BEing slaine in the Battell at *Bosworth*, as before is related; his body was left naked and despoyled to the very skin, not so much as a clout left about him to cover his privy parts: and taken up, was trussed behinde a Pursuivant at Armes, one *Blanch Sengler* or *White-boare*; his head and armes hanging on one side of the horse; and his leggs on the other; and all besprinkled with mire and dirt, he was brought to the Gray-Friers Church within the Towne of *Leicester*, and there for some time lay a miserable spectacle; and afterward, with small Funerall-pompe, was there interred. But after this, King *Henry* the Seventh caused a Tombe to be made, and set up over the place where he was buried, with a picture of Alablaster representing his person; which at the suppression of that Monastery was utterly defaced: Since when, his Grave overgrowne with nettles and weeds, is not to be found; onely the Stone-chest wherein his Corps lay, is now made a drinking-trough for horses, at a common Inne in *Leicester*, and reteineth the onely memory of this Monarchs greatnes. But his body (as is reported) was caried out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed under the end of *Bow-bridge*, which giveth passage over a branch of *Soure*, upon the West side of the Towne. Upon this bridge (the like report runneth) stood a stone of some heigth; against which king *Richard*, as hee passed towards *Bosworth*, by chance strook his spurre: and against the same stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the horse side, his head was dashed and broken; as a Wise-woman (forsooth) had fore-told, who before his going to battell, being asked of his successe, said, that where his spurre strooke, his head should be broken. But these are but Reports. He had lived seven and thirty yeeres, Reigned two, and two monethes.

Of men of Note in his Time.

OF men of Note for wickednesse and villany, enough have been mentioned in the body of the Story: and for men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better Kings Reigne.

THE

THE REIGNE OF KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

HENRY Earle of *Richmond*, borne in *Pembrooke*-Caſtle, ſonne to *Edmund* Earle of *Richmond*, by his wife *Margaret*, ſole daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, which *John* was ſonne of *John* Earle of *Somerſet*, ſonne of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, by his third wife *Katherine Swinford*; and by this deſcent, Heire of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: having wonne the Battell at *Boſworth*, againſt King *Richard*; is by publick acclamations ſalured King of *England*, on the 22 day of *Auguſt*, in the yeere 1485. and this was his firſt Title. And now to take away a Root of danger; before his departure from *Leiceſter*, he ſent Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Caſtle of *Sheriffehutton* in the County of *Yorke*, for *Edward Plantagenet* Earle of *Warwick*, ſonne and heire to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, being then of the age of fifteen yeeres, whom King *Richard* had there kept a priſoner all his time; who was thence conveyed to *London*, and ſhut up in the Tower to be kept in ſafe cuſtodie. In the ſame Caſtle alſo, King *Richard* had left reſiding the Lady *Elizabeth* eldeſt daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth: and her now King *Henry* appoints honorably attended to be brought up to *London*, and to be deliwered to the Queene her mother. This done, he tooke his journey towards *London*; where at his approaching neere the City, *Thomas Hill* the Major, *Thomas Brittaine* and *Richard Chefter* Sheriffs, with other principall Citizens, met him at *Shore-ditch*, and in great ſtate brought him to the Cathedrall Church of St. *Paul*, where he offered three Standards: in the one was the Image of St. *George*; in another was a red fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and greene Sarcenet; in the third was painted a dun Cow, upon yellow Tarterne. After Prayers ſaid, he departed to the Biſhops Palace, and there ſojourned a ſeaſon: And in the time of his ſtay here, he adviſed with his Councell, and appointed a day for ſolemnizing his mariage with the Lady *Elizabeth*: before which time notwithſtanding, he went by water to *Weſtminſter*, and was there with great ſolemnity Anointed and Crowned King of *England*, by the whole conſent as well of the Commons as of the Nobility, by the name of *Henry* the Seventh, on the thirtieth day of *October*, in the yeere 1485: and this was his ſecond Title. And even this was revealed to *Cadwalloder* laſt King of the *Britaines*, ſeven hundred ninety and ſeven yeeres paſt; That his off-ſpring ſhould Raigne and beare Dominion in this Realme againe.

On the seventeenth day of *November* following, he called his High Court of Parliament; where, at the first sitting, two scruples appeared: One concerning the Burgesses, for that many had been returned Burgesses and knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in king *Richards* time, stood Attainted still: and it was thought incongruous, for men to make Lawes, who were themselves out-lawed: For remedy whereof, an Act was presently pulled for their restoring; and then they were admitted to sit in the House. The other concerning the King himselfe, who had been Attainted by king *Richard*: but for this, It was resolved by all the Judges in the Chequer Chamber, that the possession of the Crowne takes away all defects; yet for Honours sake, all Records of his Attainder were taken off the File. And so these scruples thus removed, the Parliament began; wherein were Attainted, first *Richard* late Duke of *Gloucester*, calling himselfe *Richard* the Third: Then, his Assistants at the Battell of *Bosworth*: *John* late Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, *Francis* Viscount *Lovell*, *Walter Devereux* late Lord *Ferrers*, *John* Lord *Zouch*, *Robert Barington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *William Berkley* of *Weley*, *Robert Middleton*, *James Harington*, *Robert Brackenbury*, *Thomas Pilkington*, *Walter Hopton*, *William Catesby*, *Roger Wake*, *William Sapcote*, *Humfry Stafford*, *William Clerke* of *Wenlock*; *Geoffry* St. *Germaine*, *Richard Watkins*, Herauld at Armes, *Richard Revell*, *Thomas Pulter*, *John Welsh*, *John Kendall* late Secretary to the late king *Richard*, *John Buck*, *Andrew Rat*, and *William Brampton* of *Burford*. But notwithstanding this Attainder, divers of the persons aforesaid, were afterwards not only by King *Henry* pardoned, but restored also to their lands and livings. As likewise he caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would submit themselves, and take Oath to be true subjects, should have their Pardon: whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other places; who submitting themselves, were received to mercy.

And now King *Henry* considering that *Pœna & Præmia Respublica continetur*, after Punishing for Offences, he proceeds to Rewarding for Service: and first, *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrooke* his Unkle, he created Duke of *Bedford*: *Thomas* Lord *Stanley* he created Earle of *Derby*: the Lord *Chandow* of *Britaine*, his speciall friend, he made Earle of *Bathe*: Sir *Giles Daubeney* was made Lord *Daubeney*: Sir *Robert Willoughby* was made Lord *Brooke*: and *Edward Stafford* eldest sonne to *Henry* late Duke of *Buckingham*, he restored to his Dignity and Possessions. Besides, in this Parliament, an Act was made, for setling the Crowne upon the person of king *Henry* and the heires of his Body successively for ever. And then with all speed he sent and redeemed the Marquesse *Dorset*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, whom he had left Hostages in *France* for money: and called home *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox*; making *Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* Lord Keeper of the Privy Seale, and Bishop of *Winchester*. Besides these, he made also of his Privy Counsell, *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, *John* Earle of *Oxford*, *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Derby*, *John* Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine of his Household, Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brooke*, Lord Steward of his Household, *Giles* Lord *Daubeny*, *John* Lord *Dynham*, after made Lord Treasurer of *England*, Sir *Reginold Bray*, Sir *John Cheyny*, Sir *Richard Guildford*, Sir *Richard Tunstall*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Sir *Edmund Poynings*, Sir *John Risley*, with some other.

These things thus done: as well in performance of his Oath, as to make his Crown sit the surer on his head; on the eighteenth day of *January*, he proceeded to the solemnizing his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, which gave him a third title: And indeed this conjunction made a wreath of three so indissoluble, that no age since hath ever questioned it: and it is fixt upon a Tree planted so happily by the waters side, and hath at this day so many flourishing branches, that there is good hope it will continue as long as the world continues.

And now whether King *Henry* doubted any suddaine attempt upon his person, or whether he did it to follow the example of *France*: in the very beginning of his reigne, he ordained a band of tall personable men to be attending upon him, which was called the Kings guard; which no King before, and all Kings since, have alwaies used: But though he provided a guard for defence of his own body; yet for the bo-

dies

diers of his people he could provide none; for at this time a ſickneſſe (of the ſymptome called the ſweating ſickneſſe) ſeized ſo violently upon them, that within a ſhort time many thouſands periſhed; particularly in *London*, two Majors ſucceſſively and ſix Aldermen within eight dayes dyed: and for this ſickneſſe no Phyſick afforded any cure; till at laſt, this remedy was found: if a man were taken with the ſweat in the day time, that then he ſhould preſently lye downe in his cloathes, and ſo lye ſtill the whole foure and twenty houres: if he were taken in the night, then he ſhould not riſe out of his bed for the ſpace of foure and twenty houres; not provoking ſweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, at leaſt but very moderately. In this ſickneſs there was one good circumſtance; that though it were violent, yet it laſted not long: for beginning about the one and twentieth of *September*, it cleered up before the end of *October* following.

And now all things being ſet in good order in the South parts, there ariſeth a little ſtorme in the North, but was ſoon diſperſed. For King *Henry* making a journey into the North parts, to ſhew himſelfe there where he had not yet been; and where the reſpect to King *Richard* might have left ſome oppoſites: at his comming to *Lincolne* was certified that the Lord *Lovell* and *Humfry Stafford* were gone out of Sanctuary in *Colcheſter*; but whither, no man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to *York*; and being come thither, it was then plainly told him, that the Lord *Lovell* with a ſtrong power was at hand, and would preſently invade the City. This made the King in a great ſtreight; for neither had he any Army ready; nor if he had men, had he any weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this ſtreight, he commanded the Duke of *Bedford* with three thouſand men to ſet out againſt him, but ſo ill armed, that their armours for the moſt part were but of tanned leather; who being come neere the Campe of the Rebels, cauſed Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever would ſubmit themſelves as loyall Subjects, ſhould have their Pardons, and be received into grace: which Proclamation ſo prevailed, that it made the Lord *Lovell* ſecretly in the night to flye away; and then the Army left without a head, ſubmitted themſelves to the Kings mercy. The Lord *Lovell* fled into *Lancaſhire*; and there for a time lurked with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a man powerfull in thoſe parts. *Humfry Stafford* took Sanctuary in a village called *Culnham* two miles from *Abingdon*: but the Sanctuary being judged by the Juſtices of the Kings Bench, to be no lawfull defence for Traytors; he was taken from thence by force, and conveyed to the Tower, afterward to Tyburne, and there hanged. His brother *Thomas* was pardoned, becauſe it was thought, he was drawn in by his brother *Humfry*.

In this yeere, *John Perſivall* the Major of *London*'s Carver, waiting at his Table, was choſen one of the Sheriffs of *London*, only by Sir *John Collet*'s, then Major, drinking to him in a cup of Wine, (as the cuſtome is, to drinke to him whom he lift to name Sheriffe) and forthwith the ſaid *Perſivall* ſate downe at the Majors Table, and covered his head, and was afterward Major himſelfe.

At this time a mean inſtrument attemped a great worke; by which we may ſee, how farre imagination may out-goe reaſon: One *Richard Symond* a Prieſt, a man of baſe birth though ſome learning; had a ſcholler of baſer birth, the Sonne of a Shoemaker, (ſome ſay a Baker) named *Lambert Symnell*; but of a pregnant wit, and comely perſonage: Him he gives out to be *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*, lately (as was ſayd) eſcaped out of priſon; Both of them being of like yeers and ſtature: with this Scholler of his, he ſailes into *Ireland*; and ſo ſets forth the matter: that not only the Lord *Thomas Fitz-Gerard* Earle of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*; but many other of the Nobilty gave credit to his words; and as thoſe that affected the houſe of *Torke*, were ready to take his part; and even already ſaluted the young *Symnell* King. Withall they ſent into *Flanders* to the Lady *Margaret*, ſiſter to the late King *Edward*, and widdow of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, requiring ayde and aſſiſtance from her. This Lady being of the houſe of *Torke*, bore an inward grudge againſt King *Henry*, being of the houſe of *Lancaſter*; and therefore though ſhe well underſtood it was but a coloured matter, yet was willing to take advantage of it: and there-

thereupon promiſed her aſſiſtance. King *Henry* being advertiſed of theſe things, adviſed with his Counſell; by whom it was agreed, that two things preſently ſhould be done. Firſt, to grant a Pardon to any that would ſubmit themſelves, for any offence whatſoever, though it were for High Treaſon; the next, that the Earle of *Warwicke* ſhould be openly ſhewed abroad in the City, and other publike places; whereby, the report ſpread abroad of his being in *Ireland*, might appeare plainly to be falſe. Withall, the Queen *Elizabeth*, widdow of King *Edward* the fourth, and Mother to the preſent Queen, was adjudged to forfeit all her Lands and Poſſeſſions, and to live confined in the Abbey of *Bermondſey* in *Southwarke*; where in great penſivenes, within a few yeers ſhe died. But for what cauſe this ſeverity was uſed againſt this Queen, is not altogether certaine: To ſay, (as was commonly ſaid) that it was for rendring her ſelfe and her daughters into the hands of king *Richard*, were manifeſt injuſtice, to puniſh her for doing a thing out of feare, which elſe ſhe ſhould have been compelled to doe by force: and to ſay (as ſome alſo have ſaid) that it was for giving aide underhand to *Perkin*, were a manifeſt unlikelihood, that ſhe ſhould aide a Counterfeit againſt her own Sonne in Law: we muſt therefore content our ſelves with knowing the bare colourable pretext, and leave the true reaſon as a ſecret of State. But this ſhewing abroad of the true Earle of *Warwicke*, though it ſatisfied ſome, yet not all: for ſome gave out that it was but a trick of the King, and not the true *Warwicke*. At leaſt the Earle of *Lincolne*, ſonne to *John de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Elizabeth* ſiſter to king *Edward* the fourth, would not omit to take the advantage, though he knew that *Symnell* was but a Counterfeit. And thereupon, aſſoone as the Parliament was diſſolved, he fled ſecretly into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Burgoigne*; between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord *Lovell* ſhould goe into *Ireland*, and there attend upon the Counterfeit *Warwicke*, and honour him as king; and with the power of the Iriſhmen bring him into *England*: but it was concluded withall, that if their actions ſucceeded, then the Counterfeit *Warwicke* ſhould be depoſed, and the true be delivered out of priſon, and anoynted King. And to this purpoſe, the Earle of *Lincoln*, by the aide of the Lady *Margaret*, had gotten together two thouſand *Almaines*, with one *Martin Swart* a valiant and expert Captaine to be their leader. With this power, the Earle ſayled into *Ireland*, and at the City of *Dublin*, cauſed young *Lambert* the Counterfeit *Warwicke*, in moſt ſolemne manner, firſt to be Proclaimed, and after to be Crowned king of *England*: and then with a great number of beggerly and unarmed Iriſhmen, under the Conduct of the Lord *Thomas Gerardine* Earle of *Kildare*, they ſayled into *England*, and landed at a place called the *Pile of Fowdray*, not farre from *Lanceſter*; hoping there by the meanes of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a powerfull man in that Country, to have their Army both furniſhed and increaſed. King *Henry* hearing that the Earle of *Lincolne* was landed at *Lanceſter*, aſſembled a great Army, Conducted by the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Oxford*; and with theſe he marched to *Nottingham*, and there by a little wood called *Bowres*, he pitched his field; whither there came unto him, the Lord *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewſbury*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. In which mean time, the Earle of *Lincolne* being entred into Yorkeſhire, paſſed quietly on his journy, without doing ſpoile or hurt unto any; truſting thereby to have won the people to come to his aide: but when he perceived few or none to reſort unto him, he then determined to venture a battell with the Army he had already; and thereupon tooke his way from *Yorke* to *Newarke* upon *Trent*. King *Henry* underſtanding which way he took, came the night before the battell to *Newarke*; and going three miles further, neer to a little Village called *Stoke*, there waited the approach of the Earle of *Lincolne*; So the next day they joyned battell; where after a long fight, of at the leaſt three houres; though the *Almaines*, and ſpecially their Captaine *Martin Swart* behaved themſelves moſt valiantly; yet their *Iriſh*, being in a manner but naked men, were at laſt overthrown, foure thouſand ſlaine, and the reſt put to flight; but not one of their Captaines; for the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Lovell*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, *Martin Swart*, and the Lord *Gerardine* were all found dead in the very

very place where they had ſtood fighting; that though they loſt the battell, yet they wonne the reputation of hardy and ſtout ſouldiers. Onely of the Lord *Lovell*, ſome report, that attempting to ſave himſelfe by flight; in paſſing over the river of *Trent*, was drowned. On the kings part, though ſome were ſlaine, yet not any man of note. This battell was fought on a Saturday (obſerved as alwayes fortunate to king *Henry*) being the ſixteenth of *June*, in the ſecond year of king *Henries* reigne. The young *Lambert*, and his Maſter *Simond* the Prieſt, were both taken; and both had their lives ſaved: *Lambert*, becauſe but a Childe; *Simond*, becauſe a Prieſt: yet *Symond* was kept in priſon, *Lambert* was taken into the kings kitchin, to turn the ſpit in the turne of his fortune, and at laſt made one of the kings Faulkners.

In the beginning of his third yeer, king *Henry* having been in Yorkeſhire, to ſettle the mindes of that people: about the midſt of *Auguſt*, came to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, and from thence ſent Ambaſſadours into *Scotland*, *Richard Fox* lately before made Biſhop of *Exceter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecombe* Comptroller of his Houſe, to conclude a Peace or Truce with *James* king of *Scots*: A Peace, by reaſon of the peoples backwardnes, could not be obtained: but a Truce was concluded for the term of ſeven yeers; with a promiſe from the king, that it ſhould be renued before the firſt ſeven yeers ſhould be expired.

At this time, Ambaſſadours came from the king of *France*, to king *Henry*; who declared, that their Maſter king *Charles* was now at warre with *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, for that he ſuccoured the Duke of *Orleance* and other Rebels againſt the Realme of *France*; and therefore requeſted, that for the old familiarity that had been between them, he would either aſſiſt him, or not aſſiſt the Duke, but ſtand Neuter. King *Henry* anſwered, that having received courteſies from them both, he would doe his uttermoſt endeavour to make them friends: and to that end, as ſoon as the *French* Ambaſſadours were departed, he ſent *Chriſtopher Urſwick* his Chaplain over into *France*; who ſhould firſt goe to the *French* king, and after to the Duke of *Britaine*, to mediate a Peace between them.

In the time of *Urſwicks* Ambaſſage, king *Henry* cauſed his Wife the Lady *Elizabeth* to be Crowned Queen, on Saint *Katherines* day in *November*, with all ſolemnity; and at the ſame time delivered the Lord *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorſet* out of the Tower, and received him againe into his former favour.

Urſwick travelled between the two Princes, to procure a Peace; but they, though making a ſhew to incline to Peace, yet prepared for warre, and offers on neither ſide would be accepted. In which time, *Edward* Lord *Woodville* Uncle to the Queen, made ſuite to the king, for leave to goe over with a power of men, in aide of the Duke of *Britaine*; which ſuite, though the king denied, yeo the Lord *Woodville* would venture it; and with a power of foure hundred able men, got ſecretly over, and joyned with the *Britaines* againſt the *French*. This the *French* king took ill at king *Henries* hand; but being informed that it was againſt the kings will, he ſeemed ſatisfied: and a Peace was concluded between *France* and *England*, to endure for twelve months. But in concluſion, king *Henry* finding that the *French* king dealt not really with him, but only held him on with pretences, he called his high Court of Parliament, requiring their advice what was fit to be done: where it was concluded, that the Duke of *Britaine* ſhould be aided; and to that end great ſummes of money were by Parliament granted. This Determination of the Parliament, king *Henry* ſignifies to the *French* king, hoping, it would have wrought him to ſome terms of Peace. But the king of *France* little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent courſes againſt the *Britaines*; ſo as at laſt, on the eight and twentieth day of *July*, the *Britaines* gave battell to the *French*, neer to a Town called *Sainct Aubin*, having apparelled ſeventeen hundred of the *Britaines*, in Coats with red Croſſes after the Engliſh faſhion, to make the Frenchmen believe they were all Engliſh, although indeed they had no more *Engliſh* than the foure hundred of the Lord *Woodville*. But notwithſtanding this device, the Victory fell to the *French*; ſo that all the Engliſhmen almoſt were ſlaine, with the Lord *Woodville* himſelfe; beſides ſix thouſand *Britaines*. The Duke of *Orleance* and the Prince of *Orange*, who were there on the *Britaines* part,

part, were taken Prisoners. The French lost twelve hundred men; and amongst others that valiant Italian Captaine *James Galeot*.

This news being brought into *England*, caused king *Henry* to make haste to send forth his Army: and thereupon, the Lord *Brooke*, with Sir *John Cheyny*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *Ralph Hilton*, Sir *Richard Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Richard Lacon*, & Sir *Edmund Cornwall*, are sent over with all speed into *Britaine*; having with them eight thousand men, to aide the Duke of *Britaine* against the *French*. But while this warre was thus set forward, the Duke of *Britaine* died; leaving in effect, one only Daughter, the Lady *Anne* (for the other being the younger, died soon after) and then the chiefe Rulers of *Britaine* falling at dissention amongst themselves, little regarded the defence of the Country: whereupon the English returned home, within five moneths after their setting forth: and the French king getting the upper hand of the *Britaines*, and marying the Lady *Anne* sole daughter of the Duke of *Britaine*, incorporated that Dutchy to the Crown of *France*.

In the last Parliament, a Subsidie was granted, for the furnishing out an Army into *Britaine*; and it was agreed, that every man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to pay the tenth penny of his goods: which Taxe the most part of Yorkeshire and the Bishoprick of *Durham* refused to pay: whereof the Collectours complained to *Henry* E. of *Northumberland*, President of the North parts. The E. signifies it to the King; and the K. commands him to levy the same, by distresse or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude multitude, hearing of this Command from the King, with great violence set upon the Earle, by the exciting of a simple fellow named *John a Chamber*; and alledging all the fault to be in the Earle, as chiefe authour of the Taxe; they cruelly murthered both him and divers of his household servants. And to make good their seditious fact, they assembled a great number, and made one Sir *John Egremond* their Captaine: Declaring, that in defence of their liberties, they would bid the King battell. In this bravery they stood, as long as none opposed them: but when *Thomas* Earle of *Surry* appeared with an Army, though they skirmished a while, yet they were soon discomfited, and their Ring-leader *John a Chamber* was taken, and at *Yorke* on a Gibbet set upon a square paire of Gallows, like an arch Traytour was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the innocent people for the most part Pardoned. But Sir *John Egremond* fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Burgundie*; the common and sure refuge for all Rebels against King *Henry*. After this, the king appointed Sir *Richard Tunstall* to gather the Subsidie, and would not spare the paiment of a penny. This year, notwithstanding this Taxe, the king borrowed of every Alderman of *London* two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two pounds seventeen shillings and foure pence, which was paid again at the time with great thankfulnesse; which he did at a time he needed not, to the end perhaps he might doe it another time, when he needed.

At this time, *James* the third, king of *Scotland*, having by some errors of Government incurred the hatred of his Nobility and people, laboured with king *Henry*, as also with the Pope, and the king of *France*, to make an Accord between him and his people, who had compelled Prince *James* his Sonne, to be the Titular head of those Armes which they assumed against him. The kings accordingly interposed their mediations by Ambassadours; but could receive no other but this outragious answer, That there was no talking of Peace, unlesse he would resigne his Crowne. Which answer the kings protested against, declaring by their Ambassadors, that they thought it a common injury done to themselves, and that the Example was not sufferable, for Subjects to lift their hands against their Soveraigne. Hereupon it came to a Battell, at *Bannocks-borne* by *Strivelin*: where king *James*, rashly beginning the fight, before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithstanding the contrary commandement of the Prince his sonne) slaine in the Mill of that field, whither he fled, after the Battell ended.

About this time, a Difference fell out which grew to a Warre, between the Emperour *Frederick*, and some Townes of his in *Flanders*, especially *Gaunt* and *Bruges*:

In

In this warre, the Lord *Ravenſtein* a principall perſon about *Maximilian*, not onely forſooke the Emperour and his ſonne *Maximilian* his Lord, (corrupted as was thought from *France*) but made himſelfe head of the popular party, ſeizing upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*: and not this onely, but forthwith ſent to the Lord *de Cordes* Governour for the French king in *Picardie*, to ayde him againſt ſome Towns in *Flanders*: To which the Lord *de Corder*, willing of any occaſion to ſet foot in *Flanders*, was eaſily drawne. But king *Henry* not liking to have the French ſo neere his Engliſh pale, ſent over the Lord *Morley* with a thouſand men, who ſhould joyne with the L. *Dawbeney* then Deputy of *Callice*, to reſiſt them. Amongſt other acts by them performed, this was chiefe; That the Lord *Dawbeney*, with the Lord *Morley*, Sir *Iames Tyrrell* Captaine of *Guiſnes*, Sir *Henry Willoughby*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humfry Talbot* Marſhall of *Callice*, and others to the number of two thouſand, iſſued ſecretly one night out of *Callice*, and came to *Newport*, and from thence to *Dixmue*; where the Lord *Dawbeney* commanded all men to ſend back their horſes: which the Lord *Morley* onely refuſing to doe, was cauſe that he onely of all the Captaines was ſlaine with a Gun: for the reſt, after their arrowes diſcharged, fell proſtrate to the ground; by which meanes the Enemies Ordnance overſhot them, killing onely the Lord *Morley* that was on horſe-back. Here they ſlew of the Enemy, to the number of eight thouſand; of the Engliſh part was ſlaine the Lord *Morley*; and not above a hundred more. This Victory ſo enriched the Engliſh, that they who went forth in cloath, came home in ſilke; and they who went out on foot, returned back on horſe-back. Upon this Defeat, the Lord *de Cordes* lying at *Ypre* with twenty thouſand men, and thinking to be revenged, beſieged the Town of *Newport*; and ſo ſtrongly aſſaulted it, that one day his men entred, and ſet up his Banner upon a Tower of the Towne: when ſuddenly a Barke arriving with onely foureſcore freſh Engliſh archers, ſo terrified them, thinking their number to be farre greater, that the French were glad to leave their Banner behinde them, and give over the aſſault; and the night following, the Lord *de Cordes* (who ſo much longed for *Callice*, that he would commonly ſay, he could be content to lie ſeven yeeres in Hell, ſo that *Callice* were in the poſſeſſion of the French) brake up his ſiege, and returned to *Helding* with as much ſhame, as the Engliſh to *Callice* with honour.

A little before this time, *Francis* Duke of *Britaine* dying, left onely one daughter, the Lady *Anne*, affianced to *Maximilian* King of the Romans; and in ſo ſolemne a manner, that ſhe taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her bed, was contented to permit *Maximilians* Deputy, in preſence of many Noble witneſſes, as well men as women, to put his legge, ſtript naked to the knee, between the ſpouſall ſheets; accounting that Ceremony to amount to a Conſummation. The King of *France* likewiſe had been contracted to the Lady *Margaret* daughter to the foreſaid *Maximilian*, and had received her to that end: Yet all this notwithſtanding, out of a violent deſire to joyne the Dutchy of *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*, he diſanulled and made void both the Contracts. But to the end he might doe it without oppoſition of the King of *England*, he ſent Ambaſſadors, the Lord *Francis* of *Luxemburg*, *Charles Marignane*, and *Robert Gaguine*, to King *Henry*; partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure king *Henries* good will to make voyd the foreſaid contracts: to which though king *Henry* was not willing to give conſent, yet he conſented willingly to have a Treaty for Peace: and to that end, ſent over *Thomas* Earle of *Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenſton* Prior of Chriſts Church in *Canterbury*, to the French King about it. But during this Treaty, and before conditions of Peace could be agreed on, the French King had gotten into his poſſeſſion the Lady *Anne* of *Britaine*, and ſolemnly maried her. Which under-hand dealing ſo incenſed King *Henry*, that he preſently called his High Court of Parliament, and there declared the juſt cauſe he had of War with *France*, deſiring their Benevolence towards the charge thereof; which was as readily granted as deſired, and great ſummes of money were ſoon collected.

In the yeere 1491, being the ſixth yeere of the Kings Reigne, on the ſixth of *April*, the Nobility of the Realme aſſembled in the Cathedrall Church of St. *Paul*

in *London*; where also was the Major and Aldermen, and principall Citizens in their liveries: to whom D. *Morton* Lord Chancellour made an Oration; declaring from his owne letters, that the King of *Spaine* had wonne the great and rich City and Country of *Granado* from the *Moores*, which had been in their possession above seven hundred yeeres: and having in places of their superstition, built Churches to the honour of Christ, was thereupon intituled the Catholick King. For joy whereof, *Te Deum* was sung with great solemnity.

In the moneth of *May* was holden a solemne Justing, at the kings Palace of *Sheene*, now called *Richmond*, which continued the space of a moneth; sometimes within the Palace, and sometimes without, upon the green before the gate; in which Justs, Sir *James Parker* running against a Gentleman named *Hugh Vaughan*, by reason of a faulty Helmet, was strucken into the mouth at the first course; so that his tongue was borne to the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he dyed presently upon the place.

And now *Maximilian* having received back his daughter from the king of *France*, was so displeased, that he presently sent an Ambassadour, one *James Contibald* to king *Henry*, requiring him to take his part in a warre against the French king; towards which he promised to provide ten thousand men, with pay for two years: king *Henry* consented to it; and having provided himselfe of a puissant Army, on the fifth day of *October*, sayled to *Callice*; but sending his Almoner *Christopher Urswicke*, and Sir *John Resley* to *Maximilian*, requiring his promised forces; they found him altogether unprovided of either men or money: which brought king *Henry* into a great streight what he should doe: To proceede in the warre with his own forces alone, would be full of hazard; To return home without doing any thing, would bring an imputation upon him amongst his Subjects, as though he had used the pretence of war, but as a trick to get money: at last, he resolved to doe something; and thereupon, went and besieged *Boloigne*, having in his Army of chiefe Lords, *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, his Lieutenant Generall, *Thomas* Marquesse *Dorset*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Suffolke*, *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Kent*, *Devonshire* and *Ormond*, sundry Barons, as *Dawbeney*, *Aburgayny*, *De la Ware*, *Zouch*, *Hastings*, *Cobham* and others. During his siege of *Boloigne*, (in which there were but few slaine, and no man of note, but Sir *John Savage*, who riding to take view at what place the town might best be assaulted, was set upon by certaine French men, and by them slaine) King *Henry* was secretly dealt with by the Lord *Cordes* Governour of *Heynault*, on the king of *France*'s behalf, to accept of certaine conditions of Peace. Who thereupon sent *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exceter*, and *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney* to conclude them; which amongst other Articles were, That king *Henry* without quitting his claime to *France*, should for a Peace to continue during the two kings lives; receive in present of *Charles* king of *France*, for his charges in that warre, seven hundred forty and five thousand Duckets, which in English money amounts to one hundred eighty six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; and five and twenty thousand crowns yeerly, towards the expenses he had been at before in aiding the *Britaines*; which (by the English, called Tribute) was duly paid, during all the Kings Reigne, and also to king *Henry* his Sonne afterward, longer then it could continue upon any computation of charges. There were also assigned by the French king unto all king *Henries* principall Counsellours, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the king did permit, to save his own purse from Rewards, or to communicate the envy of a businesse that was displeasing to his people, was diversly interpreted: for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace; and therefore a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best Captaines and Men of Warre, to advise him to a Peace under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a Supplication, that he might have it shew for justifying himselfe, and to give some allay to the discontentments of many, who had sold and engaged their Estates, upon the hopes of the warre. After the Peace thus concluded, he went to *Callice*, where he stayed some time, and the seventeenth of *December* following came to *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmasse*.

Soon

Soon after his return, he elected into the order of the Garter, *Alphonſus* Duke of *Calabria*, Sonne and Heire to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*: to whom *Chriſtopher Urſwicke* the kings Almoner, was ſent to *Naples* to carry it; which as ſoon as *Alphonſus* had received, he apparelled himſelfe preſently in the Habit, before a great aſſembly, indeed to ſhew what favour he was in with the king of *England*.

There had been diſturbance in the Realme before, by a Counterfeit Sonne of the Duke of *Clarence*; but that device had two maine imperfections: One, that the true Sonne of the Duke was forth-comming, and to be ſhewed openly for convincing the falſe; the other, that though the counterfeit had been the true, yet he could have laid no claim to the Crown, as long as any Daughters of King *Edward* the fourth were living: Now therefore a device is found, by which thoſe imperfections were both of them amended: for now a Counterfeit was ſet on foot, who pretended to be *Richard* the younger Sonne of king *Edward* the fourth; ſo that neither any other could be produced to convince him of being falſe, nor any Daughters of King *Edward* could hinder his Right for claiming the Crown. This device was firſt forged by *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Burgundie*; a woman that could never be quiet in her minde, as long as king *Henry* was quiet in his kingdome; and by this device ſhe hoped, if not to put him cleane out of his ſeat, yet foulely at leaſt to diſturbe him in it; and this was the purpoſe of the Plot: but by what inſtrument it was acted, by what abettours fomented, and what iſſue the device had, are worthy all to be related. The Dutcheſſe having formerly given out, that *Richard* the younger Sonne of king *Edward*, was not murthred, but in compaſſion ſpared, and ſent ſecretly away to ſeek his fortune; and having after long ſearch gotten at laſt a fit Boy to perſonate a Prince; keeps him ſecretly a good time with her; in which time ſhe ſo throughly inſtructed him in all Circumſtances, and he afterward put them ſo gracefully in practice, that even thoſe who had ſeen and known the young Prince while he lived, could hardly perceive but that this was he. It is true, though he were not King *Edwards* Sonne, yet he was his Godſonne; and might perhaps have in him ſome baſe blood of the houſe of *Torke*. This *Perkin Warbeck*, (for ſo was the youths name, called *Perkin*, as a diminutive of *Peter*) when he ſo perfectly had learned his leſſon, that he was fit to come upon the Stage; ſhe ſent him into *Portingall*, that comming from a ſtrange Country, it might be thought, he had been driven to wander from one Country to another, for ſafeguard of his life, at leaſt that ſhe of all other might not be ſuſpected. From *Portingal* ſhe cauſed him to paſſe into *Ireland*; where the houſe of *Torke* was ſpecially reſpected, in regard of the great love which *Richard* Duke of *Torke*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth, had wonne amongſt them: by reaſon whereof, this *Perkin* as eſteemed his Grand-childe, was well entertained by them, and held in great eſtimation. He had not been long in *Ireland*, when the French king ſent for him; for being at that time at variance with King *Henry*, hee thought he might make good uſe of *Perkin*, as a pretender againſt King *Henry* for the Crown. *Perkin* being come to *Paris*, was entertained in a Princely faſhion; and for his more honour, had a guard aſſigned him, over which the Lord *Congreſhall* was Captaine. He had not been long at *Paris*, when there reſorted to him Sir *George Nevill* baſtard, Sir *John Taylour*, *Richard Robinſon*, and about a hundred other Engliſh: Amongſt the reſt, one *Stephen Fryon*, that had been King *Henries* Secretary for the French Tongue; but diſcontented, fled, and became a chiefe Inſtrument in all *Perkins* proceedings. But this float of *Perkins* laſted not long; for as ſoon as Peace was concluded between the two Kings; the King of *France* diſmiſſed *Perkin* and would keep him no longer. Then paſſed he ſecretly to his firſt foundreſſe, the Lady *Margaret*; who at his firſt comming, made a ſhew of ſuſpecting him to be a Counterfeit. But cauſing him in great aſſemblies to be brought before her, as though ſhe had never ſeen him before; and finding him to anſwer directly to all queſtions ſhe put unto him: ſhe openly profeſſed, that ſhe was now ſatisfied, and thought him verily to be her true Nephew; and thereupon aſſigned a guard of thirty perſons, cloathed in Murrey and Blew, and called him the White Roſe of *England*. Upon report hereof, many in *England* were inclined to take his part; and Sir *Robert*

Clifford and *Robert Bareley* were sent into *Flanders*, to acquaint the Dutchesse with the peoples respect to *Perkin*: and indeed Sir *Robert Clifford*, upon sight and conference with him, wrote letters into *England*, wherein he affirmed, that he knew him to be true Sonne of king *Edward*, by his face, and other Lineaments of his body. King *Henry* hearing of these things, sent certaine espials into *Flanders*, that should feigne themselves to have fled to *Perkin*; and by that means the better search out who were of the Conspiracy with him. Whose name being returned to the King, he caused them to be apprehended and brought to his Presence; the chiefe of whom were *John Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Montford*, and Sir *Thomas Thwgit* knights, *William Dawbeney*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, *Thomas Cressenor*, and *Thomas Astwood*, also certaine Priests, as *William Richford* D. of Divinity, *Thomas Boyns*, D. *William Sutton*, *William Worseley* Dean of *Pauls*, *Robert Layborne*, and *Richard Lesley*, of whom, some hearing of it, fled to Sanctuary, others were taken and condemned, as Sir *Simon Montford*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Dawbeney*, who were all three beheaded. The Lord *Fitzwater* pardoned of life, was conveyed to *Calice*, and there laid in hold; where seeking to make escape by corrupting his Keeper, hee lost his head. Shortly after, Sir *Robert Clifford* returning out of *Flanders* (not as some think, sent a spye from the beginning; but rather now at last either discerning the fraude, or won by rewards) and submitted himselfe to the kings mercy: discovering unto him, as farre as he knew, all that were either open or secret abettours of the Conspiracy; amongst whom he accused Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine: his accusation was this that in Conference between them, Sir *William* had said, that if he certainly knew; that the young man named *Perkin* were the Sonne of king *Edward* the fourth, he would never fight nor beare Armes against him. These words being considered of, by the Judges, seemed to expresse a tickle hold of Loyalty; for who could tell how soon he might be perswaded that he knew it? and upon the matter, was to be Loyall to king *Henry*, but for want of better; and withall it strook upon a string which had alwaies sounded harsh in king *Henries* ears, as preferring the Title of *Yorke* before that of *Lancaster*. Sir *William* being hereupon arraigned; whether trusting to the greatnesse of his favours, or the smalnes of his fault, denied little of that wherewith he was charged, and upon confession was adjudged to dye; and accordingly on the sixteenth day of *February* was brought to the Tower-hill, and there beheaded: after whose death, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* was made L. Chamberlaine. This was that Sir *William Stanley*, who came in to rescue the Earle of *Richmond*, when he was in danger of his life; who set the Crowne upon his head, and was the cause of his being saluted King: And could it enter into his breast, to put him to death, that had saved his life, and done him so many great services besides? But it may be said, It was not the Earle of *Richmond* that did it, but the King of *England*; for cerainly, in many cases, a King is not at liberty to shew mercy, so much as a private man may. Though there be that affirme, the cause of his death was not words onely, but reall acts, as giving ayde to *Perkin* under-hand by money. And yet it seemes, there was some conflict in the minde of King *Henry*, what he should doe in this case, for he stayed six weekes after his Accusation, before before he brought him to his Arraignment. How-ever it was, the Summer following, the King went in Progresse to *Latham*, to the Earle of *Darby*, who had maried his mother, and was brother to Sir *William Stanley*: perhaps to congratulate his own safety; perhaps to condole with him his brothers death; but certainly to keepe the Earle from conceiving any finister opinion of him: For to thinke that Sir *William's* suing to be Earle of *Chester*, (an Honour appointed to the kings sonne) or his great wealth (for he left in his Castle at *Holt*, in ready money forty thousand markes, besides Plate and Jewells) were causes that procured or set forward his death; are considerations very unworthy of so just a Prince, against a Servant of so great deserving.

But in this meane while, *Perkin* having gotten a Power of idle loose fellows, took to Sea, intending to land in *Kent*; where though he were repelled, yet some of his Souldiers would needs venture to goe on Land; of whom a hundred and sixty persons

sons were taken Prisoners, whereof five were Captaines; *Montford*, *Corbet*, *Whitehelt*, *Quintyn* and *Gemyne*: These hundred and sixty persons were brought to *London*, rayled in ropes, like horses drawing in a Cart, who upon their Araignement, confessing their offence, were executed, some at *London*, and some in Towns adjoyning to the sea-coast. *Perkin* finding no entertainment in *Kent*, sayled into *Ireland*, and having stayed there a while, and finding them also, being a naked people, to bee no compatent assistants for him, from thence he sayled into *Scotland*, where he so moved the King of *Scots* with his fayre words and colourable pretexts (made no doubt before by the Dutcesse of *Burgoigne*) that hee received him in great state, and caused him to bee called the Duke of *Yorke*: and to perswade the World that hee thought him so indeede, hee gave to him in marriage the Lady *Katherine Gourdon*, daughter to *Alexander* Earle *Huntley*, his own neer kinswoman; and soone after, in *Perkins* quarrell, entred with a puissant Army into *England*; making Proclamation, that whosoever would come in and ayde the true Duke of *Yorke*, should bee spared; but none comming in, he then used all kinde of cruelty, and the whole County of *Northumberland* was in a manner wasted: whereat *Perkin*, at his returne, expressed much griefe, saying It grieved him to the heart to see such havock made of his people: To whom the King answered, Alas, Alas, you take care for them, who for any thing that appeares are none of yours; for not one of the Countrey came in to his succour. King *Henry* incensed with this bold attempt of the king of *Scots*, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the necessity hee had of a present warre to revenge this indignity offered him by the *Scots*, and thereupon requiring their ayde by money, had a subsidie of sixscore thousand pounds readily granted him; and then in all haste a puissant Army is provided, and under the conduct of the Lord *Dawbeney* sent into *Scotland*, but before hee arrived there hee was suddenly called back, by reason of a commotion begun at *Cornwall*, for payment of the Subsidie lately granted, which though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The Ring-leaders of this commotion were *Thomas Flammock*, a gentleman learned in the Lawes, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith; who laying the blame of this exaction upon *John Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reynold Bray*, as being chiefe of the Kings Councell, exhorted the people to take armes; and having assembled an Army, they went to *Taunton*, where they slew the Provost *Peryn*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidie, and from thence came to *Wells*, intending to goe to *London* where the King then lay, who having revoked the Lord *Dawbeney*, appointed *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* (after the death of the Lord *Dinham*, made Lord Treasurer of *England*) to have an eye to the *Scots*, and if they made invasion, to resist them. In the meane time *Iames Twychet* Lord *Audley* confederated himselfe with the Rebells of *Cornwall*, and tooke upon him to bee their Leader, who from *Wells* went to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, hoping there to have had great ayde, but found none; for the Earle of *Kent*, the Lord of *Aburgeny*, *John Brook* Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edmond Poynings*, Syr *Richard Guildford*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, *John Pearby* and *William Scot* were ready in Armes to resist them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Army to *Black-heath*, foure miles distant from *London*, and there in a plaine on the top of a hill encamped themselves; whereof when the King had knowledge, hee presently sent *John* Earle of *Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier* Earle of *Essex*, *Edmond de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Sir *Humfry Stanley* to inviron the hill on all sides, that so all hope of flight might bee taken from them; and then set forward himselfe, and encamped in St. *Georges* fields, where for encouragement he made divers Bannarets. The next day he sent the Lord *Dawbeney* to set upon the Rebels early in the morning, who first got the bridge at *Deptford Strand*, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers, whose arrowes were reported to bee a full cloath-yard in length; but notwithstanding the Lord *Dawbeney* comming in with his Company, and the Earles assayling them on every side, they were soone overcome: In which conflict were slaine of the Rebels above two thousand; taken prisoners a very great number, many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chiefe Authors none: for the Lord *Audley* was drawne from

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Newgate to Tower-hill, in a coate of his owne Armes paynted upon paper, reverſed and all torne; and there, on the foure and twentieth day of *June* was beheaded. *Thomas Flammock* and *Michael Joſeph* were hanged drawn & quartered, and their heads and quarters pitched upon ſtakes, ſet up in *London* and other places. Of the Kings Army were ſlaine not above three hundred. It is memorable with what comfort *Joſeph* the black-ſmith cheered up himſelfe at his going to execution, ſaying that yet he hoped by this that his name and memory ſhould be everlaſting: ſo deere even to vulgar ſpirits is perpetuety of Name, though joyned with infamy, what is it then to Noble ſpirits, when it is joyned with Glory?

In the meane time the king of *Scots* taking advantage of theſe troubles in *England*, invaded the Frontiers, forraged the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and at laſt beſieged the caſtle of *Norham*, whereof *Richard Fox* then Biſhop of *Durham* was owner; who thereupon ſent preſently to the Earle of *Surrey*, acquainting him with this Invaſion: Whereupon the Earle, taking with him *Ralph* Earle of *Weſtmerland*, *Thomas* Lord *Barnes*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevill*, *George* Lord *Strange*, and many other Lords and knights, and an Army of little leſſe then twenty thouſand men, beſides a Navy, whereof the Lord *Brooke* was Admirall; ſet forward againſt the *Scots*, and not only forced the *Scots* to raiſe their ſiege of *Norham* Caſtle, but followed them alſo into *Scotland*, where he overthrew and defaced the Caſtle at *Cawdeſtraynes*, the Tower of *Hetonhall*, the Tower of *Edington*, the Tower of *Fulden*, and at laſt by compoſition tooke the ſtrong Caſtle of *Hayton*, and raſed it to the ground. At the Earles being at *Hayton*, the King of *Scots* ſent to him *Marchemont* and another Herald, requiring him, at his election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or elſe they two to fight in ſingle combat; upon condition, that if the victory fell to the Scotiſh king, the Earle ſhould deliver for his Ranſome the Towne of *Barwick*: Whereunto the Earle made anſwer, that the Town of *Barwick* was the King his Maſters, and therefore not for him to diſpoſe of; but for his offer of ſingle combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himſelfe highly honored by ſuch a match: But King *James* of *Scotland* had no meaning to performe either one or other, but privily in the night fled back into *Scotland*, and then the Earle returned to *Barwick*. In the meane time, one *Peter Hyalas* a man of great learning and policie, was ſent Ambaſſadour to the King of *Scots*, from the King of *Spaine*, to mediate a Peace between the two kings of of *England* and *Scotland*; who finding the King of *Scots* conformable to his motion, found after the King of *England* (who was never averſe from Peace upon honourable Conditions) no leſſe enclining to it: and ſo a Truce was concluded for certaine yeeres; upon conditition, that *Perkin Warbeck* ſhould be ſent out of the Scotiſh Dominions.

About this time, the Lord of *Camphyre* and others ſent from *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtria* and Duke of *Burgundy*, came to king *Henry* for a concluſion of Amity, and to procure the Engliſh merchants reſort againe to his Country: for king *Henry* ſome time before, upon diſpleaſure with the *Flemings*, but ſpecially with the Lady *Margaret*, for abetting *Perkin Warbeck*; not onely had baniſhed all Flemiſh wares and merchandizes out of his Dominions, but had alſo reſtrained all Engliſh merchants from having any traffick in any of their Territories, cauſing the Mart for all Engliſh commodities to be kept at *Callice*: but now, upon this invitation, and having found it had been a great hinderance to his owne Merchant-adventurers, and thereupon ſome inſurrections had riſen, he willingly condiſcended to their Requeſt; and ſo the Engliſh reſorted againe into the Archdukes Dominions, and were received into *Antwerp* with generall Proceſſion; ſo glad was that Towne of the Engliſh-mens returne.

In this eleventh yeere of the Kings Reigne, dyed *Cicely* Dutcheſſe of *Torke*, mother to king *Edward* the fourth, at her Caſtle of *Berkhamſtead*, being of extreme age; who had lived to ſee three Princes of her body Crowned, and foure Murthered: ſhe was buried at *Fodringham* by her Huſband.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to depart out of the Scotiſh Dominions: who thereupon with his

his wife and familie, sayled into *Ireland*: where understanding that the Cornishmen were ready to renue the warre againe, he thought best not to let passe so faire an occasion; and thereupon, having with him foure small ships, and not above sixscore men, he sailed into *Cornwall*, and there landed in the moneth of *September*, and came to a Town called *Bodmyn*; where with faire words and large promises, he so prevailed with the people, that he had gotten to him above three thousand persons to take his part; and then made Proclamations in the name of King *Richard* the Fourth, as sonne to King *Edward* the Fourth: and by the advice of his three Counsellors, *John Heron* a bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Skelton* a Tailour, and *John Astley* a Scrivener, determined to attempt first the winning of *Exceter*; which with great violence he assaulted, and the Townsmen with as great valiantnes defended: whereof when the King heard, he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to their rescue: but before he came, the Lord *Edward Courtney* Earle of *Devonshire*, and the valiant Lord *William* his sonne, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Halewell*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecombe*, *William* St. *Maure* with others came to their ayde: upon whose comming, *Perkin* left the siege, and retired to *Taunton*; where he mustered his men, as though he meant to prepare for battell: but finding his number to be much diminished, (for of six thousand which he had at *Exceter*, many were fled from him, when they saw no Great ones to take his part) he began to distrust his case; and hearing withall, that the king with a great Power was at hand: about midnight, with threescore horse-men in his company, he departed in post from *Taunton*, and tooke Sanctuary in a Town called *Beauly* neere to *Southampton*. When king *Henry* heard that *Perkin* was fled, he sent after him to the Sea-side, to stop his passage and apprehend him: But the messengers that were sent, when they came to St. *Michaels Mount*, though they found not *Perkin*, yet there they found his wife the Lady *Katherine Gourdon*, whom they presently brought to the king; a beautifull young Lady: to whom, in honour of her birth, and commiseration of her beauty, the king allowed a competent maintenance, which she enjoyed during the kings life, and many yeeres after. king *Henry* being come to *Exceter*, stayed there a few dayes, about examination of the Rebellion, and execution of the chiefe Offendours: of whom there being a great multitude, and all of them craving pardon, the king caused them all to be assembled in the Church-yard of St. *Peter*, where they all appeared bare-headed in their shirts, and halters about their necks: whom the king viewing out of a window made for the purpose; after he had paused a while, made a speech unto them, exhorting them to obedience; and them, in hope they would afterward be dutifull Subjects, he pardoned them all: whereat they made a great shout, crying all, God save king *Henry*! though some of them afterward, like ungratefull wretches, fell into new Rebellions.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary: and the King thinking himselfe in danger as long as he was in safety, set a Guard about the place, to keepe him for escaping; whereby *Perkin* was so restrained, that at last hee submitted himselfe to the kings mercy, and was thereupon sent to the Tower to be there in safe custodie. This done, king *Henry* appointed *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Amyas Paulet*, and *Robert Sherborne* Deane of *Paules*, to be Commissioners, for making enquiry of the Offenders, and for assessing their Fines; which they did with great severity to some, with great mildnesse to others, to all with equity.

It was now the fourteenth yeer of the kings Reigne, when one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Genoua's* Sonne, born at *Bristow*, perswaded the king to man and victuall a ship at *Bristow*, to search for unknown land, which (he said) he knew to be replenished with rich Commodities; who setting forth with three other small ships of *London* merchants, returned home two yeers after, when he had made a large discovery westward, and would have gone to *Cuba*, if the Mariners had not forced him to return: alikewise six years before, one *Christofer Columbus* a Spanyard, made the first discovery of *America*.

Perkin being in the Tower and carefully guarded, yet found meanes to escape; and fled

fled to the Priory of *Sheen* neer *Richmond*; where discovering himselfe to the Pryor of that Monastery, he begged of him for Gods sake, to get the kings Pardon for his life; which the Prior effected: but then was *Perkin* brought to the Court at *Westminster*, and was one day set fettered in a paire of Stocks before *Westminster-hall*, and there stood a whole day; the next day he was set upon a like Scaffold in *Cheape-side*, and there standing the whole day also, he then read openly his confession, written with his own hand; wherein he declared his Parentage and the place of his Birth, and all the passages of his Life, and by what means he was drawn to make this attempt. After this, he was committed againe to the Tower, and care taken, he should be better looked to than he was before. But all the care notwithstanding, once againe *Perkin* attempted to escape, and drawing into a Confederacy with him the young Earle of *Warwicke*; by faire words and large promises so corrupted his keepers, *Strangwish*, *Blewet*, *Astwood* and long *Roger*, servants to Sir *John Digbie* Lieutenant of the Tower, that they intended to have slaine their Master, and set *Perkin* and the Earle of *Warwicke* at liberty. But this practice was soone discovered, so that *Perkin* and *John a Water*, sometime Major of *Corke* in *Ireland*, one of *Perkins* chiefe founders, were on the sixteenth day of *November* arraigned at *Westminster* and condemned, and both of them on the two and twentieth day were drawn to *Tyburne* and there hanged; where *Perkin* tooke it upon his death, that the Confession he had formerly made, was true: soon after also *Blewet* and *Astwood*, two of the Lieutenants men, were in the same place executed. On the one and twentieth day of the same month, *Edward Plantagenet* Earle of *Warwicke* was arraigned at *Westminster*, before the Earle of *Oxford*, then High Steward of *England*; not for consenting to breake Prison, but for conspiring with *Perkin* to raise Sedition and destroy the king; and upon his Confession, had Judgement, and on the eight and twentieth day of the same month, in the yeer 1499. was brought to the Scaffold on the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. This Earle of *Warwick* was the eldest Sonne of the Duke of *Clarence*, and was the last Heire male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and had been kept in the Tower from his very Infancy out of all company of Men and sight of Beasts; so as he scarcely knew a Hen from a Goose, nor one beast from another; and therefore could never know how to practice his escape of himselfe, but by *Perkins* subtlety: for which cause the king favoured him so farre, that he was not buried in the Tower, but at *Bisham* by his Ancestours. And thus ended the designes of *Perkin Warbeck*, which had troubled both the Kingdome and the King, the space of seven or eight yeers, a great part of the Kings Raigne.

But in the time of *Perkins* being in the Tower, another like practice was set on foot; for an *Augustine* Frier called *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*, having a Scholler named *Ralph Wilford* a Cordwayners Sonne, he caused him to take upon him to be the Earle of *Warwicke*, lately by great chance gotten out of the Tower; and they going together into *Kent*; when the Frier perceived some light credit to be given to him, he then stuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpit, desiring all men to assist him. But this practice was soone discovered, and both the Mr. and the Scholler were apprehended & attainted, the Scholler *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrove tuesday* at S. *Thomas Waterings*, and the Frier was condemned to perpetuall Prison: for at that time so much reverence was attributed to holy Orders; that a Priest, though he had commited Treason against the king, yet had his life spared. And this practice was some cause to exasperate the king against the Earle of *Warwicke*, who though innocent in himselfe, yet was nocent in pretenders: and besides, king *Ferdinand* of *Spaine*, with whom at this time there was a Treaty for marriage of his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, had written to the king in plaine terms, that he saw no assurance of his Sonnes succession, as long as the Earle of *Warwicke* lived: and thus all things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his end.

In the fifteenth yeer of his Reigne, partly to avoide the danger of the Plague, then raigning in *England*; but chiefely to conferre with the Duke of *Burgoigne* about many important businesses: the King and Queen sayled over to *Callice*; where at an enterview between him and the Duke, at Saint *Peters* Church without *Callice*, the

Duke

Duke offered to hold the kings ſtirrop at his alighting, which the king by no meanes would permit; but deſcending from horſe-back, they embraced with great affection: and after Communication had between them, the King and Queen in the end of *June* returned into *England*.

In his ſeventeenth yeer two great Marriages were ſolemnized: the Lady *Katherine* of *Spaine* was ſent by her Father king *Ferdinand*, with a puiſſant Army of Ships into *England*; where ſhe arrived at *Plimouth*, the ſecond day of *October*; and on the fourteenth of *November* after, was eſpouſed openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being clad in white; He of the age of fifteen yeers, ſhee of eighteen: at night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that night: when morning appeared, the Prince (as his ſervants about him reported) called for drinke, which before time he had not uſed to doe, whereof one of his Chamberlaines aſking him the cauſe, he anſwered merrily, ſaying, I have been this night in the middeſt of *Spaine*, which is a hot Country, and that makes me ſo dry: though ſome write, that a grave Matron was laid in bed between them, to hinder actuall Conſummation. The Ladies portion was two hundred thouſand Duckets; her joynture, the third part of the Principality of *Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Cheſter*. At this Marriage was great ſolemnity and Royall Juſtings; during which time, there came into *London* an Earle, a Biſhop, and divers other noble perſonages ſent from the king of *Scots* for a concluſion of a Mariage, (before treated of, between the Lady *Margaret* the kings eldeſt daughter, and him; where the Earle by Proxie, in the name of king *James* his Maſter, eſpouſed and contracted the ſaid Ladie, which Contract was publiſhed at *Paules* Croſſe, the day of the Converſion of Saint *Paul*; for joy whereof, *Te Deum* was ſung, and great fires were made through the City of *London*; and if ſuch joy were made when the match was made, what joy ſhould be made now at the iſſue of the match, when by the Union of thoſe perſons is made an Union of theſe kingdomes; and *England* and *Scotland* are but one great *Britaine*? The Ladies portion was ten thouſand pounds, her joynture two thouſand pounds a yeer, after king *James* his death; and in preſent one thouſand. When this match was firſt propounded at the Counſell Table, ſome Lords oppoſed it; objecting, that by this meanes the Crown of *England* might happen to come to the Scottiſh Nation. To which King *Henry* anſwered, what if it ſhould? It would not be an acceſſion of *England* to *Scotland*, but of *Scotland* to *England*: and this anſwer of the kings paſſed for an Oracle, and ſo the match proceeded, and in *Auguſt* following was Conſummate at *Edinburgh*, conducted thither in great State by the Earle of *Northumberland*.

Prince *Arthur* after his marriage, was ſent againe into *Wales*, to keep that Country in good order; to whom were appointed for Counſellours, Sir *Richard Poole*, his Coſin and chiefe Chamberlaine, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Philips*, Sir *William Udall*, Sir *Thomas Engleſield*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Walleſton*, *Henry Marton*, and Doctor *William Smith* Preſident of his Counſell: but within five moneths after his marriage, at his Caſtle of *Ludlow* he deceaſed, and with great ſolemnity was buried in the Cathedrall Church at *Worceſter*. His Brother *Henry* Duke of *Yorke*, was ſtayed from the title of Prince of *Wales*, the ſpace of halfe a yeer, till to women it might appeare, whether the Lady *Katherine*, the Relict of Prince *Arthur* were with childe, or no. The towardlines in learning of this Prince *Arthur* is very memorable; who dying before the age of ſixteen yeers, was ſaid to have read over all or moſt of the Latine Authours, beſides many other.

And now Prince *Arthur* being dead, and the Lady *Katherine* of *Spaine* left a young widdow; King *Henry* loath to part with her dowry, but chiefely being deſirous to continue the Alliance with *Spaine*: prevailed with his other Sonne Prince *Henry*, though with ſome reluctation, ſuch as could be in thoſe years (for he was ſcarce twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princeſſe *Katherine* his brothers widdow, for which marriage, a diſpenſation by advice of the moſt learned men at that time in Chriſtendome, was by Pope *Julius* the ſecond granted, and on the five and twentieth day of *June*, in the Biſhop of *Salisburyes* houſe in *Fleet-ſtreet*, the marriage was ſolemnized.

A little before this time, *Edmund de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolke* and Lady *Elizabeth* Sister to king *Edward* the fourth, had in his fury kill'd a mean person, and was thereupon Indighted of Murther, for which, although he had the kings Pardon, yet because he was brought to the Kings-bench-barre, and there arraigned; he took it for so great a blemish to his honour, that in great rage he fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*; where having stayed a while, when his passion was over, he returned againe. But after the marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katherine*, whether it were that in that solemnity he had run himselfe in debt, or whether he were drawn to doe so by the Lady *Margaret*, he passed over the second time, with his brother *Richard*, into *Flanders*. This put the king into some doubt of his intention, whereupon he hath recourse to his usuall course in such cases, and sent Sir *Robert Curson* Captaine of *Hammes* Castle, to feigne himselfe one of that Conspiracy, thereby to learn the depth of their intentions: And to take away all suspition of his employment, the first Sunday of *November*, he caused the said Earle and Sir *Robert Curson* with five others to be accursed openly at *Pauls* Crosse, as Enemies to him and his Realme. In conclusion, Sir *Robert Curson* acquainted the king with divers of that faction, amongst whom, *William* Lord *Courtney*, and *William de la Poole*, brother to the foresaid Earle of *Suffolke*, who were taken but upon suspition, yet held long in prison: but Sir *James Tyrrell* (the same that had murthered the two young Princes in the Tower) and Sir *John Windham*, who were proved to be Traytors, were accordingly attainted, and on the sixth day of *May* at the Tower-hill beheaded. Whereof when the Earle heard, despairing now of any good successe, he wandred about all *Germany* and *France*, where finding no succour, he submitted himselfe at last to *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, by whom afterward he was delivered to king *Henry*, by this occasion: *Ferdinand* king of *Aragon*, by his Wife *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, had onely two Daughters, the eldest whereof named *Joane*, was married to this *Philip* Duke of *Austria*; the younger, named *Katherine*, to *Arthur* Prince of *England*: and now Queen *Isabella* being lately dead, by whose death the kingdome of *Castile* descended in Right of his Wife, to this Duke *Philip*; they were sayling out of *Germany* into *Spaine* to take possession of the kingdome; but by tempest and contrary windes were driven upon the coast of *England*, and landed at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*; where desiring to refresh themselves a little on shore, they were invited by Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (a principall knight of that Country) to his house, who presently sent word to the king of their arrivall. King *Henry* glad to have his Court honoured by so great a Prince, and perhaps upon hope of a courtesie from him, which afterward he obtained: sent presently the Earle of *Arundell* to waite upon him, till himselfe might follow; and the Earle went to him in great magnificence, with a gallant troope of three hundred Horse, and for more state came to him by Torch-light. Upon whose Message, though king *Philip* had many reasons of haste on his journey; yet not to give king *Henry* distaste, and withall to give his Queen the comfort of seeing the Lady *Katherine* her Sister; he went upon speed to the king at *Windsor*, while his Queen followed by easie journeys. After great magnificence of entertainment, king *Henry* taking a fit opportunity, and drawing the king of *Castile* into a roome, where they two onely were private; and laying his hand civilly upon his arme, said unto him; Sir, you have been saved upon my Coast: I hope you will not suffer me to wrack upon yours. The king of *Castile* asking him, what he meant by that speech? I mean it (saith the king) by that haire-brain'd fellow the Earle of *Suffolke*; who being my subject, is protected in your Country, and begins to play the foole when all others are weary of it. The king of *Castile* answered; I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him: king *Henry* replyed, that his desire was to have him delivered to him: with this, the king of *Castile* a little confused said, That can I not doe with my honour: Well then (said the king) the matter is at an end: at last the king of *Castile*, who held king *Henry* in great estimation, composing his countenance, said, Sir you shall have him; but upon your Honour, you shall not take his life: I promise it upon mine Honour,

said

ſaid King *Henry*: and he kept his promiſe; for he was not put to death during all his Reigne; but yet he tooke ſuch order, that in the Reigne of his Sonne *K. Henry* the Eighth, he had his head cut off. During the king of *Caſtiles* being here, a Treaty was concluded, and beares date at *Windſor*; which the *Flemings* terme *Intercurſus malus*, for that the Free fiſhing of the Dutch upon the Coaſts and Seas of *England*, granted in the Treaty of *Undecimo*, was not by this Treaty confirmed, as all other Articles were. And now, when king *Henry* had received the king of *Caſtile* into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Sonne Prince *Henry* admitted to the order of the Golden fleece; and that the Earle of *Suffolk* was brought over and committed to the Tower; the king of *Caſtile* departed home.

In this kings time were two Calls of Serjeants at Law: One in his eleventh yeere, in which were called nine Serjeants, *Mordant*, *Higham*, *Kingeſmill*, *Conſby*, *Butler*, *Taxely*, *Frowick*, *Oxenbridge*, and *Conſtable*; who kept their feaſt at the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Place in *Holborne*, where the King, the Queen, and all the chiefe Lords dined. The other Call, in his twentieth yeere; in which were called ten Serjeants, *Robert Brudell*, *William Grevill*, *Thomas Marow*, *George Edgore*, *Lewis Pollard*, *Guy Palmes*, and *William Fairfax*; who kept their feaſt at the Archbiſhops houſe in *Lambeth*.

King *Henry* having gotten as much honour as the Eſtimation of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be intentive to getting of wealth; wherein he quickly found Inſtruments fit for his purpoſe, but ſpecially two, *Empſon* & *Dudley* both Lawyers; *Dudley* of a good family, but *Empſon* the ſon of a Sieve-maker. Theſe two perſons being put in Authority, turned Law and Juſtice into Rapine. For firſt, their manner was, to cauſe divers Subects to be indicted of Crimes, and then preſently to commit them; and not produce them to their anſwer, but ſuffer them to languiſh long in Priſon; and by ſundry artificiall devices and terrors, extort from them great Fines, which they termed Compoſitions and Mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) obſerve ſo much as the halfe face of Juſtice, in proceeding by Indictment; but ſent forth their Precepts to attach men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome others at their private houſes, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a Summary proceeding by examination, without tryall of Jury; aſſuming to themſelves, to deale both in Pleas of the Crowne, and controverſies Civill. Then did they alſo uſe to enthrall and charge the Subjects lands with Tenures in *Capite*, by finding falſe Offices; refuſing upon divers pretexts and delayes, to admit men to traverſe thoſe falſe Offices, as by Law they might. Nay the Kings Wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to have livery of their lands, without paying exceſſive Fines, farre exceeding all reaſonable rates. When men were outlawed in perſonall actions, they would not permit them to purchaſe their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable ſummes; ſtanding upon the ſtrict point of Law, which upon Outlawries gives forfeiture of goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the halfe of mens lands and rents during the ſpace of full two yeeres, for a Paine in caſe of Outlawry. They would alſo ruffle with Jurors, and enforce them to finde as they would direct; and if they did not, then convent, impriſon, and fine them. Theſe and many other courſes they had of preying upon the people: but their principall working was upon Penall Statutes; wherein they conſidered not whether the Law were obſolete, or in uſe; and had ever a rabble of Promoters and leading Jurors at their command, ſo as they could have any thing found, either for Fact or Valuation. There remaineth to this day a Report, that King *Henry* was on a time entertained very ſumptuouſly by the Earle of *Oxford*, at his Caſtle of *Heningham*: and at the Kings going away, the Earles ſervants ſtood in their livery-coates with cogniſances, ranged on both ſides, to make the King a lane: Whereupon the King called the Earle to him, and ſaid: My Lord, I have heard much of your Hoſpitality, but I ſee it is greater than is ſpoken; Theſe handſome Gentlemen and Yeomen whom I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your Meniall ſervants. At which the Earle ſmiled, and ſaid: It may pleaſe your Grace, that were not for mine eaſe; They are moſt of them my Retainers, and are come to doe me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to

see your Grace. Whereat the King started a little, and said: By my faith (my Lord) I thanke you for my good cheere; but I may not endure to have my Lawes broken in my sight: my Attourney must speake with you about it. And it is part of the Report, that it cost the Earle for a composition, fifteen thousand marks. And to shew further the Kings extreme diligence: I remember (saith Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord of *Virulam* in his History) to have seene long since a Booke of Accompt of *Empsons*, that had the kings hand almost to every leafe, by way of signing; and was in some places postilled in the Margent with the kings owne hand likewise, where was this Remembrance:

Item, Received of such a one five marks; for the Pardon to be procured, and if the Pardon doe not passe, the money to be repayd, except the party be some other way satisfied.

And over against this Memorandum (of the kings owne hand,) *Otherwise satisfied.* This (saith he) I doe the rather mention, because it shewes in the king a Nearnesse, but yet with a kinde of Justnesse.

In his three and twentieth yeere, there was a sharpe prosecution against Sir *William Capell* now the second time, for misgovernment in his Majoralty: The great matter was, that in some payments he had taken notice of false monies, and did not his diligence to examine who were the Offenders: for which and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds; whereof, being a man of stomack, he refused to pay a farthing; and thereupon was sent to the Tower, where he remained till the Kings death. *Kneſworth* likewise, that had been lately Major of *London*, and both his Sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned and imprisoned, and not delivered but upon payment of one thousand foure hundred pounds. Sir *Lawrence Ailmer*, who had likewise been Major of *London*, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thousand pounds; and Sir *Lawrence*, for refusing to pay it, was committed to prison, where hee stayed till *Empson* himselfe was committed in his place. By these courses hee accumulated so great store of Treasure, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping at *Richmond*, (as is reported) the summe of neer eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. But though by this course he got great store of Treasure, yet by it he lost the best treasure (the peoples hearts) but that he something qualified it by his last Testament, commanding that Restitution should be made of all such moneys as had unjustly been levied by his Officers.

It seemes king *Henry*, after the death of his Queene the Lady *Elizabeth*, had an inclination to marry againe; and hearing of the great beauty & virtue of the young Queene of *Napler*, the widow of *Ferdinando* the younger; he sent three confident persons, *Francis Marſyn*, *James Braybrooke*, and *John Stile*, to make two inquiries; one of her person and conditions, the other of her Estate: Who returning him answer, that they found her Beauty and Virtues to be great, but her Estate to be onely a certaine Pension or Exhibition, and not the kingdome of *Naples* as he expected, he then gave over any further medling in that matter. After this, another Treaty of Mariage was propounded to the king, betweene him and the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse Dowager of *Savoy*, onely daughter to *Maximilian*, and Sister to the king of *Castile*; a Lady wise and of great good fame: In which businesse was imployed, for his first piece, the kings then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate, *Thomas Woolsey*. It was in the end concluded, with ample conditions for the king, but with promise *de Futuro* onely. Which mariage was protracted from time to time, in respect of the Infirmity of the king; which held him by fits till he dyed.

He left Executours, *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Richard Fitz James* Bishop of *London*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Durham*, *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* & Treasurer of *England*, *Edward* Earl of *Worcester* and Lord Chamberlaine, *John F.* knight, chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench, and *Robert R.* knight chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas. A little before his death, he had concluded a marriage (in which negociation *Foxe* Bishop of *Winchester* was imployed) between his younger Daughter the Lady *Mary*, of the age of ten years; and *Charles* king of *Castile*, not

much

much elder: but though concluded, yet not solemnized; and she was afterward married to *Lewis* the *French* king.

Of his Taxations.

IN his third yeer, there was by Parliament granted toward the maintaining an Army in *Britaine*; that every man should pay the tenth penny of his Goods: which Tax though at first withstood in *Yorkshire* and *Durham*; yet was afterwad levied to the uttermost. In his seventh yeer, towards his warres in *France*, a Benevolence was by Parliament granted; by which great summes of money were collected of the richer sort only. In his eleventh yeer, a Subsidie of sixscore thousand pounds was granted him by Parliament, towards his wars with *Scotland*, which caused afterward the insurrection in *Cornwall*. In his nineteenth yeer a Subsidie was granted him by Parliament. In his one and twentieth yeer, he raised great summes of money from offenders against Penall Statutes: the greatest, but the unjustest way for raising of money, that ever any king of *England* used: and not content with this, he required and had at the same time a Benevolence both from the Clergie and Laity. To the Clergie was imployed *Richard Fox*, then Bishop of *Winchester*; who assembling the Clergie before him, exhorted them to be liberall in their contribution; but the Clergie being of two sorts, rich and poore, made each of them their severall excuses: The rich and such as had great livings, said, they were at great charges in keeping hospitality and maintaining their families, and therefore desired to be spared: The poorer sort alledged, that their means were small, and scarce able to finde them necessaries, and therefore desired to be forborne. But the Bishop answered them both with a pretty Dilemma, saying to the rich, It is true, you live at great charges in hospitality, in apparell and other demonstrations of your wealth; and seeing you have store to spend in such order, there is no reason but for your Princes service you should do it much more, and therefore you must pay. To the poorer sort he said, though your livings be small, yet your frugality is great, and you spend not in housekeeping and apparell as other doe; therefore be content, for you shall pay.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

THIS King was the first that ordained a company of tall strong men, (naming them Yeomen of the Guard) to be attending about the person of the king; to whom he appointed a Livery by which to be known, and a Captaine by whom to be chosen. In his time, the authority of the Star-chamber, which subsisted before by the Common Lawes of the Realme, was confirmed in certaine cases by Act of Parliament. In his time were made these excellent generall Laws: One, that from thenceforth fines should be small, and conclude all strangers rights: Another for admission of poore suitours, *In forma pauperis*, without paying Fee to Counsellour, Atturney or Clerke. Another, that no person that did assist by Armes or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be Impeached therefore or Attainted, either by course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the summes which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Another, that Murtherers should be burnt on the Brawn of the left hand, with the letter *M*. and Theeves with the letter *T*. so that if they offended the second time, they should have no mercy, but be put to death; and this to reach also to Clearkes Convict. In his fifth yeer, It was ordained by Parliament, that the Major of *London* should have Conservation of the river of *Thames*, from the bridge of *Staines*, to the waters of *Tendale* and *Medway*. In his seventeenth *John Shaw* Major of *London*, caused his brethren the Aldermen to ride from the Guild-hall to the waters-side, when he went to *Westminster* to be presented in the Exchequer: he also caused the kitchins and other houses of office to be builded at the Guild-hall; where since that time, the Majors feast hath been

kept,

kept, which before, had been in the Grocers or Taylours-hall. In his eighteenth yeer king *Henry* being himselfe a brother of the Taylours Company, as divers kings before had been, namely, *Richard* the third, *Edward* the fourth, *Henry* the sixth, *Henry* the fifth, *Henry* the fourth, and *Richard* the second; also of Dukes 11. Earles 28. Lords 48. he now gave to them the Name and Title of Merchant Taylours; as a name of worship to endure for ever.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN the tenth year of his Raigne, *Joane Boughton* widdow, was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certain opinions of *John Wickliffe*. In his seventh yeer, king *Henry* finding great inconvenience by the priviledge of Sanctuaries; wrote to Pope *Alexander*, desiring him by his authority, to adjudge all English men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treason, to be Enemies to the Christian Faith; and to prohibite the privilledge of Sanctuary to all such as once had enjoyed it before: which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the king, and quiet of the Realme. In his sixteenth yeere being the yeer 1500. a Jubilee in *Rome* was celebrated; whereof *Alexander* the then Pope, by his messenger *Gaspar Pons* a *Spaniard*, gave notice to the king: offering withall, that those who could not come to *Rome*, should notwithstanding at a certaine price have Pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubilee, as if they came; and to the end the king should not hinder his purpose, both offered part of his gaines to the king, and also promised to bestow it upon a warre against the Turke; by which course he gathered great summes, for which he had other use, than to spend it so idly. In the two and twentieth yeer of this king, Pope *Alexander* the sixth dyed of Poyson, by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard neer the *Vatican*, where his sonne *Valentinois* meaning to poyson *Adrian* Cardinall of *Cornetta*, sent thither certaine flaggons of Wine, infected with poyson, and delivered them to a servant of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope comming in something before supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season, called for drinke, his own provision being not yet come: The servant that had the poysoned wine in keeping; thinking it to be committed to him, as a speciall wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his sonne *Valentinois* came in, and dranke also of the same; whereby they were both poysoned, but the Pope onely overcome of the poyson, died; his sonne by the strength of youth bare it out, though with long languishing.

Workes of Piety and other structures by him, and others.

THIS King magnificently enlarged *Greenwich*, which *Humfry* Duke of *Glocester* had formerly builded, calling it *Placentia*. In his sixteenth yeer, he new builded his Manour of *Sheen*, and named it *Richmond*: He also new builded *Bayards* Castle in *London*. In his two and twentieth yeer, he finished the goodly Hospitall of the *Savoy* neere to Charing-crosse, to which he gave lands for the relieving of two hundred poore people: This was first called *Savoy place*, built by *Peter* Earle of *Savoy* Father to *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the nine and twentieth yeer of *Henry* the third, who made the said *Peter* Earle of *Richmond*. The house belonged since to the Duke of *Lancaster*; and at this time was converted to an Hospitall, reteyning still the first name of the *Savoy*. In this Kings time, *John Morton* being Bishop of *Ely*, bestowed great cost upon his house at *Hatfield* in *Hartfordshire*, now the house of the Right Honourable the Earle of *Salisbury*; and at *Wesbich* Castle in *Cambridgeshire*, a house belonging to that See; all the Brick building was of his charge: Being afterward Bishop of *Canterbury*, he bestowed great summs in repairing and augmenting his houses at *Maidstone*, *Alington-Parke*, *Charing*, *Ford*, *Lambeth*, and specially at *Knoll* in *Kent*, where he dyed. King *Henry* also builded three houses of *Franciscan Friers*, which are called observants; one at *Richmond*;

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an other at *Greenwich*, a third at *Newark*; and three other of *Franciscan Friers*, which are called Conventuals, one at *Canterbury*, another at *Newcastle*, and a third at *Southampton*. And drawing neer his end, he did these workes of charity: He granted a generall Pardon to all men, for any offence commited against any of his Lawes, Theeves and Murtherers only excepted: He paid also all Fees of all Prisoners in all Goales in and about *London*, abiding there for that cause only: He paid also the Debts of all such persons as lay in the Counters or Lud-gate for forty shillings or under, and some also for ten pounds. In his eighteenth yeer, the Chappell of our Lady, above the East-side of the high Altar at *Westminster* Church, with a Tavern called the *White-rose* neer adjoyning, was taken down; in which place a most beautifull Chappell was then presently begun to be builded, by King *Henry*; the charges whereof amounted to the summe of fourteene thousand pounds (as *Stow* witnesseth.) In his second yeer, the great Conduite in *Cheape-side*, at the charges of *Thomas Ilam* Alderman of *London*, was new made; and the Crosse also in *Cheape* was new builded, toward the charges whereof, *Thomas Fisher* Mercer gave five hundred Markes. In his seventh yeer, the Conduite in *Grace-street* was begun to be builded by the Executors of Sir *Thomas Hill* Grocer, late Major of *London*. Also this yeer, *Hugh Clopton* Major of *London* builded the great bridge of *Stratford* upon *Avon*, as likewise a faire Chappell toward the South end of that Town; and neer unto the same, a pretty house of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his life: Hee glazed also the Chancell of the Parish Church in that Town; and made a Way of foure miles long, three miles from *Alisbury* towards *London*, and one mile beyond *Alisbury*. In his tenth yeer, *John Tate* Major of *London*, builded the Church of Saint *Anthonies*, with a Free-schoole, and certain Almeshouses for poore men. In his time, his Mother the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, builded two Colledges in *Cambridge*, one called *Christs* Colledge, the other St. *Johns*, and endowed them with large possessions, for the maintenance of learning. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* founded *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*; and *William Smith* Bishop of *Lincolne*, *Brazen-nose* Colledge: He also builded at *Lichfield* an Hospitall, for a Master, two Priests, and ten poore men, as likewise a Free-schoole, with a Shoole-master and an Usher. *Anne Auding* gave a hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in *Cicester*. In his time also *John Alcock* Bishop of *Ely*, builded *Jesus* Colledge in *Cambridge*: and in his two and twentieth yeer, *Thomas Knesworth* Major of *London*, builded the Conduite at *Bishopsgate* at his own charge; and gave to the Fishmongers certaine Tenements; for which they are bound to allow to foure Schollers, two at *Oxford*, and two at *Cambridge*, to each of them foure pounds a yeer: also to poore people and Prisoners in *Ludgate* something yeerly. In his twentieth yeer, Sir *William Capell* Major of *London*, caused all Houndsditch to be paved over; which till that time, had been very noyously to all travellers that way. In his fourteenth yeer, all the Gardens without *Moorgate* (which had continued time out of minde) were destroyed; and of them was made a plaine field, for Archers to shoot in. In this Kings time also, *Thomas Savage* Archbishop of *Yorke*, repaired the Castle of *Cawood*, and the Manour of *Scroby*, and founded the Chappell at *Macklesfield* in *Cheshire*, where he was borne. Also in his time, *Stephen Genings* Major of *London*, founded a free Grammer Schoole at *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordshire* where he was borne; and gave lands sufficient for a Master and an Usher, leaving the oversight to the Merchant-Taylours in *London*. This Town of *Wolverhampton*, commonly so called, is originally and rightly called *Wilfrunes-hampton*, upon this occasion: The Town was antiently called *Hampton*, to which a noble woman named *Wilfrune*, a widdow, sometime wife of *Athelas* Duke of *Northampton*; obtained of King *Ethelred*, to give lands to the Church there, which she had founded; and thereupon the Town tooke the addition of the said *Wilfrune*. In this Kings time also, *John Collet* Deane of *Pauls*, founded *Pauls* Schoole in the Church-yard there.

Casualties

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his first yeere happened the Sickneſſe called the Sweating-ſickneſſe, which though it continued not long, yet tooke away many thouſands: and in his two and twentieth yeer, the like Sweating-ſickneſſe happened againe; but by reaſon of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

In his ſecond yeer, Wheat was ſold for three ſhillings the Quarter, Bay-ſalt at the like price: In his ſeventh yeer, Wheate was ſold at *London* for twenty pence the Buſhell; which was counted a great dearth. In his tenth yeer, Wheate was ſold at *London* for ſix pence the Buſhell, Bay-ſalt for three pence halfe penny, *Nantwich*-ſalt for ſixpence, white Herrings nine ſhillings the Barrell, red Herrings three ſhillings the Cade, red Sprats ſix pence the Cade, and *Gaſcoigne* wines for ſix pounds the Tun. In his fifteenth yeer, *Gaſcoigne* wine was ſold at *London* for forty ſhillings the Tunne, a Quarter of Wheate foure ſhillings, and Bay-ſalt foure pence the Buſhell.

The two and twentieth of *Auguſt* 1485. the very day that King *Henry* got the victory of King *Richard*; a great fire was in Bread-ſtreet in *London*, in which was burnt the Parſon of Saint *Mildreds*, and one other man in the Parſonage there.

In his tenth yeer, in digging to lay a new foundation in the Church of Saint *Mary Hill* in *London*, the body of *Alice Hackney*, which had been buried in the Church a hundred ſeventy five yeeres before, was found whole of Skin; and the joynts of her Armes pliable; which Corpes was kept above ground foure dayes without annoyance, and then againe buried.

In his twelveth yeere, on *Bartholomew* day, at the Towne of Saint *Neots* in *Bedfordſhire*, there fell Hayle-ſtones that were meaſured eighteene Inches about.

In his thirteenth yeer, on the one and twentieth of *December*; ſuddenly in the night brake out a fire in the Kings lodgings, being then at his Manour of *Sheen*; by violence whereof, a great part of the old building was burnt, with hangings, beds, Apparell, Plate and many Jewells. In his fifteenth yeer, the Town of *Eabram* in *Norfolke* was burnt: Alſo this yeer, a great Plague happened, whereof many people died in many places, but ſpecially in *London*, where there died in that yeer thirty thouſand.

In his twentieth yeer, Alum which for many yeers had been ſold for ſix ſhillings a hundred, roſe to five nobles a hundred, and after to foure marks.

In his two and twentieth yeer, the Citty of *Norwich* was well neere conſumed with fire. Alſo in the ſame yeer in *July*, a gallery new builded at *Richmond*, wherein the King and the Prince his Sonne had walked not an houre before, fell ſuddenly downe, yet no man hurt.

The great Tempeſt which drave king *Philip* into *England*, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of *Pauls*, and in the fall, it fell upon a ſigne of the Black-Eagle, which was in *Pauls* Church-yard, in the place where the School-houſe now ſtandeth; and battered it, and brake it downe. This the people interpreted to be an ominous Prognoſtick upon the Imperiall Houſe, as indeed it proved; for this king *Philip* being the Emperours ſonne, arriving in *Spaine*, ſickned ſoon after; and being but thirty yeeres of age, deceaſed: upon whoſe deceaſe, his wife Queen *Jane* out of her tender love to him, fell diſtracted of her wits.

Of his wife and children.

HE maried *Elizabeth* eldeſt daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, being of the age of nineteene yeeres; whom two yeeres after his Mariage he cauſed to be

Crowned

Crowned: She lived his wife eighteen yeeres, and dyed in Child-bed in the Tower of *London*, the eleventh of *February*, the very day on which she was borne, and is buried at *Westminster*, in the magnificent Chappell and rich Monument of Copper and Guilt, which her Husband had erected. He had issue by her, three Sonnes and foure Daughters: his eldest sonne *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, the twentieth day of *September* in the second yeere of his Reigne; and dyed at *Ludlow*, at fifteen yeeres old and a halfe: and of this short life some cause may be attributed to his Nativity, being borne in the eighth moneth after conception: He was buried in the Cathedrall Church of St. *Maries* in *Worcester*, where in the South side of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any remembrance of him by Picture. His second sonne *Henry* was borne at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, on the two and twentieth day of *June*, in the seventh yeere of his Fathers Reigne; and succeeded him in the kingdome. His third sonne *Edmund* was borne in the tenth yeere of his Fathers Reigne, and dyed at five yeares of age, at *Bishops Hatfield*, and lyes buried at St. *Peters* in *Westminster*. His eldest daughter *Margaret* was born the nine and twentieth day of *November*, the fifth yeer of her Fathers Reigne; and at fourteen yeers of age was married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*; unto whom she bare three Sons, *James* the fifth, *Arthur* and *Alexander*, and one Daughter, which three last dyed all of them young; and after the death of her husband king *James*, (slaine at *Flodden field* in fight against the *English*) she was remarried to *Archibald Douglasse* Earle of *Angus*, in the yeer 1514. to whom she bare *Margaret*, espoused to *Mathew* Earle of *Lenox*, Father of the Lord *Henry*, who died at the age of nine moneths, and lyeth interred in the upper end of the Chancell in the Parish Church of *Stepney* neer *London*: Her second Sonne was *Henry* Lord *Dernley*, reputed for personage the goodliest Gentleman of *Europe*; who married *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, the Royall Parents of the most Royall Monarch *James* the first, King of great *Britaine*: Her third Sonne was *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Father to the Lady *Arbella*. King *Henries* second Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* was borne in the yeere 1492. at three yeers of age, died; and was buried at *Westminster*: His third Daughter the Lady *Mary*, had been promised to *Charles* King of *Castile*; but was married to *Lewis* the twelveth, King of *France*; who dying three moneths after, she was then married to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*: His fourth Daughter, the Lady *Katherine*, was borne in the yeer 1503. in the eighteenth yeer of her Fathers Reigne, and dyed an Infant.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Body leane and spare, yet of great strength; of stature somewhat higher than the common sort, his Eyes gray, his Teeth single, his Haire thinne, of a faire complexion and pleasing countenance. Concerning his Conditions, he had in him the virtue of a Prince, and of a private man; affable, yet reserved. We might say he was Politick; if not rather, that he was Wise: for though he used tricks of Cunning sometimes, yet solid Circumspection more. He loved not Warre, but in case of necessity; alwayes Peace, but with conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was lesse addicted to bodily pleasures of any kinde, than he. Three pleasures he had, but in three Cares; One for Safety, another for Honour; and the third for Wealth: in all which hee attained his end. His great respect of the Church, was seen by his great imployment of Church-men; for through the hands of Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Foxe*, and his Chaplaine *Urswick*, the greatest part of all his great negotiation passed. He was Frugall from his youth, not Covetous till ancient and sickly; and therefore what defect he had in that kinde, must be attributed to age and weaknesse. This City of *London* was his Paradise, for what good fortune soever befell him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it. His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all matters of importance he would aske their

advice; and he put his very Prerogative sometimes into their hands. He was no great lover of women; yet all his great fortune both Precedent and Subsequent came by women: His own title to the Crown, was by a woman; His Confirmation in the Crown, was by a woman; His Transmission of the Crowne to his Posterity, was by a woman: The first by the Lady *Margaret*, descended from *John* of *Gaunt*; the second by the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth; the third by the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of himselfe King of *England*, and maried to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*; by meanes whereof, as he was the Prince that joyned the two Roses in one, so he was the Founder of joyning the two Kingdomes in one. And lastly, it may be said of him, as was said by one of *Augustus Cæsar*, --*Hic vir hic est tibi quem promitti sæpius audis*: for *Cadwalloder* last king of the *Britaines*, seven hundred yeeres before, had Prophesied of him; and of later time, King *Henry* the Sixth plainly fore-shewed him.

Of his Death and Buriall.

IN the two and twentieth yeer of his Reigne, he began to be troubled with the Goute; but a Defluction also taking into his Breast; wasted his Lungs, so that thrice in a yeer, and specially in the Spring, he had great fits and labours of the Tissick, which brought him to his end, at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the two and twentieth day of *April* in the yeer of 1508. when he had lived two and fifty yeers, Reigned three and twenty and eight moneths: Being dead, and all things necessary for his Funerall prepared; his Corps was brought out of his Privy Chamber, into the great Chamber, where it rested three dayes; and every day, had there a Dirge and Masse sung by a Prelate, Mitred: and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, wherein it remained also three dayes, and had a like service there; and so three daies in the Chappell: Upon Wednesday the nineth of *May*, the Corps was put into a Chariot, and over the Corpes was a Picture of the late King, laid on Cushions of Gold; and the Picture was apparelled in the Kings rich Robes, with a Crown on the head, and a Ball and Scepter in the hands: when the Chariot was thus ordered, the Kings Chappell and a great number of Prelates set forward, praying; then followed all the kings Servants in Black; then followed the Chariot, and after the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every side were carried Torches, to the number of six hundred, and in this order they came from *Richmond* to St. *Georges* field; where there met with it all the Priests and Religious men within the City and without; the Major and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all cloathed in Blacke, met with the Corpes at London-bridge; and so the Chariot was brought throught the City to the Cathedrall of St. *Paul*, where the Body was taken out and carried into the Quire, and set under a goodly Hearse of Wax; where after a solemne Masse, was made a Sermon by the Bishop of *Rochester*: The next day, the Corps in like manner was removed to *Westminster*; Sir *Edward Howard* bearing the kings Banner. In *Westminster* was a curious Hearse full of lights, which were lighted at the comming of the Corps; and then was the Corpes taken out of the Chariot by six Lords, and set under the Hearse, which was double railed: when the Mourners were set, *Garter* king at Armes, cryed, For the Soule of the Noble Prince king *Henry* the seventh, late king of this Realme: The next day were three Masses solemnly sung by Bishops, and after the Masses was offered the kings Banner and Courser, his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target and his Helm, and at the end of the Masse, the Mourners offered up rich Palls of Choath of Gold and Bodkin; and when the Quire sang *Libera me*, the Body was put into the Earth; then the Lord Treasurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlaine, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the kings household, brake their Staves and cast them into the Grave: Then *Garter* cryed with a loud voice; *Vive le Roy, Henry le huitiesme; Roy d'Angleterre & de France, syre d'Irlande*: and thus ended the Funerall.

Of men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour and Armes, they are to be ſeene in the Hiſtory of this Kings Reigne. For men of letters in his time, of forreigners were *Sanctes Paguinus* a great Hebrician; *Leonicenus*, *Gattinaria*, *Cabellus* and *Optatus* Phiſitians; *Auguſtinus Niphus*, *Jacobus Faber*, *Stapulenſis* and *Pighius* Philoſophers; *Petrus Bembus*, and the famous Clerke *Rheudin*, who reſtored againe the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. Of our own Country, there lived in his time, *George Rippley* a Carmelite Frier of *Boſton*, who wrote divers Treatiſes in the Mathematicks; and after his death was accounted a Necromancer. *John Erghom* borne in *Yorke*, a Black-Frier, ſtudious in Propheſies, as by the Title of the workes he wrote, may appeare. *Thomas Mallorie* a Welſhman, who wrote of King *Arthur*, and of the round Table. *John Rouſe* borne in *Warwickſhire*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatiſes of Hiſtoricall Argument. *Thomas Scroope* ſirnamed *Bradley*, of the Noble family of the *Scroopes*, entred into divers orders of Religion, and after withdrew himſelfe to his houſe, where for twenty yeeres he lived the life of an Anchorite; and after, comming abroad againe, was made a Biſhop in *Ireland*, and went to the *Rhodes* in Ambaſſage; from whence being returned, he went bare-footed up and downe in *Norfolk*, teaching the ten Commandements; and lived till neere a hundred yeeres old. *John Tonneys* an Auguſtine Frier in *Norwich*, who wrote certaine Rules of Grammar, and other things printed by *Richard Pinſon*. *Robert Fabian* a Sheriffe of *London*, and an Hiſtoriographer. *Edmund Dudley*, the ſame man whom king *Henry* uſed to take the forfeitures of Penall Statutes; who wrote a Booke intituled *Arbor Reipublicæ*. *John Bockingham* an excellent Schoole-man: and *William Blackney* a Carmelite Frier, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

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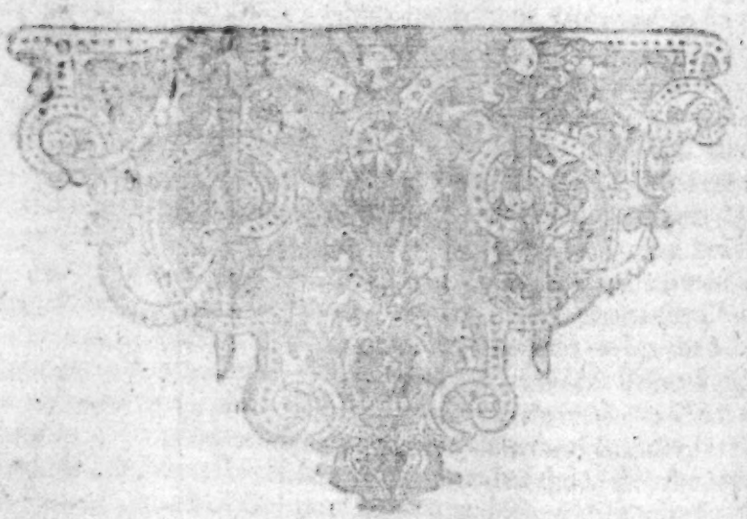

THE REIGNE OF KING HENRY THE EIGHT.

KING *Henry* the ſeventh being deceaſed, his only ſonne Prince *Henry*, Heire by his Father of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and by his Mother of the houſe of *Yorke*: by unqueſtionable right ſucceeded in the Crowne, at the Age of eighteene yeers, on the two and twentieth of *Aprill*, in the yeere 1509. who having been trained up in the ſtudy of good letters all his Fathers time, he Goverued at firſt, as a man newly come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Booke; in ſo regular and fair a manner, that as of *Neroes* Goverment, there was ſaid to be *Quinquennium Neronis*; ſo of this Kings, there might as juſtly be ſaid, *Decennium Henrici*; and perhaps double ſo long a time, comparable with ſo much time of any Kings Reigne, that had been before him. How he came to alter, and to alter to ſuch a degree of change as he did, we ſhall then have a fit place to ſhew, when we come to the time of his alteration. King *Henry* having learned by Bookes, that the weight of a Kingdome is too heavy to lie upon one mans ſhoulders, if it be not ſupported by able Councellours; made it his firſt care, to make choice of an able Councell; to which he called *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellour of *England*, *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surry*, and Treaſurer of *England*, *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and Lord Steward of his Houſhold, *Charles Summerſet* Lord Chamberlaine, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, Doctor *Thomas Ruthall*, and Sir *Edward Poynings*; by adviſe of theſe Councellours, his firſt Act after the care of his Fathers Funerall; was the care to performe his Fathers Will, in marrying the Lady *Katherine* of *Spaine*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which perhaps but in reſpect of filiall pietie, he had not the greateſt devotion; and for relinquiſhing whereof, he might (no doubt) more eaſily have obtained a Deſpenſation from the *Pope*, then his Father had done, for getting it to be allowed: but obſequiouſneſſe to his Fathers deſire, and reſpect to his Councels advice, ſo far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned, till that were performed, that one Coronation might ſerve them both: and ſo on the third day of *June* following, he married the ſaid Lady, at the Biſhop of *Salisburies* houſe in *Fleetſtreet*; where of many great ſolemnities, I will remember but this one; that though the Bride were a Widdow, yet to ſhew ſhe was a Virgin Widdow, ſhe was attired all in white, and had the haire of her head hanging downe behinde at the full length: and then (having made in the Tower four and twenty Knights of the Bath) two dayes after being *Midſomer* day, he was Crowned at *Weſtmin-*

ſter, together with his Queene, by the hands of *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; with all Circumſtances of State, in ſuch caſes uſuall; and then all the Nobility Spirituall and Temporall, did him Homage; and the people being asked whether they would receive him for their King, they all with one voice, cryed, yea, yea.

This done, his next Act was another part of performing his fathers Will, which was to proclaime Pardons for all offences, (Treaſon, Murder, and Felonie only excepted) and to have reſtitution made of all goods unjuſtly taken from any; and becauſe the Inſtruments of ſuch injuſtice, are alwayes moſt odious, and nothing gives the people ſo much contentment, as to ſee their Perſecutours puniſhed; he therefore cauſed *Empſon* and *Dudley* the two chiefe Actours of the late unjuſt proceedings, to be committed to the Tower, and divers of their inferiour Agents, called Promoters, as *Canby*, *Page*, *Smith*, *Derby*, *Wright*, *Simpſon*, and *Stockton*, to be ſet on the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with papers on their heads, and then to ride through the City, with their faces to the horſe-tailes; with the ſhame whereof within ſeven dayes after, they all died in Newgate. Shortly after a Parliament was called; whereof Sir *Thomas Inglely* was choſen Speaker; and therein *Empſon* and *Dudley* were attainted of High Treaſon, and after arraigned; *Edmund Dudley* in the *Guildhall*, on the ſeventeenth of *July*, and Sir *Richard Empſon* at *Northampton* in *October* following; and on the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* the yeere following, they were both of them beheaded on the Tower Hill; and their Bodies and Heads buried, the one at the White *Fryers*, the other at the Black.

On *Midſomer* Eave at night, King *Henry* came privily into *Weſtcheſter*, cloathed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the ſame: and this firſt yeer King *Henry* ſpent in Juſts and Maskes, which were almoſt perpetuall, performed with great Magnificence alwayes; and ſometimes with great Acts of Valour, on the Kings part ſpecially.

In *February* the ſame yeer, Embaſſadours came from the Kings Father in law, the King of *Aragon*; requiring Ayde againſt the *Moores*; in which ſervice, the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, a Knight of the Garter, making ſuite to be imployd; he was ſent thither, and with him the Lord *Anthony Gray*, brother to the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, *Henry Guilford*, *Wolſtan Browne*, and *William Sidney* Eſquires of the Kings Houſe, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Roger Haſtings*, Sir *Ralph Elderton* and others; who on the Munday in the Rogation Weeke, departed out of *Plimath* Haven, with four ſhips Royall, and on the firſt of *June*, arrived at the Port of *Cadis* in ſouth *Spaine*; of whoſe comming the King of *Aragon* hearing, ſent to bid them welcome, but adverriſing them withall, that he had now by reaſon of new troubles with *France*, taken truce with the *Moores*; and therefore they might returne againe into their owne Country, to whom yet he allowed wages for all his ſouldiers. Whereupon the Lord *Darcy* and all his men went aboord their ſhips, but *Henry Guilford*, *Wolſtan Browne*, and *William Sidney*, deſirous to ſee the Court of *Spaine*, went thither and were honourably entertained. *Henry Guilford*, and *Wolſtan Browne* were made Knights by the King; who gave to Sir *Henry Guilford* a *Canton* of *Granado*; and to Sir *Wolſtan Browne* an *Eagle* of *Sicily* on a *Chiefe*, to the augmentation of their Armes: *William Sidney* ſo excuſed himſelfe, that he was not made Knight. After this they returned to their ſhips, and their ſhips into *England*.

During the time that the Lord *Darcy* was in *Spain*, the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Savoy*, Daughter unto *Maximilian* the Emperour; and Governeſſe of *Flanders* and other the *Low-countryes*, pertaining to *Charles* the young Prince of *Caſtile*, ſent to King *Henry* for fifteen hundred Archers, to aid her againſt the Duke of *Gelders*, which the King granted; and thereupon Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the Kings Houſe appointed to goe, accompanied with his ſonne in law the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Matthew Browne*, Sir *John Digby*, *John Werton*, *Richard Wetherill*, and others, to the number of fifteen hundred,

hundred, took ſhipping at *Sandwich*, and paſſing over to the ſaid Lady Regent, did her there great ſervice; for which *John Norton*, *John Fogge*, *John Scott*, and *Thomas Lynde* were knighted; and then with many thanks and rewards, returned, not having loſt in all the Journey, by warre or ſickneſſe, above an hundred men.

In the third yeer of King *Henryes* Reigne, one *Andrew Barton* a *ſcottiſh* Pirate, was grown ſo bold, that he robbed *Engliſh*-men no leſſe then other Nations, till the King ſent his Admirall, Sir *Edward Howard* to repreſſe him, who in a fight, ſo wounded the ſaid *Barton*, that he died; and then taking two of his ſhips, brought the men priſoners to *London*; and though their offence deſerved no leſſe then death, yet the King was ſo meciſull as to pardon them all; provided, they departed the Realme within twenty dayes. The King of *Scotts* hearing the death of *Barton*, and taking of his ſhips; ſent to King *Henry*, requiring reſtitution; but King *Henry* anſwered his Herauld, that he rather looked for thanks for ſparing their lives, who ſo juſtly had deſerved death.

In the third yeer alſo of King *Henryes* Reigne, the *French* King made ſharpe Warre againſt Pope *Julius* the ſecond; whereupon King *Henry* wrote to the *French* King, requiring him to deſiſt from his Warre againſt the Pope being his friend and confederate; but when the King of *France* little regarded his requeſt, he then ſent him word, to deliver him his Inheritance of the Dutchy of *Normandie* and *Guyen*, and the Countryes of *Anjou* and *Mayne*; as alſo his Crown of *France*, or elſe he would recover it by the ſword. But when the King of *France* was not moved with this threatning neither; King *Henry* then joyning in league with the Emperour *Maximilian*, with *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, and with divers other Princes; reſolved by adviſe of his Councell to make warre on the King of *France*, and to that end made preparation both by Sea and Land.

This yeer the King kept his Chriſtmas at *Greenwich* in a moſt Magnificent manner. On New-yeers day was preſented one of his Joviall Deviſes, which onely for a Patterne what his ſhowes at other times were, I thinke fit to ſet downe at large. In the Hall was made a Caſtle, garniſhed with Artillery and weapons in a moſt warlike faſhion, and on the Front of the Caſtle was written, *la Forteresse Dangerense*: within the Caſtle were ſix Ladies, clothed in ruſſet Sattin, laid all over with leaves of gold: On their heads Coyſes and Caps of gold. After this Caſtle had been carried about the Hall, and the Queen had beheld it; in came the King with five other, apparelled in Coates, one halfe of ruſſet-Satten, with ſpangles of fine gold; the other halfe of rich cloath of gold: on their heads Caps of ruſſet Sattin, embrodered with works of fine gold. Theſe ſix aſſaulted the Caſtle, whom the Ladies ſeeing ſo luſty and couragious, they were contented to ſolace with them; and upon further communication, to yeeld the Caſtle; and ſo they came downe, and daunced a long ſpace: after that the Ladyes led the Knights into the Caſtle, and then the Caſtle ſuddenly vaniſhed out of their ſights. On Twelfth day at night, the King with eleven more were diſguiſed, after the maner of Italie, called a Maske; a thing not ſeen before in *England*. They were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with Vyſors and Caps of gold. And after the banket done, theſe Maskers came in, with ſix Gentlemen diſguiſed in ſilke, bearing ſtaffe Torches; and deſired the Ladyes to dance, and after they had danced and communed together; tooke their leave and departed.

The five and twentieth of *January* began the Parliament, of which was ſpeaker Sir *Robert Sheffield* knight, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhewed the wrong which the King of *France* did to the King of *England*, in with-holding his Inheritance from him; and thereupon the Parliament concluded that Warre ſhould be made on the *French* King and his Dominions.

At this time King *Ferdinand* of *Spaine*, having Warre with the *French* King, wrote to his Sonne in law King *Henry*, that if he would ſend over an Army into *Biskey*, and invade *France* on that ſide; he would aid them with Ordnance,

Horſes, and all other things neceſſary; whereupon *Thomas Gray*, Marqueſſe *Dorſet* was appointed to go, and with him the Lord *Howard* Sonne and heire to the Earle of *Surry*, the Lord *Brooke*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lords *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard Grey*, all brothers, to the Marqueſſe; Sir *Griffeth ap Ryce*, Sir *Maurice* Barkeley, Sir *William* Sands, the Baron of *Burford*, and Sir *Richard Cornwall* his brother, *William* Huſſey, *John Melton*, *William Kingſton* Eſquires, and Sir Henry *Willoughby*, with divers others, to the number of ten thouſand, who taking ſhip at *Southampton*, on the ſixteenth of *May*, the third of *June* they landed on the coaſt of *Biskey*, whither within three dayes after their arrivall, came from the King a Marqueſſe and an Earle to welcome them; but of ſuch neceſſaries as were promiſed, there came none; ſo as the *Engliſh* being in ſome want of victualls, the King of *Navarre* offered to ſupply them, which they accepted; and promiſed thereupon not to moleſt his Territories. After the Army had lyen thirty dayes, looking for aid and proviſion from the King of *Spaine*, at laſt a Biſhop came from the King, deſiring them to have patience a while, and very ſhortly he would give them full contentment. In the mean time, the *Engliſhmen* forced to feed much upon Garlick, and to drink of hott Wines; fell into ſuch ſickneſſe, that many of them dyed, at leaſt eighteen hundred perſons; which the Lord Marqueſſe ſeeing, he ſent to the King to know his pleaſure, who ſent him anſwer, that very ſhortly the Duke of *Alva* ſhould come with a great power, and joyne with him; and indeed the Duke of *Alva* came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to joyne with him as was promiſed; but being come within a dayes Journey, he ſuddenly turned towards the Realme of *Navarre*, and entring the ſame, chaſed out the King, and Conquered the Kingdom to the King of *Spaines* uſe. This *Spaniſh* policie pleaſed not the *Engliſh*, who finding nothing but words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of lying ſo long idle; they fell upon ſome ſmall Townes in the border of *Guyen*, but for want of Horſes as well for ſervice as draught; were unable to performe any great matter; at which time, being now *October*, the Lord Marques fell ſick, and the Lord *Howard* ſupplied his place of General, to whom the King of *Spaine* once again ſent, excuſing his preſent coming, and requiring him, ſeeing the time of yeer was now paſt, that he would be pleaſed to break up his Army, and diſperſe his Companies into Townes thereabout, till the next ſpring, when he would not faile to make good all his promiſes: Hereupon the Lord *Howard* and his Company went to *Rendre*, the Lord *Willoughby* to *Goſchang*, and Sir *William Sands* with many other Captaines to *Fontarely*. King *Henry* in the meane time, hearing what the King of *Spaines* intention was; ſent his Herauld *Windſor* with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there, for that very ſhortly he meant to ſend them a new ſupply of Forces, under the conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlaine; but this meſſage ſo incenſed the Souldiers, that in a great fury they had ſlaine the Lord *Howard* if he had not yeelded preſently to returne home; who thereupon was forced to hire ſhippe, and in the beginning of *December* they landed in *England*; being taught by this experience what truſt is to be given to *Spaniſh* promiſes.

About the ſame time that the Marqueſſe went into *Spaine*, Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admirall of *England*, with twenty great ſhips made forth towards *Brittaine*; where ſetting his men on land, he burned and waſted divers Townes and Villages, and being threatned by the Lords of *Brittaine* to be encountred, to encourage his Gentlemen, he made divers of them Knights; as Sir *Edward Brook* brother to the L. *Cobham*, Sir *Griffeth Downe*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *John Burdet*, Sir *William Pirton*, Sir *Henry Sherburne*, and Sir *Stephen Ball*. The *Brittains* were tenne thouſand, the *Engliſh* but five and twenty hundred; yet the *Brittaines* not contented with this advantage of number, would needs uſe policy beſides, for by the advice of an old experienced Captaine, their Generall commanded his men that aſſoone as Battels were joyned, they ſhould retire a little, meaning thereby to draw the *Engliſh* into ſome diſ-

advantage:

advantage; but the common Souldiers not knowing their Generalls purpose, and supposing he had seen some present danger, instead of retyring tooke their heeles and fled; so giving the *English* by their *Brittish* policy, if not a Victory, at least a safety to returne to their ships. After which the *Brittaines* sued for truce, and could not obtaine it; for the *English* Admirall pursued his forraging the Countrey, till fearing there were many *French* ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Isle of *Wight*. King *Henry* in the meane time followed his pleasures; and in *June* kept a solemne Iust at *Greenwich*, where he and Sir *Charles Brandon* took up all cummers; and the King shewed himselfe no lesse a King at Arms, then in Estate.

After this, King *Henry* having prepared men and ships ready to go to Sea; under the Governance of Sir *Anthony Outbread*, Sir *Edmund Ichingham*, *William Sidney* and divers other Gentlemen; appointed them take the sea, and to come before the Isle of *Wight*, there to joyne with the Admirall; which altogether made a Fleet of five and twenty faire ships: and to *Portesmouth* he went himselfe to see them, where he appointed Captaines; for one of his chiefest ships called the Regent, Sir *Thomas Knevet* master of his horse, and Sir *John Carew* of *Devonshire*, and to another principall ship called the Soveraigne, he appointed for Captaines Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guildford*; and then making them a banker, sent them going. The *French* King likewise had prepared a Navy of nine & thirty ships in the Haven of *Brest*, whereof the chief was a great *Carrick*, called the *Cordelyer*, pertaining to the Queen his wife. These two Fleets met at the Bay of *Brittaine*, and there entred a terrible fight; The Lord Admirall made with the great ship of *Deepe*, and chased her; Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guildford* being in the Soveraigne, made with the great *Carrick* of *Brest*, and laid stemme to stemme to her: but whether by negligence of the Master, or by reason of the smoake from the Ordnance, the Soveraigne was cast at the sterne of the *Carrick*; whereat the *Frenchmen* shouted for joy; which Sir *Thomas Knevet* seeing, suddenly he caused the *Regent* in which he was, to make to the *Carrick*, and to grapple with her a long boord; and when they of the *Carrick* perceived they could not get a sunder, they let slippe an Anchor, and so with the streame the ships turned, and the *Carrick* was on the Weather side, and the *Regent* on the Lee side; at which time a cruell fight passed between these two ships: but in conclusion the *Englishmen* entred the *Carrick*, which when a Gunner saw, he desperately set fire on the Gunpowder (as some say) though others affirmed, that Sir *Anthonie Outbread* following the Regent at the sterne, bowged her in divers places, and set her powder on fire; but howsoever it chanced, the *Carrick* and the *Regent* both were consumed by fire. In the *Carrick* was Sir *Piers Morgan*, and with him nine hundred men: in the *Regent* were Sir *Thomas Knevett*, and Sir *John Carew*, and with them seven hundred men, all drowned and burnt. King *Henry* to repaire the losse of the *Regent*, caused a great ship to be made, such a one as had never been seen in *England*; and named it *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

Though King *Henry* had hitherto followed his pleasures, as well agreeing with his youth and constitution; yet he neglected not in the meane time severer studies; for he frequented daily his Councell Table, and no matter of importance was resolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed: as was now a War with *France*, which he would not enter into upon his owne head, nor yet upon advise of his private Councell, till he had it debated and concluded in Parliament; whereupon he called his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, that himselfe in person with a Royall Army, should invade *France*; and towards the charges thereof, an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

On *May* even this yeer, *Edmund de la Poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*, was beheaded on the Tower Hill: This was that Earle of *Suffolke* whom King *Phillip* Duke of *Austria*, had delivered up into the hands of King *Henry* the seventh, upon his promise that he would not put him to death; which indeed he performed, but his

his ſonne King *Henry* the eight was not bound by that promiſe, and by him he was; and ſhortly after, to bring another Lord in his place, Sir *Charles Brandon* was created Viſcount *Liſle*.

For all the great preparation for *France*, King *Henry* forbore not his courſe of Revelling, but kept his Chriſtmas at *Greenwich*, with divers curious deviſes, in moſt magnificent manner. In *March* following, the Kings Navy Royall, to the number of two and forty ſhips was ſet forth, under the conduct of Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admirall, accompanied with Sir *Walter Deveraux* Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Wolſton Browne*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *Anthony Poyninge*, Sir *John Walloppe*, Sir *Thomas* Windham, Sir *Stephen Bull*, *William Fitz Williams*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *William Sidney* eſquires; and divers other Gentlemen, who ſayling to *Brittane*, came into *Bertram* Bay, and there lay at Anchor in ſight of the *French* Navie, whereof one *Prior John* was Admirall, who keeping himſelfe cloſe in the Haven of *Breſt*; the *Engliſh* Admirall intended to aſſaile him in the Haven, but becauſe his ſhips were to great to enter the Bay; he cauſed certaine Boates to be manned forth, thinking thereby to toule out the *French*; but when this neither would draw them to come abroad, he then called a Councell, where it was determined, that firſt they ſhould aſſayle *Prior John* and his Gallies, lying in *Blankeſable* Bay, and after ſet upon the reſt of the *French* Fleete in the Haven of *Breſt*; and it was further appointed, that the Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, and others ſhould go on land, with a convenient number, to aſſault the Bulworkes, which the *French* had there made; while the Admirall with Row Barges and little Gallies entred into the Bay, that ſo the *Frenchmen* might at once be aſſailed both by ſea and land. But though this were determined by the Councell of Warre yet, the Lord Admirall had a trick by himſelfe, for by the adviſe of a *Spaniſh* Knight called Sir *Alphonſo Charunt*, affirming that he might enter the Bay with little danger; he called to him *William Fitz-Williams*, *William Cooke*, *John Colley*, and Sir *Wolſton Browne*, as his moſt truſty friends, making them privy to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterprize with their aſſiſtance only; and ſo confident he was of ſucceſſe, that he wrote to the King to come thither in perſon, to have the honour of the enterprize himſelfe; but it ſeemes the King had better Fates, at leaſt went not; and thereupon, on Saint *Marks* day the Admirall put himſelfe in a ſmall row Barge; and appointing three other ſmall row Ships, and his own Ship-boat to attend him: and therewith on a ſudden rowed into the Bay, where *Pryor John* had moored up his Gallies juſt to the ground; which Gallies with the Bulworks on the land ſhot moſt cruelly; yet the Admirall went on, and comming to the Gallies, drove out the *French-men*. The Bay was ſhallow, and the other ſhips by reaſon the Tide was ſpent, could not enter; which the *French-men* perceiving, they entred the Gallies againe with Morris Pikes, and began a new fight; whereupon the Admirall attempting to returne back into his row Barge; which by violence of the Tide, was driven downe the ſtreame; with a Pike was throwne over boord, and drowned; the juſt iſſue of his head-ſtrong enterprize; the forenamed *Alphonſo* was alſo there ſlaine: upon which ſorrowfull accident, the Lord *Ferrers* with the reſt, returned into *England*. After whoſe departure, *Pryor John* came forth with his Gallies; and coaſting over the borders of *Suſſex*, burnt certaine poore Cottages; but the King made ſuddenly a new Admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldeſt Brother to him that was drowned; ſonne and heire of the Earle of *Surrey*: who ſo skowrd the ſeas, that the *French* were no more to be ſeen on any coaſt of *England*.

King *Henry* had hitherto performed Acts of Armes, though in Jeſt, yet with great magnificence; he will not performe them with leſſe, being now in earneſt and eſpecially to deale with ſo potent an adverſary: and therefore when it was concluded by Parliament, that he ſhould make a Warre in *France* himſelfe in perſon; he ſent before to prepare the way for him, *George Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, high Steward of his Houſhold; accompanied with the Lord *Tho-*

mas

mas *Stanley* Earle of *Derby*, the Lord *Dowkeroy Pryor* of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitſwater*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Richad Sacheverell*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *John Askew*, Sir *Lewis Bagot*, Sir *Thomas Cornwall* and others, to the number of eight thouſand; who arrived at *Callice* about the middle of *May*; after him in the end of *May*, followed Sir *Charles Somerſet*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberline, accompanied with the Lord *Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Gray* Earle of *Kent*, the Lord *Stafford* Earle of *Wiltſhire*, the Lord *Dudley*, the Lord *Delaware*, Sir *Edward Huſſey*, Sir *Edward Dimmock*, Sir *David Owen*, with others, to the number of ſix thouſand: Theſe Generalls joyning together, iſſued out of *Callice*, and on the two and twentieth day of *June*, ſate downe before the ſtrong Towne of *Terwin*, which City was ſtrongly fortified; and in it was Governour the Lord *Poulteney*, who had with him ſix hundred Horſemen, and five and twenty hundred Almans, beſides the Inhabitants. Here at the very firſt happened two diſaſters to the *Engliſh*; one, that the Baron *Caren* was ſlaine with a ſhot from the Towne; the other, that Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, and Sir *Edward Belknappe* coming from *Guyſnes* with four and twenty Carts of Proviſion, were ſet upon by the Duke of *Vendoſme*, Lieutenant of *Picardie*, and many of the *Engliſh* ſlaine, and the Proviſion taken. In this ſtate was the *Engliſh* Campe at *Terwin*; when King *Henry* the laſt day of *June* came himſelfe to *Callice*, and on the one and twentieth of *July* took the field, having in his Army of fighting men, not above nine thouſand, but with Pyoners, and others that attended the Cariages, eleven thouſand and three hundred men: His foreward was led by *Charles Brandon* Viſcount *Liſle*, his maine Battaile by himſelfe, and Sir *Henry Guildford* carried his Standard; and in this order he marched forward to the ſiege of *Terwin*, entring upon the *French* ground, the five and twentieth of *July*. On the morrow after, by negligence of the Carters, that miſtook the way, a great Gunne called the *John Evangeliſt*, was overthrowne in a deep Pond of water, and could not at that time be recovered; but a few dayes after, the Maſter Carpenter taking with him a hundred labourers, went and weyed it up; but having carted it ready to bring away, was ſet upon by eight hundred *French*; and the moſt of his company ſlaine: the Gunne was taken by the *French*, and carried to *Bulloyne*. In the *French* Army were to the number of eleaven thouſand footmen, and four thouſand Horſe; whereof were Captaines, the Lord *De la Palyce*, the Lord *De Prienes*, the Duke *De Longuyle*, the Earle of Saint *Paul*, the Lord of *Floringes*, the Lord of *Clermont*, and *Richard De la Poole* an *Engliſh man*, ſonne to *John* Duke of *Suffolke*. The Armies were come within two miles one of another, and ſome light skirmiſhes paſſed between them, ſpecially one; on a day called the dry Wedneſday, for the day was wonderfull hot, and the King with his Army ſtood in order of battaile, from ſix a clock in the morning, till three in the afternoone: after this, the King removed towards *Terwyn*; and as the Army marched, another of the Kings Bombards of Iron, called the Redde Gunne, was overthrowne in a lane, and there left; which the *French* underſtanding, went with a great power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord *Berners*, Captaine of the *Engliſh* Pyoners, prevented them; and though ſet upon by the *French*, to the number of nine or ten thouſand, yet by the valour of the Earle of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the bold adventures of Sir *william Tyler*, and Sir *John Sharpe*, they recovered it and brought it ſafe to the Campe. On the fourth of *Auguſt* K. *Henry* came before the city of *Terwyn*, where he ſtrongly fortified his Tents with Ordnance, and other Warlike defences. In which meane time, the Captaine of *Bulloigne*, knowing that many of the Gariſon of *Callice* were gone with the King, thought to take advantage of their abſence, and do ſome great exploit upon *Callice*; and therupon with a thouſand men, came to *Newnham* Bridge, and killing the watchmen, tooke it; but afterward ſome of his company going to fetch Booties, and coming ſo neere the walls of *Callice*, that

they

they were descried; about sixscore Coopers and other Artificers issued forth, and driving them back, recovered againe *Newnham* Bridge, and took divers of them prisoners; especially when the gate of *Callice*, called *Bulloign* gate was opened, & that *Colepepper* the under Marshal, with two hundred Archers issued forth, and joyned with them. The *French* prisoners were brought to *Callice*, and there sold in open Market; amongst others, a Cooper of the Town of *Callice*, bought a prisoner that dwelt in *Bulloigne*, and had of the prisoner for his ransome, a hundred Crowns; when the mony was paid, the *French* man prayed the Cooper to see him safe delivered, and to conduct him out of danger; the Cooper was content, and went himselfe alone with the *French* man, till he came beyond the Cawsey, and there would have departed; but the *French* man perceiving that the Cooper was aged, and that no rescue was nigh, by force tooke the Cooper prisoner, and caried him to *Bulloigne*; making him pay two hundred Crownes, before he was delivered.

Whilst King *Henry* lay thus at the siege of *Ternyn*, on the eleventh of *August*, the Emperour *Maximilian* was come to *Ayre*; which King *Henry* understanding, went and met him between *Ayre* and the Campe; where with great complements they saluted each other; but their complements were broken off, by the extreame foule weather which happened that day: the morrow after, the Emperour *Maximilian* came from *Ayre* to the Kings Campe, wearing a Crosse of Saint *George*, as the Kings Souldier, and receiving wages of him for service; an honour never done to any King of *England* before; and yet was no disparagement to the Emperour, for he was royally received, and lodged in a Tent of cloath of gold; that as no Emperour before, had ever been souldier to a King; so no souldier before was ever lodged in such a Tent. At this time the City of *Ternyn*, being in some distresse for want of victualls; the *French* King appointed all his horsemen to the number of eight thousand, to see victualls by any means convoyed into it; the charge of which Convoy was committed to Monsieur *De Priennes*: but King *Henry* by advise of the Emperour *Maximilian*, had made Bridges to passe his men over the river, to the other side of the Towne, where was easiest accesse; in such sort, that when the *French* Convoy came with their victualls, and thought to have entred the Towne, they found the *English* Army there ready to resist them; whereupon a fierce battell was fought between them: but in conclusion the *French* were put to flight, and fled so fast, that from thence it was called the battell of Spurres, for that they used more their spurres in running away, then their Launces in fighting. In this battell, the Duke of *Longuevyle*, the Lord of *Clermont*, Captaine *Bayard*, and others to the number of twelve score were taken prisoners, and all brought to the Kings presence; with six Standards that were likewise taken. After the battell, the King made Sir *John Pechye* Banneret, and *John Carre* Knight, who had both of them done great service in this encounter. King *Henry* having obtained this victory against the *French* horsemen, and hindred the Towne of *Ternyn* from reliefe of victualls, and withall plying his battery more fiercely then before; made the Townsmen soone fall to desire composition, and upon condition that the souldiers might depart with Horse and Armour, they yeelded up the Towne into the Kings hands. This was done on the eighteenth of *August*, and the Earle of *Shrewsbury* entred the Towne the same night; and set up the Banner of Saint *George* in the highest place of it, in signe of victory, and swore all the Townsmen to be true subjects to the King of *England*. The four and twentieth of *August*, the King himselfe entred the Towne, and dined in the Bishops Palace, where it was resolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of *Ternyn* should be raced, and the Towne burnt all but the Cathedrall Church and the Pallace, all the Ordnance was sent to *Ayre*, to be kept there to the Kings use.

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay siege to the City of *Tourney*; whereupon he set forward in three battells, the Eeale of *Shrewsbury* led

led the Vangard; the King and the Emperour, the Battaile; and the Lord *Chamberlaine* the Reareward. In this order the Kings Army marched forwards towards *Tourney*; by the way, he went and visited the yong Prince of *Castile*, and the Lady *Margaret*, Governesse of the Prince, in the Towne of *Lisle*, where with all Magnificence; or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had staied there three dayes, he took his leave; and being gone a mile and somewhat more out of the towne, he asked where his Campe lay, and no man there could tell the way, and guide they had none; the night was so darke and mystie, by chance at last they met with a victualler comming from the Camp, who was their guide and conducted them to it. By which we may see, to what distresse a great Prince may be brought by a little over-sight.

On the one and twentieth day of *September*, the King removed his Campe towards *Tourney*; and being come within three miles of the towne, he sent *Garter* king of Armes to summon the towne; but they, though they had but few men of warre amongst them, yet stood upon their guard; whereupon the King begirt it on all sides, and made such fierce batteries upon it, that though it were written on the gates of the towne, graven in stone, *Iamais tu ne as perdu ton Pucellage*; thou hast never lost thy Maidenhead; yet now they were glad to loose it: and in conclusion, they sent a trumpet to require a Parley, and then sued for mercy, and yeelded it up, and paid ten thousand pounds sterling besides, for redemption of their liberties: and then Master *Thomas Woolsey* the Kings Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens yong and old, swore them to the King of *England*; the number of whom was fourescore thousand. This done, the King entred into *Tourney*, and calling into his presence *Edward Guildford*, *William Fitzwilliams*, *John Dansie*, *William Tyler*, *John Sharpe*, *William Hussey*, *John Savage*, *Christopher Garnysh*, and some other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the order of knighthood; and then remembring the great entertainment the Prince of *Castile* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Lisle*, he would not be behinde them in such courtesie; and thereupon invited them solemnly to his citie of *Tourney*, whom at their coming he brought into the towne in great triumph: during their abode in *Tourney*, amongst other compliments of entertainment, there was had a Justs, where the King and the Lord *Lisle* answered all comers: after the Justs, was a sumptuous Banquet; after the Banquet, the Ladies danced, and then came in the King, and eleven other in a Maske, all richly apparelled with Bonners of gold: and when they had passed the time at their pleasures, the garments of the Maskers were cast off; amongst the Ladies take them that could. This was King *Henries* disposition, that he could not forbeat Revelling in the midst of his Armes; and Ladies must be entertained as well as souldiers. After this, finding the *French* not willing to come to a Battaile, and the winter drawing on, he left Sir *Edward Poynings* Governour of *Tourney*, and then returned to *Callice*, and from thence passed into *England*, and rode in post to *Richmond* to the Queene.

Whilst King *Henry* was thus busied in his warre with *France*, the King of *Scots*, though his Brother in law, yet instigated by the *French* King, and taking advantage of King *Henries* absence, assembled his people to Invade *England*; but before his whole power could come together, the Lord *Humes* his Chamberlin, with seven or eight thousand men entred the borders; but as he was returning with a great booty of Cattle, in a field overgrowne with Broome, called *Milfield*, he was encountred by sir *Edward Bulmer*, having with him not above a thousand men; who lying in that field in ambush, broke out upon him, and put him to flight, with the slaughter of five or six hundred of his company, and foure hundred taken prisoners, the Lord *Humes* himselfe escaped by flight, but his Banner was taken; and this, by the *Scots* was called, *the ill Rode*. In the meane time the whole power of *Scotland* was assembled, no fewer then one hundred thousand men; though *Buchanan* in favour of his Countrey, saith, not the fifth part of that number; and (with these, King *James* approaching

the borders, and coming to *Norham* Caſtle, laid ſiedge unto it, which for want of Powder, was ſoone delivered up unto him. But by this time the Earle of *Surrey*, Lievtenant of the North parts, had aſſembled an Army of ſix and twenty thouſand men; to whom alſo ſoone after, his ſonne the Lord Admirall, with one thouſand expert ſouldiers came and joyned: and now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their ſtation; and then was informed, that King *James* being removed ſix miles from *Norham*, lay embattelling upon a great Mountain called *Floddon*, where it was impoſſible to come neere him, but with great diſadvantage: for at the foot of the hill, on the left hand, was a great mariſh ground full of reeds and water, on the right hand was a river called *Till*, ſo ſwift any deepe that it was not poſſible; on the back-ſide were ſuch craggie rocks and thick woods, that there was no aſſaying him on that part; the forepart of his Campe he had fenced with his great Ordnance. Being in ſuch a hold, the Earle of *Surry* found there was no poſſibility of a Battaile, unleſſe he could draw him from the hil; whereupon he called a counſell, by which it was determined to ſend *Rouge-Croſſe* Purſuivant at Armes with a trumpet, to the K. of *Scots*, to let him know, that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battaile, if he would abide it; whereunto the King of *Scots* by his Purſuivant *Ilay*, made anſwer, that at the day prefixed he ſhould finde him redy for Battail as he deſired, that he would willingly have come to ſuch a match if he had bin at *Edenburgh*; but though he made this anſwer, yet he would not leave the ſtrong Hold he was in, but kept himſelfe ſtill upon the Hill; at laſt, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, ſonne and heire to the Earle of *Surrey*, having viewed the Countrey round about, declared to his Father, that if he would but fetch a ſmal compaſſe, and come with his Army on the back of his Enemies, he ſhould enforce the *Scottiſh* King to come down out of his ſtrength, or elſe ſtop him from receiving of victuals or any other thing out of *Scotland*. This councell of the Lord *Howard* his Father followed, and King *James* perceiving what their meaning was, thought it ſtood not with his honour to be foreſtalled out of his owne Realme, and thereupon immediately raiſed his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not ſo ſteepe as the other; which the Earle of *Surrey* perceiving, he determined to mount it, and to fight with the *Scots*, before they ſhould have leiſure to fortifie their Campe; and herewith making a ſhort Speech, for encouragement of his Souldiers, he divided his Army into Battailes; the Vantguard was led by the Lord *Howard*, to whom was joyned as a Wing, Sir *Edward Howard*, the middle-ward was led by the Earl himſelf, and the Rear-ward by Sir *Edward Stanley*; the Lord *Dacres* with a number of horſmen was ſet apart by himſelfe, to ſuccor where need ſhould be; the Ordnance was placed in the Front, and in other places, as was thought moſt convenient: and in this order they March forward, towerds the *Scots*. On the other ſide, King *James* reckoning upon the benefit of the Hill, thought the *Engliſh* half mad, to venture a Battaile upon ſuch diſadvantage; and thereupon making a Speech to encourage his Souldiers, who were of themſelves ſo forward, that they needed no encouraging. Hee divided his Battailes in this manner; the maine Battaile he led himſelf, to which he appointed two Wings; the right led by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Montroſſe*; the left by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, together with the Lord *Hume* Lord Camberlain: and ſo confident they were of victory, that the King firſt, and after all the Lords and meaner men, put away their Horſes, as thinking they ſhould not need them; which confidence was afterward their undoing; for when the Battaile being joyned, Sir *Edward Howard* in getting up the Hill, was ſo aſſaulted by the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, that he was left almoſt alone, and in manifeſt perill to be ſlaine; in comes the Lord *Dacres* with his Horſmen, and trode under foot the *Scottiſh* Battaile of ſpeeres on foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horſes. And this part of the *Scottiſh* Army being led by the Earles of *Crawford* and *Mountroſſe*, they were both of them ſlaine, and the whole Battaile but to flight. In another part

alſo Sir *Edward Stanley* did the like, upon the Battaile led by the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, putting it to flight, with the ſlaughter alſo of theſe two Earles. King *James* notwithſtanding, maintained the fight ſtill, with great reſolution, till Sir *Adam Forman* his Standard-bearer was beaten downe; and then not fainting, though deſpairing of ſucceſſe, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of his Enemies, amongſt whom he was beaten downe and ſlaine; and to make his death the more honourable, there dyed with him three Biſhops (whereof one was *Alexander*, Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, the Kings baſe Sonne) two Abbots, twelve Earles, and ſeventeene Lords, of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thouſand, and almoſt as many taken priſoners (as *Paulus Jovius* ſaith) amongſt whom was Sir *William Scot*, Chancellour to the ſaid King, and Sir *George Forman* his Sergiant Porter; the Lord *Hume* and the Earle *Huntley* got horſes and eſcaped. Neither was the Battaile without blood to the *Engliſh*, for there was ſlaine at leſt a thouſand, and (that which in a Defeat was ſtrange) many alſo taken priſoners; for many in purſuing the *Scots*, went raſhly ſo farre, that they knew not which way to returne, and by Bands of *Scots* that had not fought that day, were ſet upon and taken. When the field was done, the Lord Generall called to him certaine Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir *Edward Howard* his Son, the Lord *Scroope*, Sir *William Percy*, Sir *Edward Gorge*, and others. This Battaile was fought on Friday the ninth of *September*, in the yeere 1513. called by ſome *Bramſton*, by ſome, *Fladden* Field. King *James* heere ſlaine was the ſame that had maried the Lady *Margaret* eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* the ſeaventh; and ſiſter to the preſent King *Henry*; and might have enjoyed many happy dayes, if he had kept himſelfe firme to his alliance, but being carried away with the inveterate ſpleen betweene the two Nations, and propenſion to *France*; he ended his life, though honorably, yet miſerably under many wounds. It is a very memorable, but ſcarce credable thing; which, (from the mouth of a very credible perſon who ſaw it) *George Buchanan* relates concerning this King; that intending to make a warre with *England*; a certaine old man of venerable aſpect, and clad in a long blew garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the chaire where the King ſat, ſaid, I am ſent unto thee O *King*, to give thee warning, that thou proceed not in the warre thou art about; for if thou doe, it will be thy ruine: and having ſo ſaid, he preſſed thorow the company, and vaniſhed out of ſight; for by no inquiry it could be knowne what became of him. But the *King* was too reſolute to be frighted with Phantoſmes, and no warning could divert his Deſtinie, which had not been Deſtiny if it could have been diverted. The day after the Battaile, his Body, though diſfigured with wounds, was knowne by the Lord *Dacres* and others, to be his; and thereupon bowelled, embalmed and wrapped in lead, was brought to the Monaſtery of *Sheene* in *Surrey*, and there interred; but at the diſſolution of that Houſe, was taken up and thrown into a waſte roome amongſt timber and ſtone; which *John Stow* ſaith, he ſo ſaw; and further relateth, that the ſervants of *Launcelot Young*, Glaſier to Queene *Elizabeth* being at *Sheene*, in new Glazing the windowes, either upon a fooliſh pleaſure, or deſire of the lead, cut the head from the reſt; but ſmelling the ſweet perfums of the Balms, gave it to their Maſter; who opening the lead, found therin the head of a man, retaining favour, though the moiſture were cleane dried up, whoſe haire both of head and beard was red: which afterward, he cauſed to be buried, at Saint *Michaels* Church in *Woodſtreet*, where he dwelled. But notwithſtanding this relation of *Stow*; *John Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſſe* affirmeth, that it was held for certaine, the Body thus found, was the Body of the *Lord Bouchard* ſlaine in that Battaile. *Buchanan* ſaith, of *Alexander Elfinſton*, who in countenance and ſtature was like the King; and that King *James* was ſeene alive the ſame night at *Kelſo*, whence he paſſed to *Hieruſalem*, and there ſpent the reſt of his dayes in holy contemplation: but howſoever it was, he was never ſeen any more in *Scotland*.

King *Henry* being now returned from *Tourney* into *England*, and finding the great ſervices done in his abſence againſt the *Scots*; on the day of the Purification of our Lady, at *Lambeth* he created the Earle of *Surrey* Duke of *Norfolke*, with an augmentation of the Armes of *Scotland*; Sir *Charles Brandon* Viſcount *Liſle*, he created Duke of *Suffolke*, the Lord *Howard* high Admirall, hee made Earle of *Surry*, Sir *Charles Somerſet* Lord *Herbert* his chiefe Chamberlaine Earl of *Worceſter*, and ſhortly after Sir *Edward Stanly* he made Lord *Monteagle*; and in *March* following, Maſter *Thomas Woolſey* his Almoner, was made Biſhop of *Lincolne*. Here before we goe further, it will be fit to ſay ſomething of this man, that he be not a rub afterward in the way of the Story: He was borne at *Ipſwich* in *Suffolke*, the ſonne of a Butcher, ſent to *Oxford* by reaſon of his pregnancy of wit, ſo ſoone, that taking there the firſt degree of Art, he was called the Boy Batchelour; proceeding in learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, and afterward Schoolemaſter of the Schoole there, at which time the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* committed three of his Sonnes to be Inſtructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his gift, ſent for him one *Chriſtmas*, and beſtowed it upon him; whereof *Woolſey* going to take poſſeſſion, at his being there, for what miſdemeanour is not delivered, he was by Sir *Amyas Paulet* ſet by the heeles, which afterward he remembred to Sir *James* his no ſmall trouble, for he made him attend his pleaſure five or ſix yeeres; all which time lying in the Middle-Temple, where he re-edified the Gate-houſe next the ſtreet very ſumptuouſly, ſetting the Cardinals Armes upon it, to appeaſe him. After this diſgrace he went over-ſea, where he fell in acquaintance with Sir *John Naphant* treaſurer of *Callice*, and by him was preferred to be King *Henry* the ſevenths Chaplaine: and now being by this meanes in the Kings eye, he ſo diligently carried himſelfe, that he ſoone got into the Kings heart. One time it happened, the King had occaſion to ſend a Meſſenger to the Emperour *Maximilian*, about a buſineſſe that required haſte; for which imployment no man was thought more fit then *Woolſey*; whereupon, the King called him, gave him his Errand, and bad him make all the ſpeed he could; *Woolſey* departed from the King at *Richmond* about noone, and by the next morning was got to *Dover*, and from thence by noone that day was come to *Callice*, and by night was with the Emperour; to whom declaring his Meſſage, and having a preſent diſpatch, he rode that night backe to *Callice*, and the night following came to the Court at *Richmond*. The next morning he preſented himſelfe before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the matter requiring haſte; to whom *Woolſey* anſwered, that he had beene with the Emperour, and had diſpatched the buſineſſe, and for proofe ſhewed the Emperours lines; the King wondred much at his ſpeed, but then asked him if he met not his Purſuivant, whom he ſent after to advertiſe him of a ſpeciall matter hee had forgotten; whereto *Woolſey* anſwered, May it pleaſe your Grace I met him yeſter-day upon the way, but that buſineſſe I had diſpatched before, taking the boldneſſe ſo to doe without commiſſion, as knowing it to be of ſpeciall conſequence; for which boldneſſe I humbly intreat your Graces pardon. The King not onely pardoned him, but beſtowed preſently upon him the Deanery of *Lincolne*, and ſoone after made him his Almoner. In this ſtate King Henry the eight found him, with whom alſo he grew into ſuch favour, that he made him of his Councell; and having won *Tourney*, made him Biſhop of that Citie; and returning into *England*, (the Biſhopricke of *Lincolne* falling void by the death of Doctor *Smith*) made him Biſhop of that Dioceſſe. And thus far the ſtory hath now brought him, but ſoone after he was raiſed higher; for Doctor *Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* dying, he was tranſlated from *Lincolne* to that See; and that he might not be inferiour to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinall, and Legat *a Latere*; and after, by the King was made Lord Chancellour of *England*: and being come to this height of dignity, he ſo carried himſelfe in Expences of Houſhold, in

number

number of Retinue, and in all circumstances of State, that no Subject before or since, hath in any degree come neere him. And if we may say it, he was the first Debaucher of King *Henry*; for to the end he might have the managing of all matters himself, he perswaded the King that he should not need trouble himselfe with frequenting the Councell Table as he did, but take his pleasure, and leave those things to his Councell, whereof himselfe would alwayes give him true Information. This was plausible Councell, and no marvaile if it were embraced of a yong King, coming from the mouth of so great a Prelate.

In this fifth yeer of the King, the Citizens of *London* finding themselves grieved with the Inclosures of the common fields about *Islington*, *Hogsdon* and *Shordich*, and other places adjoyning; went one morning, and threw downe all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches; whereat though the Kings Councell were at first offended, yet the Maior and City shewed them such reasons, that they rested satisfied, and the fields were never since hedged.

On the nineteenth of *May*, this yeer Pope *Julius* the second sent to King *Henry* a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being angry with the King of *France*, transferred by Authority of the Lateran Councell, the title of *Christianissimo* from him, upon King *Henry*, which with great solemnity was published the sunday following, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*; but this solemnity must not passe without Revelling, Maskes, and Justs; wherein the King and the Duke of *Suffolke* were defendants against all commers; who having the Duke of *Longuevyle*, and the Lord of *Clermont* to be spectatours, spread the fame of their Chivalrie into forreigne Nations.

And now the great love that had been long between King *Henry* and the *Flemings*, began to abate; upon this occasion, King *Henry* the seventh had concluded a match between his daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spaine*: but by reason of her young yeers, and for want of assurance of Joynture, the match was deferred during his time; but now King *Henry* the eight seeing his sister of convenient yeers, began to call upon it, and signified so much to the Councell of *Flanders*; but they, whether having other ends, or out of *Spanish* delayes, put him off with excuses, and at last sent him word plainly, they could doe nothing in it that yeer. The King of *France* had soone Intelligence how much King *Henry* distasted these *Spanish* dealings, and meant to make some good use of it, for the ends he began to propose to himselfe, which were, to get the Lady *Mary* for himselfe, and thereby procure peace with *England*, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this purpose he got the new Pope *Leo* the tenth to be his mediatour, and both of them send Embassadours to King *Henry*, the Pope to perswade him to have peace with *France*, the *French* King to treat about a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*: upon whose Embassages, King *Henry* partly to satisfie the Pope, and partly to advance his sister; did not unwillingly hearken to the motions: but whilst this was in working, *Pryor John* (who knew nothing of these intentions) began again to play his Pranks; and coming with his Gallyes on the coast of *Sussex*, burnt *Rhighthem-steed*, and took away the goods he found in the Village, whereupon the Lord Admirall sent Sir *John Wallopp* to sea, with divers ships and eight hundred men, who for one Village that *Pryor John* burnt in *England*, burnt one and twenty Villages and Townes in *France*, to the great honour of himselfe, and his countrey.

And now King *Henry* by advice of his Councell, and specially of *Woolsey* Bishop of *Lincolne*, concluded both the peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Sister the Lady *Mary*, with the *French* King; but yet it stuck a while upon some differences, King *Henry* demanding *Bulloigne*, and the King of *France* *Tourney*: in conclusion these demands were waved, and the principall conditions were; first concerning the Ladies Joynture, that she should have two and thirty thousand Crownes of yeerly revenues if she survived the King; and then concerning the peace, that the *French* King should pay yeerly to King *Henry* for five yeers one hundred thousand Crownes, and the peace to continue between

them during their lives, and a yeer after, and bound reciprocally to assist each other with ten thousand foot, if the warre were by land, with six thousand if by sea, All things thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King *Henry* and his Queen: and on the second of *October* taking shipping, was conducted by the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Earle of *Surry*, the Lord *De la ware*, the Lord *Berners*, the Lord *Monteagle*, Sir *Maurice Berkely*, Sir *John Pechye*, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *Thomas Baldeyne*, Sir *John Carre*, and many other Knights and Ladies; but being not past halfe way over the sea, their ships by tempest were dispersed, and the Lady with some jeoperdy landed at *Bullen*, where Sir *Christopher Garnish* was faine to stand in the water and take her in his armes, and so set her on shore, and there the Duke of *Vendosme* with a Cardinall and many other great States received her. From *Bullen* the eight of *October*, she came to *Abbeville* where the *Dolphyn* received her: on the morrow being Saint *Dennis* day, she came to Saint *Dennis*, where the marriage between the King of *France* and her, was solemnized (though some write it had been solemnized before at *Abbeville*.) The fifth of *November* she was Crowned Queene of *France*, at which time the *Dolphyn* held the Crowne over her head, as being too massie for her to weare; and the day following she was received into *Paris* in most magnificent manner. In honour of whose Marriage and Coronation, the *Dolphyn* had caused a solemne Justs to be proclaimed, which should be kept in *Paris* the seventh of *November*. Upon report of this Proclamation in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marquesse *Dorset* and his four Brothers, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Edward Nevyll*, Sir *Giles Capell*, *Thomas Cheiney* and others, obtained leave of the King to be at the challenge, where they all behaved themselves with great valour, but specially the Duke of *Suffolke*; whose glory the *Dolphyn* so much envied, that he got a *Dutch-man* the tallest and strongest man in all the Court of *France*, secretly as another person to encounter him, with a purpse to have the Duke foyled; but indeed it turned to his greater honour, for he foiled the *Dutch-man* in such sort, that when they came to the Barriers, the Duke by maine strength took him about the neck, and so pommeled him about the head, that he made the blood issue out at his nose: many other Princes and Lords did bravely; and after three dayes the Justs ended.

King *Henry* was not long behinde to solemnize it in *England* also; for at *Greenwich* the Christmas following, on Newyeers night, and Twelfth night; he presented such strange and magnificent devices, as had seldome been seene; and the third of *February* following he held a solemne Justs, where he and the Marquesse *Dorset* answered all commers, at which time the King brake three and twenty speares, and threw to the ground one that encountred him both man and horse.

At this time preparation was making for King *Henry* in person to go to *Callice*, there to meet with the *French* King and Queene, but death hindred the designe; for before the next spring, the first of *January* the *French* King dyed at the City of *Paris*, fourscore and two dayes after his marriage; teaching others by his example, what it is for an old man to marry a young Lady. King *Henry* hearing of the *French* Kings death, sent the Duke of *Suffolke*, Sir *Richard winkefield*, and Doctor *west*, to bring over the Queene Dowager, according to the Covenants of the marriage. Whereupon the Queene was delivered to the Duke by Indenture, who obtaining her good will to be her husband, (which was no hard matter, that had been her first love:) wrote to the King her brother for his consent; whereat the King seemed to stick a while, but at last consented; so as he brought her into *England* unmarried, and then marry at his return; but the Duke for more surety married her secretly in *Paris*, and after having received her Dower, Apparrell and Jewels; came with her to *Callice*, and there openly married her with great solemnity. At their coming into *England*, King *Henry* to shew his contentement with the marriage, in the com-

pany

pany of the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and the Earle of *Eſſex*, all richly apparelled; held a new kinde of Juſts, running courſes on horſeback in manner Volant, as faſt as one could follow another, to the great delight of the beholders.

This yeer the King at his Mannour of *Oking*; *Woolſey* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* came and ſhewed him letters, that he was elected Cardinall; for which dignity he diſabled himſelfe, till the King willed him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinall, but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: after which Doctor *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancelour of *England*; finding *Woolſey* being now Cardinall, to meddle more in his office of Chancelourſhip, then he could well ſuffer, reſigned up the Seal, which the King preſently gave to *Woolſey*. About this time, Cardinall *Campejus* was ſent by Pope *Leo* to King *Henry*, to ſolicite him to a Warre againſt the *Turke*, with whom Cardinall *Woolſey* was joyned in Commiſſion, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow Cardinell; ſent ſtore of red cloath to *Callice* to make them fit followers of ſo great a Lord: and when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, Cardinall *Woolſey* cauſed the gentry of *Kent* to waite upon to *Black-heath*, where he was met and received by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates, & there in a Tent of cloath of gold ſhifted himſelf into his Cardinals robes. Eight Mules he had laden with neceſſaries; but *Woolſey* not thinking them enough for his honour, ſent him twelve more. But now ſee the ſhame of pride, for in *Cheap-ſide* his Mules by ſome miſchance overthrew their Carriages and Coffers on the ground, whoſe lyds flying open, ſhewed the world what treaſure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shoos, broken Meat, Marybones and cruſts of Bread; expoſing him to the laughter of all the people: yet the Cardinall went joging on afore with his Croſſes, guilt Axe and Mace, into *Pauls* Church; and by the way had an Oration made him by Sir *Thomas Moore*, in name of the City, and then waited on with many Biſhops, was conducted to *Bath* Place, where he was lodged for his own particuler: he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*; but the errand he came about, which was to have Ayde by mony, for a Warre againſt the *Turke*, he could not obtaine; for it was well known to be but a deviſe to get money, without any intention of what was pretended.

In his ſeventh yeer, King *Henry* kept his Chriſtmas at his Mannour of *Eltham*; where on Twelfth night according to his cuſtome, was a ſtately Maske of Knights and Ladies, with ſolemne Daunſing and a moſt Magnificent Banquet.

It was now the eight yeer of King *Henryes* Reigne, when the new league between him and the *French* King was Proclaimed in the City of *London*: and this yeer *Margaret* Queene of *Scots* eldeſt Siſter to King *Henry*, having before married *Archibald Douglaſſe* Earle of *Angus*; by reaſon of diſſention amongſt the Lords of *Scotland*, was glad with her husband to flye into *England*, and to ſeek ſuccour at her brothers hands; who aſſigned to her the Caſtle of *Harbottell* in *Northumberland* to reſide in; where ſhe was delivered of a daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King ſent for her and her husband to come to his Court; and thereupon the third of *May*, Queene *Margaret* riding on a white Palfrye (which the Queen of *England* had ſent her) behinde Sir *Thomas Parre*, came through *London* to *Baynards* Caſtle, and from thence went to *Greenwich*: but her husband the Earle of *Angus*, was ſecretly before departed into *Scotland*; which when King *Henry* heard, he onely ſaid it was done like a Scot. And now in honour of his ſiſters coming, King *Henry* the nine and twentieth of *May*, appointed two ſolemne daves of Juſts; where the King, the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Earle of *Eſſex*, and *Nicholas Carew* Eſquire: took upon them to anſwer all commers, amongſt others, the King and Sir *William Kinſton* ran together, which Sir *William* though a ſtrong and valourous Knight, yet the King overthrew him to the ground: all the reſt was performed with no leſſe

valour

valour then magnificence. This yeer died the King of *Aragon*, Father to the Queene of *England*; for whom was kept a solemne Obsequie in the Cathedrall Church of *Pauls*; and Queene *Margaret* after she had been a yeer in *England*, returned into *Scotland*.

In this yeer were sent twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons, with three hundred Labourers, to the City of *Tourney* in *France*, to build a Castle there, to keep the City in Awe. And now the Cardinall being weary of hearing so many Causes himselfe, as were daily brought before him; ordained by the Kings Commission (after the patterne of *Masts*) divers under Courts to hear complaints of Suitours: whereof one was kept in the *Whitehall*, another before the Kings Almoner Doctor *Stokesley*, a third in the Lord Treasurers lodging neere the Starre-chamber, and the fourth at the Roles in the afternoone: these Courts for a time were much frequented; but at last, the people perceiving that much delay was used in them, and that sentence given by them bound no man by Law: they thereupon grew weary of them, and resorted to the common Law. By occasion of this Government of the Cardinall, who under colour of Justice, did what he pleased: many great men withdrew themselves from the Court; as first the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *winchester*, who went and lived in their Dioceses; then the Duke of *Norfolke*, and at length the Duke of *Suffolke*, who being run deep into the Kings debt, by reason of his many Imployments into *France*, and his great House-keeping since his marriage with the Kings Sister, hoped the King would have forgiven it, and would no doubt have done it, but that the Cardinall opposed it, to the end the Duke should be the more at his command.

In *October* this yeer, *Matthew* Bishop of *Sion* commonly called the Cardinall of the *Swizzers* came into *England* from the Emperour *Maximilian*; by whose soliciting, and Cardinall *Woolseys* perswasion, the King lent the Emperor a great some of money, for *Woolsey* being angry with the King of *France*, for detaining the revenewes of his Bishoprick of *Tourney*, perswaded King *Henry* that the best way to abate the *French* Kings power, was to furnish the Emperour money, the better to maintaine warre against him: and what *Woolsey* said, was in those dayes to King *Henry* an Oracle.

This yeer the King kept his Christmas at his manner of *Greenwich*; where on Twelfth night according to his custome, rare devices with great magnificence were presented; after which time the King exercised himselfe much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good sport to him; for one time following his Hawke, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake, so that if one *Edmund Mody* a foot-man had not leapt into the water and lift up his head which was fast in the clay, he had been drowned.

In this yeer also there happened in the City of *London*, an Insurrection against strangers, specially of Artificers, complayning that strangers were permitted to resort hither with their Wares, and to exercise Handy-crafts, to the great hindrance and impoverishing the Kings own Subjects; and not onely so, but that they were borne out in many great Insolencies, and wrongs they offered to the *English*, as one time it happened, a Carpenter in *London* called *williamson*, had bought two Pigeons in *Cheap-side* and was about to pay for them, when a *French-man* tooke them out of his hand, saying, they were no meat for a Carpenter: well (said *Williamson*) I have bought them, and I will have them; nay (said the *French-man*) I will have them for my Lord Embassadour; hereupon they grew to words, and complaint was made to the *French* Embassadour, who so aggravated the matter to the Major, that the Carpenter was sent to prison, and when Sir *John Baker* sued to the Embassadour for him, he answered, by the body of God, the *English* knave was worthy to loose his life for denying any thing to a *French-man*, and other answer he could have none. Many like and worse Insolencies were offered by changes; which one *John Lincoln* a Broker drew into a Bill, and prevailed with Doctor *Beale*, Preacher on Easter

tuesday

Tuesday at the spittle to reade it openly in the pulpit, which so stirred up many, that strangers could hardly passe the streets, but were strucken, and sometimes beaten downe. At last, one evening, many Prentises and others assembling, rifled some strangers houses, and much mischief was like to be done: but by the care of the Maior and Aldermen and by the indrstry of *Robert Brook* Recorder, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, that had bin under shriefe of *London*; they were gotten to be quiet and many of the disturbers were sent to prison, whereof *Lincolne* and twelve other were hanged, foure hundred more in their shirts, bound in ropes and halters about their neckes (and thereupon called the black wagon) were brought to Westminster, where the King himselfe sate that day; and when the Cardinall had charged them with the greatnesse of their offence; they all cryed, mercy, mercy: and then the King by the mouth of the Cardinall, pardoned them all which clemency purchased the King no small love amongst the people.

In this ninth yeere, in *June* King *Henry* had divers Embassadors at his Court; for whose entertainment he prepared a costly Justs; himselfe and twelve more against the Duke of *Suffolke* and other twelve. The King had on his Head a Ladies sleeve full of Diamonds, and perhaps something else of the Ladies in hes heart, which made him performe his courses with the applause of all beholders. This yeere by reason of a sweating sickenesse, *Michaelmas* Tearme was adjourned; and the yeere following, *Trinity* Tearme was held one day at *Oxford*, and then adjourned againe to *Westminster*.

About this time Cardinall *Woolsey* obtained of Pope *Leo*, authority to dispence with all Offences against the spirituall Lawes; by vertue whereof he set up a Court, and called it, *The Court of the Legat*; in the which he proved Testaments, and heard Causes, to the great hindrance of all the Bishops of the Realme; and to the debauching of Priests and Religious persons, who relying upon his greatnesse, tooke such a liberty of licentiousnesse, to themselves, that none was more disorderly, then those that were in orders: and supposiing perhaps, they might lawfully comit such sins themselves, as they forgave to others. And indede the Cardinalls carriage exceeded all bounds of moderation; for when he said masse, he made Dukes and Earles to serve him of wine, with a say taken, and to hold the bason at the Lauatory: and when the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, writing a letter to him, subscribed, your brother *William* of *Canterbury*, he tooke it in great dudgion, to be termed his brother.

It was now the tenth yeere of King *Henries* Reighe, when the King of *France*, longing much, to have *Turney* restored to him: by great guifts and greater promises, wonne the Cardinall *Woolsey*, to move the King in it; who upon his perswasions, was contented to be treated withall about it: to which the King of *France* sent the Lord *Bonquet* high Admirall of *France*: and the Bishop of *Paris*, who in there attendance, having above fourescore Gentlemen, and with their servants and all above twelve hundred, arived in *England*; and on *Munday* the seaven and twentieth of *September*, were met at Black-heath by the Earle of *Surrey* high Admirall of *England*, attended likewise with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodged at Marchantailors Hall: The last of *September*, the Embassadours went to the King at *Greenwich*, where after long communication, an Agreement was at last concluded under pretence of a marriage to be had, betweene the Dolphin of *France*, and the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *England*, that in name of her marriage money, *Tourney* should be delivered to the *French* King: he paying to the King of *England*, for the Castle he had made in that Citty, six hundred Thousand Crownes in twelve yeeres, by fiftie Thousand Crownes yeerly: and if the marriage should chance not to take effect, then that *Tourney* should be againe restored to the King of *England*; for performance of which article, *Hrstages* shotld be delivered: namely, Monsieur *de Memerancye*, Monsieur *de Monpesac*, Monsieur *de Moy*, and Monsieur *Morett*,

and moreover the *French* King ſhould pay to the Cardinall of *England* a thouſand markes yeerly, in recompence of his Revenewes, received before of his Biſhoprick of *Tourney*: All things thus concluded, the Cardinall made to the Embaſſadours a ſolemne Banquet, and after preſented them with a ſtately Mummery. The eighth of *October*, the King feaſted them at *Greenwich*, and at night preſented a ſtately Maske of Knights and Ladies, with reare deviſes and great magnificence: The next day, Sir *Thomas Exmew* Major of *London*, feaſted them at Goldſmiths-Hall, and then delivering their foure Hoſtages, they tooke their leave. At whoſe departure, the King gave to the Admirall of *France*, a Garniſh of guilt veſſell, a paire of covered Baſons, gilt, twelve great guilt Bowles, fower paire of great guilt Pots, a ſtanding Cup of Gold, garniſhed with great Pearles, and to ſome other he gave Plate, to ſome other cheins of Gold, to ſome rich Apparell: to the great comendation of his liberality. Shortly after their departure, the Earle of *Worceſter* Lord Chamberlaine, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, Sir *John Pechy*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen*, as Embaſſadours from the King of *England*, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the number of above foure hundred, paſſed over to *Callice*, and from thence went to *Paris*; where after Royall Entertainment by the King, with diverſe Maskes and ſtately ſhewes, they tooke their leaves and rode to *Tourney* to ſee the Citty delivered to the *French* men, on the eighth of *February* to the great griefe of the *Engliſh* Garriſon. After the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours were returned, King *Henry* to cheere up the foure *French* Hoſtages, left heere for performance of covenants, on the ſeaventh of *May*, preſented a ſolemne and ſtately Maske, wherein himſelfe, the Duke of *Suffolke* and the *French* Queene were Actors, and on the eight of *March* following was a ſolemne Juſt holden, and with great magnificence performed.

In the eleventh yeere of King *Henries* Raigne died the Emperour *Maximilian*, for whom, the King cauſed a ſolemne obſequie to be kept in *Paules* Church. After whoſe death the *French* King and the King of *Spain*, endeavoured by ſundry plots, each of them to get the Empire, but in concluſion, *Charles* King of *Caſtile*, (afterwards called *Charles* the fifth) was elected Emperour; for joy whereof, a ſolemne Maſſe was ſung at *Pauls*, the ſeaventh of *July*, at which were preſent the Cardinall *Campeius*, the Cardinall of *Yorke*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Norfolke* and *Suffolk*, with the Embaſſadours of *Spaine*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Scotland*; and this yeere the King kept Saint *Georges* feaſt at *Windſor*, with great ſolemnity.

At this time, diverſe young Gentlemen that had been in *France*, after the manner of that Country, carried themſelves ſo familiarly with the King, that the Lords of his counſell thought it a diſparagement to him: and thereupon, with his leave firſt obtained, they baniſhed them the Court: and in their places, brought in more ſtaied and graver men: namely, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Richard Weſton* and Sir *William Kingſton*.

In the ſummer of this yeere, the Queene lying at her Mannor of *Havering* in *Eſſex*, deſired the King to bring thither the foure Hoſtages of *France*: to whom ſhee made a Royall Banquet: and in *September* following the King lying at his Mannor of *Newhall* in *Eſſex*, otherwiſe called *Beaulieu*, where he had newly built a ſtately Manſion, invited the Queen and the *French* Hoſtages thither, where after a ſumptuous Banquet, he preſented them with an extraordinary Maſk, for the Maskers were the *Duke of Suffolk*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the Lord *Aburgaveny*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*, Sir *Richard Weſton* and Sir *William Kingſton*, the youngeſt of whom was fifty yeeres old at leaſt, that the Ladies might ſee, what force they had to make age young againe.

At this time, the *French* King was very deſirous to ſee the King of *England* with whom he had entred into ſuch a league of alliance, and to that end made meanes to the Cardinall, that there might be an Enterview betweene them at ſome convenient place: to which the Cardinall, not ſo much to ſatisfie the

French

French King as to ſhew his owne greatneſſe in *France*; eaſily condiſcended, and thereupon perſwaded King *Henry*, how neceſſary it was, that ſuch an Enterview ſhould be: and then were ſent unto *Guyſnes*, under the rule of Sir *Edward Belknap* three thouſand artificers, who builded on the plaine before the Caſtle of *Guyſnes*, a moſt ſtately Pallace of timber, curiouſly Garniſhed without and within: whither both the Kings in *June* next following, agreed to come and to anſwere all commers at the Tilt, Tournies and Barriers, whereof proclamation was made in the Court of *England*, by *Orleance* King of Armes of *France* and in the Court of *France* by *Clarentius*, King of Armes of *England*: whilſt theſe things were preparing on Candlemas Even, as the King and Queene were come from Even-ſong at their Mannour of *Greenwich*; ſuddainly there blew a Trumpet, and then entred into the Queenes Chamber, foure Gentlemen, who brought with them a waggon, in which ſate a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady, acquainted the King, that the foure Gentlemen there preſent, were come for the love of their Ladies, to anſwer all commers at the Tilts on a day by the King to be appointed; which day was thereupon appointed on *Shrovetueſday* next enſuing, where they all behaved themſelves with great valour, to the great delight of the King and Queene.

By this time King *Henry* was ready for his journey into *France*, and ſo removing from his Mannour of *Greenwich*, on Friday the five and twentieth of *May* he with his Queene arived at *Canterbury*, where he ment to keepe his Whitſontide. At which time, the Emperour *Charles* returning out of *Spaine* arrived on the coaſt of *Kent*, where by the vice Admirall of *England*, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, he was conducted to land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinall in great ſtate. After which the King himſelfe rode to *Dover*, to welcome him: and on Whitſunday earely in the morning conducted him to *Canterbury*, where they ſpent all the Whitſontide in great joy and ſolace. The chiefe cauſe that moved the Emperour at this time, to come on land, was to have diſſwaded the King from any Enterview with the *French* King: but when he ſaw him ſo forward in that journey, he then onely endeavoured to perſwade him, that he ſhould put no truſt in the *French* Kings words, and with great guifts and promiſes, prevailed with the Cardinall to joyne with him in this perſwaſion. The laſt of *May*, the Emperour tooke his leave, and the ſame day, the King made ſaile from *Dover* and landed at *Callice*, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of *June* the King and Queen removed from *Callice* to his Princely lodging beſide the Towne of *Guyſnes*, the moſt Royall Building that was ever ſeene; likewiſe *Francis* the *French* King had his lodging prepared cloſe to the Towne of *Ard*, in a ſtrange but moſt magnificent faſhion. Both Kings had given authority and power to the Cardinall to affirme and confirme, to bind or unbind, whatſoever ſhould be in difference betweene them; no leſſe an honour to the Cardinall then a confideuce in the Kings. On Thurſday the ſeaventh of *June*, the Kings met in the vale of *Andren* ſo magnificently attired, both themſelves, and all their followers, that from thence it was called the campe of cloath of Gold. Heere they ſpent that day in loving complements; and at night departed, the one to *Guyſnes*, the other to *Ard*. On Satureday the ninth of *June* were ſet up in a place, within the *Engliſh* pale two Trees of honour, with ſtately roomes and ſtages for the Queens, and thither the two Kings came, moſt Royally accompanied; wherein moſt magnificent manner, they performed Acts of valour, both on foote and horſeback; and after them all the great Lords both of *France* and *England* did the like: this ſolemnity of Juſts and Maskes was continued to the foure and twentieth day of *June*, at which time, the Kings and Queenes tooke leave of each other, the *French* King and Queene removed to *Ard*, the King and Queene of *England* to *Callice*, where he remained till the tenth of *July*, and then ridings toward *Graveling*, was by the way met by the Emperour, and by him conducted thither, and there in moſt royall manner entertained; whereof when the *French* King heard, he began

gan from that day forward, to have King *Henry* in a kinde of jelousie, as though to love him and the Emperour both were inconsistent, and could not stand together. On Wednesday the eleventh of *July*, the Emperor and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Dutchesse of *Savoy*, came with the King of *England* to the town of *Callice*, and there continued with Feasting, Dancing and Masking, till the fourteenth of *July*. In which time, all the Articles of the league *tripartito*, betweene the Emperour and the Kings of *England* and *France* were reviewed; to which the King of *France* had so fully condiscended, that he had sent Monsieur *de Roche* to the Emperor with Letrers of credence; that in the word of a Prince, he would inviolably observe and keepe them all: all which notwithstanding, he dispenced with his conscience afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday, *July* 14. the Emperor tooke his leave and went to *Graveling*; the King with his Queene returned into *England*.

It was now the twelfth yeer of King *Henries* reigne; when being returned from *Callice*, he kept his Christmas at *Greenwich* with great magnificence; & on twelfth day he and the Earl of *Devonshire* maintained a solemn Justs against al commers.

The Cardinal had long born a grudg against the Duke of *Buckingham*, for sperking certain words in his disgrace, and now hath made his way for reveng: for the Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Admirall, who had maried the Dukes daughter, the Cardinall had caused to be sent Depury into *Ireland*, and the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Dukes speciall friend he had caused upon certain suggested crimes to be Imprisoned; so as the Duke having his friends sequestred from him, he lay now open to accusations, and accusations shall not long be wanting; for the Duke having some time before put from him in displeasure, one *Charles Knevet*, that had been his Surveyar, and inward with him; him the Cardinall gers to him, to see what he could get out of him against the Duke. And whether it was out of desire of revenge, or out of hope of reward, or that the matter was so indeed, this *Knevet* confessed to the Cardinall, that the Duke had once fully determined to make away the King; being brought into a hope to be King himselfe by a vaine Prophesie, which one *Nicholas Hopkins* (a Monke of an house of the *Chartnar* Order, besides *Bristow*, called *Henton*) somtimes his Confessor, had opened to him; and as for the Cardinall, that he had often heard the Duke sweare, he would punish him soundly for his manifold misdoings. And now had the Cardinall matter enough for Accusation, which he so aggravated to the King, that the King bid him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended and brought to the Tower by Sir *Henry Marney*, Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of *April*, and shortly after in *Guild-hal* before Sir *John Brugge*, then Lord Major, was indited of divers points of High-treason; the substance whereof was, that in the second yeer of the Kings reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the Kings death at *London* and at *Thornbery* in *Glocestershire*; and that in the fifth yeer of the Kings reign, he went in person to the Priory of *Henton*, and there had conference with the foresaid *Nicholas Hopkins*, who told him he should be King; and that he had often said to the Lord *Aburgayne* who had maried his daughter, that if King *Henry* died without issue, he would look to have the Crown himself. Vpon these points hee was arraigned in Westminster-hall, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, sitting then as high Steward of *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Devonshire*, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Darby*, the Lords of Saint *Johns de la ware*, *Fitz-water*, *Willoughby*, *Brook*, *Cobham* *Herbert* & *Morley*. The Duke pleaded for himself til he swet again, but al boored not, for by these Peeres he was found guilty and condemned, and so on Friday the seventeenth of *May* was led by *John Keyme* and *John Skevington* Sheriffes of *London* to the scaffold on Tower-hill, and there beheaded. The *Augustine* Friers took his body and head and buried them. This *Edward Bohun* Duke of *Buckingham* was the last high Constable of *England* (the greatest place, next the high Steward in the kingdome) whose Power extended to restrain some actions of the King. He was also Earl of *Hereford*, *Stafford* and *Northampton*; he maried *Elianor* the daughter of *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, and had issue *Henry* Lord *Stafford* (Father to *Henry* Lord *Stafford* late living) and three daughters, *Elizabeth* maried to *Thomas*

Howard Earl of *Surrey*, *Katherine* maried to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmerland*, and *Mary* maried to *George Nevill* Lord of *Aburgavenie*.

In this meane while, a new Warre was begun between the Emperour and the King of *France*; for composing whereof, the Cardinall of *Yorke* was sent attended with the Earle of *Worcester*, Lord Chamberline, the Lord of Saint *Johns*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Primate of *Armagh*, Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Sir *John Pechye*, Sir *John Hussey*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, and many other Knights, Gentlemen and Doctors. On the twelfth of *July* he arrived at *Callice*, whether came to him the Chancellour of *France*, and the Count *de Palice* attended with four hundred horse, as Embassadours from the *French* King; and from the Emperour the like, with Commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Embassadours from the Pope, whom the Cardinall moved to have the Pope be a party also in their League, but they wanting Commission. Letters were presently sent to *Rome* about it; and in the time till answer might be had, the Cardinall went to *Bruges*, to speak with the Emperour, with whom having staved thirteene dayes, after most Royall entertainment, he returned back to *Callice*, and then fell presently to the treaty of Peace, with the *French* Commissioners, but was colder in the matter then he was before, as having had his edge taken off, by some dealings with the Emperour, so as nothing was concluded; but that Fishermen of both the Princes might freely Fish on the Seas without disturbance, till the end of *February* following; whereof he sent advertisement to both the Princes; to the Emperour by the Lord of Saint *Johns* and Sir *Thomas Bullen*; to the *French* King by the Earle of *Worcester* and the Bishop of *Ely*. During all which time of the Cardinalls stay in *Callice*, all Writs and Patents were there by him sealed, and no Sheriffe could be chosen for lack of his presence, having the Great Seal there with him, and full power in things, as if the King had been there in person. Before he returned he made a new League with the Emperour, and intimated to the *French* King, that he doubted the King of *England* would not hereafter be so much his friend, as heretofore he had been; whereat, though the King of *France* were much offended, yet he signifyed by his Letters (perhaps dissemblingly) that he would continue the King of *Englands* friend asmuch as ever: onely he enveighed against the Cardinall, as a man of no truth, & withdrew many Pensions which he had before given to some *English*. Presently upon this, was *Tourney* besieged, by the Lord *Hugh de Moncada* a *Spaniard*; and though the *French* King sent great Forces to succour it; yet it was rendred up to the Emperour the last of *November*, in the thirteenth yeer of King *Henries* Reigne.

This yeer Pope *Leo* died the first of *December*, suspected to be poysoned by *Barnabie Malespina* his Chamberlaine, whose office was alwayes to give him drinke. After whose death, Doctor *Pace* was sent to *Rome*, to make friends in behalfe of the Cardinall of *Yorke*; who was brought into a hope through the Kings favour to be elected Pope, but that hope was soon quailed; for before Doctor *Pace* could get to *Rome*, *Adrian* the sixth was chosen Pope. This Doct. *Pace* was a very learned and religious man, yet thorow crosses in his imployment, fell mad and dyed; in whose place of Imployment succeeded Doct. *Stephen Gardyner*.

On the second of *February*, King *Henry* being then at *Greenwich*, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be defender of the Christian Faith, for him and his successours for ever; which Title was ascribed to him, for writing a Booke against *Luther*, of which Booke (saith *Holingshead*) I will onely say thus much, that King *Henry* in his Booke, is reported to rage against the Devill and Antichrist, to cast out his foame against *Luther*, to race out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law; which Booke *Luther* answered with as little respect to the King, as the King had done to him.

In this meane time, many displeasures grew between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, specially two: one that *French-men* seized upon *English* ships

as they passed: for remedy whereof, one *Christopher Cee* an expert seaman, was sent with six ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of *Albanye* was returned into *Scotland*, contrary to that which was Covenanted by the league, which though the King of *France* denied to be done with his privity, yet King *Henry* knew the Duke of *Albanye* had Commission from the *French* King to returne, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Musters made in *England*, and a note taken of what substance all men were.

This yeere died the Lord *Brooke*, Sir *Edwad Poynings* Knight of the Garter, Sir *John Pechy*, and Sir *Edward Belknappe*, all valient Capraines, suspected to have poysoned at a Banquet made at *Ard*, when the two Kings met last.

At this time, *Owen Douglas* Bishop of *Dunkell*, fled out of *Scotlnad* into *England*, because the Duke of *Albanye* being come thither, had taken upon him the whole Government of the King and Kingdome; whereupon *Clarentiaux* the Herald was sent into *Scotland*, to command the Duk of *Albany* to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herald was commanded to defie him. Thereupon the *French* King seized all *English-mens* goods in *Burdeaux*, and impisoned their persons; and retained not onely the money to be paid for the restitution of *Tourney*; but also with-held the *French* Queenes Dower: whereof when King *Henry* understood; he called the *French* Embassadour residing in *England*, to give account thereof; who though he gave the best reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his house, and the *French* Hostages remayning here, for the money to be paid for the delivery of *Tourney*, were restrained of their liberty, and committed to the custody of the Lord of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Sir *Andrew Windsor*, and Sir *Thomas Nevyle*; each of them to keep one; and withall, all *French-men* in *London* were committed to prison, and put to their Fines; and all *Scotsmen* much more. There were then also sent to sea under the conduct of Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Viceadmirall, eight and twenty great ships, and seven more towards *Scotland*; who set fire on many *Scottish-ships* in the Haven, and at length tooke many prisoners, and returned.

King *Henry* hearing that the Emperour would come to *Callice*, so to passe into *England*, as he went into *Spaine*; appointed the Lord Marquesse *Dorset*, to go to *Callice*, there to receive him; and the Cardinall to receive him at *Dover*. The Cardinall taking his Journey thither on the tenth of *May*, rode thorow *London* accompanied with two Earles, six and thirty Knights, and a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin; and Yeomen seven hundred. The five and twentieth of *May* being Sunday, the Marquesse *Dorset* with the Bishop of *Chichester*, the Lord *de Lware* and divers others, at the water of *Graveling*, received the Emperour, and with all honour brought him to *Callice*, where he was received with Procession, by the Lord *Berners* Lieutenant of the Towne. On Munday he tooke ship at *Callice*, and landed at *Dover*, where the Cardinall with three hundred Lords, Knights and Gentlemen received him, and in great State brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday being Ascention Even, the King came to *Dover*, and there with great joy and gladnesse, the Emperour and he met. On Friday in the afternoone they departed from *Dover*, and came that night to *Canterbury*, and from thence next day to *Greenwich*, where the Queene received her Nephew with all the joy that might be. Here to honour the Emperours presence, Royall Justs and Turneys were appointed; where the King, the Earle of *Devonshire* and ten Aydes, kept the place against the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marquesse *Dorset* and other ten Aydes, on their part. On Friday the sixth of *June*, the Emperour and the King with all their companies went to *London*, where the City received them with Pageants, and other as rare devices, as at a Coronation, and the Emperour was lodged at the *Blackfryers*, and all his Lords in the new Palaces of *Bridewell*. On *Whitsunday*, the King and the Emperour rode to the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where the Cardinall

sang

ſung Maſſe, and had his Traverſe and his Cupboord. Before Maſſe, two Barons gave him water, and after the Goſpel, two Earles, and at the laſt Lavatory two Dukes, which pride the *Spaniards* much diſdained. After many Feaſtings in other places, at laſt they rode to *Windſor*, where they ſtayed a whole weeke; and there on *Corpus Chriſti* day, the Emperour wore his Mantle of the Garter, and ſate in his owne Stall. On the ſame day, both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took their oathes to obſerve the League concluded betweene them. On the morrow after, they came to *Wincheſter*: before whoſe comming thither there was come to *Hampton*, the Earle of *Surrey* Admirall of *England*, with all the Kings Navy, and with him the Lord *Fitz-Water*, the Barron *Curſon*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Richard Winkfield* Sir *Richard Jerningham*, *Francis Brian*, Sir *William Barentine*, Sir *Adrian* Foskew, Sir *Edward Donne*, Sir *Edward Chamberlaine*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Antony Poynes*, Sir *Henry Shirborn*, and the Viceadmirall, Sir *William* Fitz-*Williams*, Sir *Edmund Bry*, Sir *Giles Capell*, Sir *William Pirton*, *John Cornwallis*, Sir *John Walloppe*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *William Sidney*, *Anthony Browne*, *Giles* Huſſey, *Thomas Moore*, *John* Ruſſel, *Edward Bray*, *Henry Owen*, *George Cobham*, *Thomas* Oldhall, *Thomas Lovell*, *Robert Ichingham*, *Anthony* Knevet, Sir *John Tremaile*, Sir *William Skevington*, Maſter of the Ordinance, and *John* Fabian Serjant at Armes, by whom chiefly a diſſ gne was moved, though now noiſed onely that it was but to ſcowre the ſeas for the ſafe conducting of the Emperour. For the Earle of *Surrey* having wafted the Emperour over to the coaſt of *Biſkay*; upon his returne, made to the coaſt of *Brittaine*; and there landing ſeven thouſand of his men, marched to the Towne of *Morleys*, and by aſſault took it: having wonne this Towne, the Earle called to him certaine Gentlemen and made them Knights; as Sir *Francis Brian*, Sir *Anthony Browne*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Thomas Moore*, Sir *Giles Huſſey*, Sir *John Ruſſell*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *George Cobham*, Sir *John Cornwallis*, Sir *Edward Ridgley*, and ſome others; and after the Earle had lien a while on the Coaſt of Brittaine, he was commanded home by the Kings letters: who thereupon brought back his whole fleet, to a place called the *Cow* under the Iſle of *Wight*, and then went on land, leaving diverſe of of his ſhips, under the Governance of the Vice-admirall Sir *William* Fitz-*Williams*.

In this meane time, diverſe exploits were atchieved between them of the Garriſon in the marches of *Callice*, and the *French* men of *Bulloigne*, where the *French* commonly had the worſt: but being of no great moment, may well be paſſed over without relating. Likewiſe at the ſame time the Lord *Roſſe*, and the Lord *Dacres* of the North, appointed to keepe the Borders againſt *Scotland*, burnt the Towne of *Kelſie*, and foureſcore Vilages, and overthrew eighteene Towers of ſtone, withall their Bulwarkes.

King *Henry* intending now to goe ſeriouſly on with his warres in *France*, levied an Army, which under the conduct of the Earle of *Surrey*, he ſent over to *Callice*; whither the Earle being come, he divided his Army into three battailes; the firſt was led by Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, the middleward by himſelfe and his brother the Lord *Edmund Howard*, the reare-ward by Sir *William Sands* and Sir *Richard Winkfield*, both of them Knights of the Garter: and Sir *Edward Guildford* was Captaine of the horſemen. In this order the Earle entred the *French* ground the ſecond of *September*, and took his journey towards *Hedring*. By the way there came to him a great Power of *Burgognions*, ſent by the Lady *Margaret*, according to the Articles of the League. All the Townes, Villages and Caſtles, in the Countrey through which they paſſed, they burnt and ſacked; as the Towne and Caſtle of *Selleys*, the Towne of *Brunbrigge*, *Senteberke*, *Botington* and *Manſtier*, with divers others. On the ſixteenth of *September*, they came before the Caſtle of *Heding*, and laid ſiege unto it; but the Caſtle being wel fortified, & the Earle having not battering Ordinance, which by reaſon of the foule weather, he could not bring with him:

after

after eleven dayes he raiſed his ſiege, and paſſing from thence to *Dorlens*, burnt the Towne and raced the Caſtle, as alſo the Towne of *Dortyer*, and then the yeer being farre ſpent, came back to *Callice* the ſixteenth of *October*.

At this time, the Duke of *Albany* being eſtabliſhed Governour of *Scotland*, raiſed an Army of fourſcore thouſand men, with which he approached the borders, but made no Invaſion, as thinking perhaps that the onely report of his great Army, would fright the *Engliſh*; but yet this ſtayed not the Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, Warden of the eaſt and middle Marches; to enter into *Tividale*, and ſo forward ten miles into *Gallaway*, burning all townes and Villages on every ſide as he paſſed. All that night he tarried within the *Scottiſh* ground, and the next day being *good-Friday*, withdrew back into *England*, with a head of four thouſand cattell; having burned *Grimſeley*, *Mowhowſe*, *Donford*, *Myles*, *Ackforth*, *Crowling*, and many other Townes and Villages.

In King *Henries* fourteenth yeer, on the fifteenth of *Aprill* began a Parliament, which was holden at the *Blackfryers*, whither the King came, and there ſate downe in his Royall Seate; at his feet on the right ſide ſate the Cardinall of *Yorke*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and at the Raile behinde, ſtood Doctor *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *London*, who making an Oration, told there the cauſes of calling this Parliament; which were (as he ſaid) for remedying of miſchiefs by the common Law, as Recoveries, Forraigne Vouchers and corrupt Trialls, and for making new Lawes for the good of the Common-wealth: whereof notwithſtanding, no one word was ſpoken all the time of the Parliament, nor any other thing done, but a Subſedie granted; but howſoever, being commanded to chuſe their Speaker, they choſe Sir *Thomas Moore*, who at firſt diſabling himſelfe, at laſt made two Petitions to the King; one for himſelfe, that if he ſhould be ſent by the Commons to the King on a Meſſage, and miſtake their intent, he might then with the Kings pleaſure reſort again to the Commons to know their meaning. The other, for the Houſe of Commons, that if in communication and reaſoning, any man ſhould ſpeake more largely then of duty he ought to do, yet all ſuch offences ſhould be pardoned, and that to be entred of Record. Which Petitions were granted, and then the Parliament began; where at firſt a Subſidie was demanded, but as there was much adoe in the Houſe of Commons about it, ſo there was no leſſe amongſt the Clergey in the Convocation Houſe; for *Richard* Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, and *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* were much againſt it, but moſt of all, one *Rowland Philips*, Vicar of *Croyden*, and a Canon of *Pauls*, but the Cardinall taking him aſide, dealt ſo with him, that he took him off, ſo as he came no more to the Houſe; and then the Bel-weather (as one ſaith) giving over his hold, the reſt ſoon yelded; and ſo was granted the half of all their ſpiritual yeerly Revenues, to be paid in five yeers following. The Clergey being thus brought on, on the nine & twentieth of *April*, the Cardinall came into the Houſe of Commons, to work them alſo; and there ſhewing the great charges the King was neceſſarily to be at in his preſent Wars: demanded the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands, which was four ſhillings of every pound. This demand was enforced the day after by the Speaker Sir *Thomas Moore*; but the Burgeſſes were all againſt it, ſhewing that it was not poſſible to have it gathered in money; for that men of Lands had not the fifth part thereof in Coyne. And further alleadged, that there be not many pariſhes in *England* one with another, able to ſpare a hundred Marks, except Cities and Townes; and ſeeing there were not above thirteen thouſand Pariſhes in the Kingdome, (at this day there are but 9 2 8 5.) how could ſuch a ſumme be raiſed? Hereupon certaine of the Houſe were ſent to move the Cardinall, to be a meanes to the King to accept of a leſſer ſumme, but the Cardinall anſwered, he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his mouth with a paire of Pinſors, then make to the King any ſuch motion. Whereupon the Cardinall came again into the Houſe, and deſired that he might reaſon with them that were againſt the demand; to

which

which it was answered, that the order of that house was to heare, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. When the Cardinall was gone, the Commons after long debating the matter; at last, agreed of two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upward, and from forty shillings, to twenty pounds; of every twenty shillings, twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head of sixteene yeeres and upwards, foure pence, to be paid in two yeeres: when this was told to the Cardinall, he was much offended; so that to please him, the Gentlemen of fifty pound Land and upward, by the motion of Sir *John Hussey*, a Knight of *Lincolneshire*, were charged with twelve pence more in the pound, to be paid in three yeeres. The Cardinall to move them to it, bore them in hand, that the Lords had agreed to foure shillings of the pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would doe; whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinall for it; saying withall, that ere it were long he would looke to things himselfe, without any Substitute. Which speech of the Kings, though it danted the Cardinall for a while, yet he soone recovered his Spirits, and now as peremptory afterwards as he had been before. After this, the Parliament was prorogued till the tenth of *June*; during with prorogation, the Common people said to the Burgesses, we heare say, you will grant foure shillings of the pound, we advise you to doe so, that you may goe home; with many like threatnings. At this time, the Cardinall by his power Legantine, dissolved the Convocation at *Pauls*, convoked by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, calling him and all the Clergy, to his Convocation at *Westminster*: which was never seene before in *England* (saith *Hall.*) The one and thirtieth of *July*, the Parliament was adjourned to *Westminster*, and there continuing till the thirteenth of *August*, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolved.

About this time, the Bishop of *Durham* died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Cardinall; who resigned the Bishoprick of *Bath* to Doctor *John Clerke*, Master of the Rolles, and Sir *Henry Marney*, that was Vice-chamberlain, was made Lord Privy Seale, and shortly after, was created Lord *Marney*: also during this Parliament, Sir *Arthur Plantagenet*, bastard sonne to King *Edward* the fourth at *Bridewell*, was created Vicount *Lisle*; in right of his wife who was wife before to *Edmund Dudley*, Beheaded.

The fifteenth of *June*; in the fifteenth yeere of the Kings Reigne, *Christian* King of *Denmarke* with his Queene; driven out of his own Country, came into *England*, and was lodged at *Bath* place; who after, he had been feasted by the King and by the Citty of *London*, and received great guifts of both, returned again into *Flanders*, where he remained as a banished man: some yeers after, King *Henry* sent Doctor *Henry Standish*, Bishop of Saint *Assaph*, and Sir *John Baker* Knight, into *Denmarke*, to perswade the people to receive him againe into his Kingdome; but they could not prevaile, he was so much hated for his cruelty.

About this time, the Earle of *Kildare* having recovered againe the favour of the Cardinall, was sent Deputy into *Ireland*, as he had bin before, where he reduced the wilde *Irish* to indifferent conformity. All this while had *England* warres both with the *French* and with the *Scots*. In *Scotland* the Marquesse of *Dorset* threw downe the Castles of *Wederborne*, of *Nesgate*, of *Blackater*, of *Mackwals*, and burnt to the number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to skirmish. In *France*, the Lord *Sands*, Treasurer of *Callice*, with twelve hundred men went before *Bulloigne*, where he skirmished with the Enemie; and after taking divers Churches and Castles in the Enemies Countrey, returned backe to *Callice*, with the losse onely of 2 dozen men. King *Henry* being advertised that the Duke of *Albanie* was providing of Forces in *France*, with which to returne into *Scotland*, sent forth his Vice-admirall Sir *William Fitz-williams*, with divers great Shippes to intercept him; but when he could not meet with him, he then landed in the Haven of *Treport*; where with seaven hundred men, hee beat six thousand *French* that sought

to impeach his landing, took their Bulworks and much Ordnance in them, burned the suburbs of the town of *Treport*, and all in five houres, and then returned.

All this while King *Henry* had but played with the *French*, but now he means to be in earnest, and therefore sends over the Duke of *Suffolk* with an Army, the foure and twentieth of *August*; attended with the Lord *Montacute* and his brother Sir *Arthur Poole*, the Lord *Herbert*, sonne to the Earle of *Worcester*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Marney*, the Lord *Sands*, the Lord *Barkley*, the Lord *Powis*, and the Baron *Curson*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*, Chauncellour of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, Sir *John Vere*, Sir *Edward Nevile*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Weston*, Sir *Andrew Winsore*, Sir Robert Winkfield, Sir *Anthony* Winkfield, Sir *Edward Guildford*, Sir *Edw: Grevile*, Sir *Edw: Chamberlaine*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *Everard Digby*, Sir *Adrian Foskew*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *William Sidney*, Sir *Henry Owin*, sand many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were six hundred Demylaunces, two hundred Archers on Horsback, three thousand Archers on foot, and five thousand Bilmen. Also seventeen hundred taken out of the Garrisons of *Hammes*, *Guysnes*, and *Callice*, in all, ten thousand and five hnndred, besides two thousand six hundred labourers and Pioners. With this Army the Duke of *Suffolk* took the field, his vauntguard was led by the Lord *Sands*; Captaine of the right wing, was Sir *William Kingston*; of the left, Sir *Everard Digby*, Captain of all the Horsmen was Sir *Edward Guildford*, Marshall of *Callice*; the Duke himselfe led the Battaile, and Sir *Richard Winkfield* the Reareward. The Dukes first enterprise was the winning of *Bell* Castle, which the Lord *Sands* and the Lord *Ferris* assaulted, and had it yeelded to them: and then Sir *VVilliam Skevington* was placed Captaine in it. At this time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, high Constable of *France*, began to have his mind alienated from the King of *France*, and to draw him the more on, the Duke of *Suffolk* sent Sir *John Russel* (afterward created Duke of *Bedford*) to him, who passing in disguised apparell, so prevailed with him, that he professed to take part with the Emperour, and the King of *England*, who having ten thousand Almans in his pay: it was thought fit (for encouragement of the *English*) to proclaime in the Army, the accesse of so powerfull an assistant: and thereupon the Duke of *Suffolk* removed to *Ard*, and so forward into *Picardie*. At *Cordes* between *Ternyn* and Saint *Omers*, there came to him the Lord of *Isilsteyn*, and with him of *Spaniards*, *Almans* and others, three thousand Foot-men, and five hundred Horse. With these forces, the Duke marching on, took first the rich Town of *Anchor*, then the Castle of *Bounguard*, and then by assault the Towne of *Bray*, though two thousand good men of war were in it. After this, the Towres of *Cappe* and *Roy*, *Libome* and *Darvenker*, and then came before the Towne of *Mount-Bedyer*, in which were a thousand foot and five hundred horse; yet upon Sir *William Skevingtons* Batteries, was yeelded to him. From hence he removed to *Roy*, where he rested a while with his whole Army: and there on Alholland-day, in the chiefe Church of *Roy*, made Knights, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Powis*, *Oliver Manners*, *Arthur Poole*, *Richard Sands*, *Robert Jerningham*, *Robert Salisbury*, *Edward Beningfield*, *Richard Corbet*, *Thomas Wentworth*, *William Storton*, *Walter Mantel*, *George Warram* and *Edward Seymour* (that was after Duke of *Somerset*.) The day after, the Army removed to a place called *Neele*, from thence to *Veane*, and then to *Beauford*, where the Duke made *John Dudley*, and *Robert Vtreight* Knights, and from thence on the eighth of *November* to a place called *Mount Saint Martin*; here the *Welshmen* began to murmure, that they might not returne home, the winter being so far spent; but there was to the number of a thousand persons, under the leading of Sir *John VValloppe*, who having no wages, but what they could get by booties, and were therefore called Adventurers, and by some Kreekers, and these had more desire to stay, then the *VVelshmen* had to be gon; for the great gaines they made, by the spoyles of so many Townes that were taken. The thirteenth of *November*, the Duke removed to a place within two

miles

miles of *Beghan* Caſtle, defended by great Mariſhes, that lay before it, but the froſt being at that time ſo great that many loſt their fingers and toes with cold, and ſome died; Sir *Edward Guildford* acquainted the Duke, that he thought the mariſhes were hard enough frozen to beare great Ordnance; whereupon, the Duke bid him venture it then and goe on, which he reſolutely did, and had the Caſtle preſently delivered up to him. In this meane time, the King hearing in what ſtate the Army ſtood, had prepared ſix thouſand men to be ſent to the Duke for a reliefe, under the leading of the Lord *Montjoy*; but before they could be put in order to paſſe the Sea, the Duke, partly by extremity of the weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Souldiers, was conſtrained to breake up his Army, and returne to *Callice*.

In this meane time, the *Scots* knowing that the ſtrength of *England* was gone into *France*, tooke boldneſſe to invade the Mariſhes; but then the Earle of *Surrey*, Treaſurer and high Admirall of *England*, with ſix thouſand men, being ſent againſt them, tooke divers of their Caſtles and Holds; and at *Tedworth*, skirmiſhing with a great Garriſon of *Scots*, overthrew them, and tooke and burned both the Towne and Caſtle. And now the *French* King finding that the *Scots* did not worke any great trouble to the *Engliſh*, whereby to keepe them from moleſting of *France*, and thinking it to be for want of the Duke of *Albanies* preſence, whom they accounted their Governour; he therefore prepared a Navie of Ships to tranſport him into *Scotland*; but when the Duke of *Albany* heard that Sir *William Fitz-williams* was ſent with a great Fleet to ſtop his paſſage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of *Breſt*, and gave it out that he would not goe into *Scotland* that yeere; which being told to the King of *England*, he commanded that his Ships alſo ſhould be laid up in Havens, till the next ſpring. And now ſee the cunning of the *Scot*; for when he ſaw the Kings Ships diſcharged, he then boldly tooke ſhipping himſelfe, and ſailed into *Scotland*, whither being come, he preſently levied a great Army, and approached the *Engliſh* Borders; but when he heard the Earle of *Surrey* was coming againſt him with a mighty power, he then ſent a Herauld to him, promiſing of his honour, to give him Battaile; and if he tooke him priſoner, to give him good quarter. To whom the Earle anſwered, that he would not faile to abide his Battaile; but if he tooke him priſoner, the quarter he would give him, ſhould be to cut off his head, and ſend it for a Preſent to his Maſter the King of *England*. At this time, to the Earle of *Surrey* being at *Alnewicke*, came the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle* and *Darcye*, with many Knights, Gentlemen and other Souldiers, to the number of forty thouſand; and from the Court, came the Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, and others. The laſt of *October*, the Duke of *Albanye* ſent two or three thouſand men over the water to beſiedge the Caſtle of *Warke*; who by battery of their Ordnance won the outermoſt Ward, called the *Barnekins*; and continuing their battery, won the ſecond Ward; but then Sir *William Liſle*, that was Captaine of the Caſtle, iſſuing forth with thoſe few he had left, drove the *French-men* from the place, and ſlew of them to the number of three hundred; a memorable ſervice, and for which the Earle of *Surrey* afterwards gave him great thankes. The Earle would gladly have followed his enemies into their owne Borders, but that his Commiſſion was onely to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after the Queene of *Scots*, Mother to the King, ſent to her Brother the King of *England*, for an abſtinence from Warre, till a further communication might be had; which being graunted, the *Engliſh* Army brake up, and the Earle of *Surrey* returned to the Court.

And now for a while we must be content to heare of petty Occurrances, because greater did not happen; which if it make us like the story the worse, it may make us like the times the better; seeing they are ever the best times that afford lest matter to be talked of: but this time will last but a while, for shortly we shall come to hear Occurrances, that have been matter of talke to this day, whereof the like have never scarce been seen, and will hardly be beleeved, when they are heard; a Marriage dissolved after twenty yeeres consummation; bourses built in Piety; under pretence of Piety demolished; a King made a captive; a Pope held a prisoner; Queenes taken out of love, put to death out of loathing; and the Church it selfe so shaken, that it hath stood in distraction ever since.

At this time, the Emperour *Charles* sent to the King of *England* two Mules trapped in crimson Velvet, richly embridered; also eleven goodly Jennits, trapped with russet Velvet, richly wrought; foure Speares and two Javelins of strange timber, and worke richly garnished; and five brace of Greyhounds. To the Queene he sent two Mules richly trapped and high Chaires after the *Spanish* fashion: which Presents were thankfully received both of the King and Queene.

At this time in the moneth of *October*, the Cardinall sent out Commissions, that every man being worth forty pounds, should pay the whole Subsidie before granted, out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: which fine new word, he thought would make them pay their money the more willingly; but they loved their money better then any words he could devise.

In this yeere the King sent the Lord *Morley*, Sir *William Hussey*, knight, and Doctor *Lee* his Almoner, to *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, with the Order of the Garter, which he received in the towne of *Norimberg*, to his great contentment.

In this yeere, through Bookes of Prognostications, foreshewing much hurt to come by waters and floods, many persons withdrew themselves to high grounds, for feare of drowning; specially one *Bolton*, Prior of Saint *Bartholomewes* in *Smithfield*, builded him an House upon Harrow on the Hill, and thither went and made provision for two moneths. These great waters should have fallen in *February*, but no such thing happening, the Astronomers excused themselves, by saying, that in the computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred yeeres.

In this meane time, many enterprises were attempted, betweene the *English men* of *Callice*, and *Guysnes*, and the *Frenchmen* of *Boulogne*, and the Frontiers of *Picardie*, and still Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Captaine of *Guysnes*, Sir *Robert Jernyngham*, Captaine of *Newnham* Bridge, Sir *John Wallop*, and Sir *John Gage*, were the men that did the *French* most hurt.

This yeere, the first of *September*, was Doctor *Thomas Hannibell* Master of the Rolles, received into *London*, by Earles, Bishops, and diverse Lords and Gentlemen, as Embassadours from Pope *Clement*: who brought with him, a Rose of gold for a present to the King: & on the day of the Nativity of our Lady after a solemne Masse sung by the Cardinall of *Yorke*, the said present was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with branches, leaves, and flowers resembling Roses.

About the beginning of Winter, the adventurers called *Krakers*, being not above two hundred, and of them, five and twenty horsmen, made an attempt to fetch some booty from a Village not farre from *Muttrell*, whereof the Earle of *Dammartine* having notice, he set upon them with a far greater number, and slew most of them, and this was the end of the *Krakers*, as brave men as ever served any Prince.

In *December* this yeere, there came to *London* diverse Embassadours, out of *Scotland*, about a peace to be had, and a marriage to be concluded, between the King of *Scots*, and the Lady *Mary* daughter to the King of *England*.

At this time, the Lord *Leonard Gray*, and the Lord *John Gray*, brothers to the Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, Sir *George Cobham* ſonne to the Lord *Cobham*, *William Carye*, Sir *John Dudley*, *Thomas Wyat*, *Francis Poynts*, *Francis Sidney*, Sir *Anthony Browne*, Sir *Edward Seymor*, *Oliver Manners*, *Percivall Hart*, *Sebaſtian Nudigate*, and *Thomas Calen*, Eſquires of the Kings Houſehold; made a challenge of Armes againſt the Feaſt of Chriſtmas, which was proclaimed by *Windſor* the Herauld, and performed at the time appointed very Nobly; at Tilts, Turneys, Barriars, and the aſſault of a Caſtle erected for that purpoſe, in the Tilt-yard at *Greenwich*, where the King held his Chriſtmas that yeer, with great State and magnificence.

About this time, *John Jokyn* Steward of the Houſehold to the *French* Kings Mother, came into *England*, and was received in ſecret manner into the Houſe of one Doctor *Clarke*, a Prebendary of Saint *Stephens*, who oftentimes talked with the Cardinall, about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; of whoſe often meetings, Monſieur *de Praet* the Emperours Embaſſadour, grew very jealous. The four and twentieth of *January*, Monſieur *Brynion* Preſident of *Roan*, came to *London* as Embaſſadour from the *French* King, and was lodged with the ſaid *John Jokyn*, which ſmall things ſhould not be related, but that they were preparatives to great matters afterward.

On Sunday the fifth of *March*, were received into *London* Monſieur *de Beuer* Lord of *Campher*, Admirall of *Flanders*, Monſieur *John de la Cooſe* Preſident of *Malines*, & Maſter *John de la Gaeba*, as Embaſſadours from the Lady *Margaret* in the name of the Emperour, who required three things. Firſt they demanded the Lady *Mary* the Kings only daughter, to be preſently delivered, and ſhe to be maried Empreſſe, and as Governeſſe take poſſeſſion of all the *Low-Countryes*. Secondly, that all ſuch ſummes of money as the King ſhould give with her in marriage, ſhould be paid incontinently. Thirdly, that the King of *England* ſhould paſſe the ſea in perſon, and make Warre in *France* the next Summer. The firſt two demands were not agreed too for certaine cauſes; and as to the third, the King ſaid, he would take time to advize. On Thurſday the ninth of *March*, a Gentleman came in Poſt from the Lady *Margaret*, with Letters ſignifying, that whereas the King of *France* had long lyen at the ſiege of *Pavia*; he had now been forced to raiſe his ſiege, and was himſelfe taken priſoner by the Imperialiſts; for joy whereof, Bonfires and great Triumph was made in *London*, and on the twentieth of *March* being Sunday, the King himſelfe came to *Pauls*, and there heard a ſolemne Maſſe. But for all this ſhew of joy, it was thought if the King of *France* had not now been taken priſoner; that the King of *England* would have joyned in amity with him, as being angry with the *Flemings*, for Inhaunſing his Coyne in *Flanders*, which cauſed much money to be conveyed out of *England* thither. The King of *France* being taken priſoner, was after ſome time conveyed into *Spaine*, and at laſt brought to *Madrill*, where he fell ſo ſicke, that the Phyſitians had little hope of his life, unleſſe the Emperour would be pleaſed ſpeedily to viſit him; upon whoſe viſitation he recovered his health, though not preſently his ſtrength. In which time, many propoſitions were made for his delivery, but the Emperour would accept of none, without reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Burgoigne*. At laſt, the *French* King weary of impriſonment, and longing for liberty, was content to agree to any condition; the chiefe whereof were, that the *French* King by a certaine day ſhould be ſet at liberty, and within ſix weeks after ſhould reſigne to the Emperour the Dutchy of *Burgoigne*, with all Members pertayning to it; and at the ſame inſtant, ſhould put into the Emperours hands, the *Dolphyn* of *France*, and with him, either the Duke of *Orleance* his ſecond ſonne: or elſe twelve principall Lords of *France*, whom the Emperour ſhould name; and that there ſhould be between them, a League and perpetuall confederation for defence of their eſtates. Of whoſe attonement when King *Henry* heard, as before he had expreſſed

expreſſed gladneſſe, that he was taken priſoner, ſo now he ſent Sir *Thomas Cheiney* to him, to expreſſe his joy for being ſet at liberty; ſo ſuddaine is the enterchange of love and hate amongſt great Princes. The *French* King being thus delivered, the Emperour married the Lady *Iſabel*, Daughter to *Emanuel* King of *Portingal*; and had with her in Dower eleven hundred thouſand Duckets, though three yeers before being at *Windſor*, he had covenanted to take to wife the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* Daughter.

At this time Cardinall *Woolſey* obtained licence of the King to erect a Colledge at *Oxford*, and another at *Ipſwich*; and towards the charge of them, got leave alſo, to ſuppreſſe certaine ſmall Monaſteries, to the number of forty; and after, got a confirmation of the Pope, that he might imploy the Goods and Lands belonging to thoſe Houſes, to the maintenance of thoſe two Colledges; a pernitious preſident, and that which made the King away afterward, to make a generall ſuppreſſion of all religious Houſes, though indeed there be great difference between converting of Moneſtaries into Colledges, and utter ſubverting them.

In *March* King *Henry* ſent *Cuthert Tunſtall* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Winkfield* Chancelour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* into *Spaine*, to conferre with the Emperour, about matters of great importance, and particularly about Warre to be made in *France*, and yet were theſe two Princes at this time in League: but he that ſhall obſerve the carriage of theſe three Princes towards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into Warre, and their Warre into Peace; ſhall finde it a ſtrange Riddle of *Ragion di ſtato*, and their Leagues to have been but meere complements, where the skale was turned with the leaſt graine of a circumſtance; and though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, ſeeing the League might be broken, and yet the Oath kept: for while one gave the occaſion, and the other took it, though they were both acceſſaries, yet neither was principall; and where there is not a principall, the Oath remains inviolate. And upon thoſe Hinges did the friend-ſhip of theſe Princes turne, as at this time; the Emperour, though not long before, he had parted with the King of *England*, in the greateſt kindneſſe that could be; yet gave not the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours ſo kinde entertainment now, as he had formerly done; but for what cauſe was not apparent, unleſſe upon ſome ſiniſter report made to him, by Monſieur *de Prat*; who having been his Ligier with the King of *England*, was without taking leave of the King departed, and come to the Emperour before the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours came.

But howſoever, King *Henry* being determined to make Warre in *France* himſelfe in perſon, his Councell fell into conſideration how the charge of the Warre ſhould be maintained: which care the Cardinall takes upon him; and thereupon appoints Commiſſioners in all Shiers, to ſit and draw the people to pay the ſixth part of every mans ſubſtance, in plate or money: but the people oppoſed it, alleadging that it was againſt the Law of the Realme, for any man to be charged with ſuch paymens, unleſſe by Parliament; and as the Cardinall continued to preſſe it, ſo the people continued to denye it; and when ſome for denying it were committed to priſon, the Commons in many Countryes, made great aſſemblies for their defence: the report whereof at laſt came to the King, who thereupon came to *Weſtminſter* and proteſted openly, that it was done without his knowledge, and that it was never his meaning, to aſk any thing of his Subjects but according to Law; and therefore deſired to know by whoſe Authority it was done. Here the Cardinall excuſed himſelfe and ſaid, that it was the opinion of all the Judges, and of all his Councell, that he might Lawfully demand any ſumme, ſo it were done by Commiſſion, and thereupon it was done. But the King liked not to take advantage of a diſtinction to draw money from his Subjects; and thereupon gave warning for doing any ſuch thing hereafter: and ſignified ſo much by his Letters into all the Shiers of Eng-

land,

land giving alſo a generall pardon to all that had offered to riſe upon it; which though he did of his owne free grace, yet the Cardinall to win a good opinion in the Commons, gave out, that it was by his meanes the King granted the pardon.

King *Henries* ſeventeenth yeer, was honoured with the advancing of many in honour, for on the eighteenth of *June*, at his Pallace of *Bridewell*, the Kings ſonne (which he had by *Elizibeth Blunt* daughter to Sir *John Blunt* Knight) called *Henry Fitz-Roy*, was created firſt Earl of *Nottingham*, and after on the ſame day Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, *Henry Courtney* Earle of *Devonſhire* was created Marquis of *Excetur*, the Lord *Brandon*, ſonne to the Duke of *Suffolke* and the *French* Queene (a child of two yeers old) was created Earle of *Lincolne*, Sir *Thomas Manners* Lord *Roſſe*, was created Earle of *Rutland*, Sir *Henry Clifford*, was created Earle of *Cunberland*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, was created Viſcount *Fitz-Water*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen* Treaſurer of the Kings Houſhold, was created Viſcount *Rochford*.

At this time the *French* Kings mother, as then Regent of *France*, procured by her Embaſſadours, at firſt a Truce, and afterward a peace with *England*, which was proclaimed in *London*, the eighth of *September*. By the covenants of which peace, the King of *England* ſhould receive at certaine dayes, twenty hundred thouſand Crowns, which in ſterling money amounted to the ſumme of foure hundred thouſand pound; whereof fifty thouſand was to be paid in hand. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* and Doctor *Talour*, was ſent to the Lady *Regent*, to take her corporall oath, and likewiſe King *Henry* the foure and twentieth of *Aprill*, at *Greenwich*, in preſence of the Embaſſadours of *France*, *Rome* and *Venice*, tooke his corporall oath, to obſerve the peace betweene him, and his loving brother the *French* King, during his life, and one yeer after.

In this winter was great mortality in *London*, ſo as the Terme was adjourned, and the King kept his Chriſtmas at *Eltham*, with a ſmall number, and was therfore called the ſtill Chriſtmas. At which time, the Cardinall comming to the Court, took order for alrering the ſtate of the Kings Houſe: many officers and other ſervants were diſcharged, and put to their penſions, in which number were foure ſcore and foure Yeomen of the Guard: who before having had twelve pence the day with check, were now allowed but ſix pence the day without check, and commanded to goe into their Countries.

On Shroveueſday this yeere, a ſolemne Juſts was held at *Greenwich*, the King and eleven other on the one part, the Marques of *Exeetur* and eleven other of the other part.

In his nineteenth yeer, King *Henry* kept a ſolemne Chriſtmas at *Greenwich*, with Revels, Maskes, diſguiſings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of *December* and third of *January* were ſolemne Juſts holden, when at night the King and fifteen other with him, came to *Bridewel*, and there putting on masking apparel, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinalls place, where were at ſupper many Lords and Ladyes, who danced with the maskers, and after the dancing was made a great Banquet. This Chriſtmas was a play at *Grayes-Inne*, made by one Maſter *Roe* a Sergiant at Law, the effect whereof was, that Lord *Gouvernance* was ruled by diſſipation and negligence, by whoſe evill order Lady *Publick-Weale* was put from governance. This the Cardinall took to be meant by him, and therupon ſent the ſaid Maſter *Roe* to the Fleet, though the Play were made long before the Cardinall had any authority: by which we may ſee how inſeperable a companion ſuſpition is to a guilty conſcience.

The fourteenth of *January* came to the Court *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, a *Grande* of *Spaine*, as Embaſſadours from the Emperour to the King, with a large commiſſion, to make King *Henry* Judge; how juſt the conditions were, which the Emperour required of the King of *France*, and about this negotiation tarried two yeers in *England*, ſo deſirous the Emperour was to continue good correſpondence with the King of *England*.

On

On *Shrovetuesday* the King and the Maqueſſe of *Exceſter* with others, in moſt ſumptuous attire came to the Tilt, and ran ſo many courſes, till two hundred foureſcore and ſix Speares were broken; and then diſarming themſelves went into the Queenes Chamber, where a ſumptuous Banquet was provided. But this Banquet was one of the laſt of the Queenes preparing; for hitherto there had been no exception taken to the lawfulneſſe of her marriage, but now came over Embaſſadours from the King of *France*, requiring to have the Kings Daughter the Lady *Mary*, to be given in marriage to the Duke of *Orleance* ſecond Sonne to their Maſter the *French* King, wherein they that were the ſuitors for it, were the hinderers of it; for amongſt them was the Preſident of *Paris*, who made a doubt, whither the marriage betweene King *Henry* and the Lady *Katherin* of *Spaine*, having been his Borthers wife, were lawfull or no: But howſoever, the *French* Embaſſadours at *Greenwich* on Sunday the fifth of *May*, in the name of their Maſter the *French* King, took their Oathes to obſerve the League concluded betweene them during their lives. And ſhortly after were ſent Sir *Thomas Bullen* Viſcount *Rochford*, and Sir *Anthony* Browne Knight, as Embaſſadours to the King of *France*, to take his Oath in perſon for performance of the League.

But enough of ſmall Occurrances, and indeed there will be Occurrances now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard; for now the Duke of *Bourbon* Generall of the Emperours Army in *Italie*, was ſlaine by a ſhot from the Walls of *Rome*, as he was paſſing by; upon whoſe death, the Army entred and ſacked the City, made the Pope flye to the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*, and there cooped him up; abuſed the Cardinals, and put them to grievous ranſomes, ſpared neither Sacred places, nor Religious perſons, but committed all manner of barbarous and inhumaine cruelty. Theſe inſolencies of the Emperours Army committed againſt the Pope; together with the hard conditions the Emperour had impoſed upon the King of *France*, for ſetting him at liberty; and the Emperours breach of promiſe, in not marrying the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* Daughter, were the apparent cauſes of King *Henries* breaking League with the Emperour *Charles*: but a more enforcing though concealed cauſe perhaps was the growing greatneſſe of the Emperour, by his acqueſts in *Italie* and other places; enough to breed a jealouſie in all neighbouring Princes; and indeed King *Henry* had ſome cauſe to thinke the Emperours ſpirits were grown higher with his Victories, ſeeing where before he was wont alwayes to write letters to King *Henry* with his own hand, and ſubſcribe them, your ſon and faithfull friend, now after his Victories in *Italie*, he cauſed his Secretaries to write them, ſubſcribing only *Charles*. And yet a more preſſing cauſe though not avowed, might be the Cardinalls ſpleene againſt the Emperour, for denying him the Biſhopricke of *Toledo* in *Spaine*. But which ſoever of theſe was the predominant cauſe, all of them together made a cauſe ſufficient for King *Henry* to fall off from amity with the Emperour; and his falling off from the Emperour, cauſe ſufficient to fall in with the King of *France*: and thereupon, the two Kings ſend their ſeverall Heraulds to the Emperour: King *Henry Clarentius*, the *French* King his Herauld *Guyen*, to expoſtulate their grievances with the Emperour, and he refuſing to returne a ſatisfactory anſwer, to defie him as their enemy. The Emperour heard the Heraulds with great temper, and anſwered *Clarentius* very mildely; that he knew his Maſters grievance was grounded upon miſinformation, wherein he would ſhortly rectifie him by his Letters, as deſiring nothing more then to continue his friend; but *Guyen* her anſwered rougly, bidding him tell his Maſter that he had broken his faith, in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his liberty; and with theſe anſwers diſmiſſed them, only *Guyen* not thinking it fit to deliver his anſwer, being in ſuch termes by word of mouth, obtained to have it ſent in writing. The Heraulds being returned home, and delivering the anſwers; the King of *France* was ſo incenſed, to be charged with breach of faith, that ſoone after he ſent

another

another defiance to the Emperour, telling him in plaine tearmes, that he lyed in his throat; and thereupon challenged him the Combate, requiring him to appoint the field, and himselfe would the weapons. The Emperour accepted the chalenge, but other occurrances intervening, hindred the performance.

In this meane time, the Cardinall was appointed to go Embassadour to the King of *France*; carrying with him twelve score thousand pounds, to be employed by the *French* King, and other the confederates; in a Warre against the Emperour, who the eleventh of *July* took shipping at *Dover*, and landed that day at *Callice*; with whom was *Cuthert Tunstall* Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Sands* Chamberlaine to the King, the Earle of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, sir *Thomas Moore*, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the number of twelve hundred horse. At *Amynes* he was received by the *French* King himselfe, and by his Mother, and by all the chiefe Peers of *France*. By whom it was agreed, that Articles of Accord should be offered to the Emperour; which if he refused, then the *French* King should marry the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* Daughter, and they both to be enemies to the Emperour. These things concluded, the Cardinall returned, and on the last of *September* came to the King at *Richmond*. In *October* following, there came Embassadours from the *French* King, to take King *Henries* Oath, for observing the League with the King of *France*: and on Sunday the tenth of *November*, King *Henry* at *Greenwich* received the Order of Saint *Michael*, by the hands of the Lord *Annas de Memorancye* great Master of the Kings Household; and Monsieur *Humieres*: as likewise the same day at *Paris* the *French* King received the Order of the Garter by the hands of the Lord *Lisle*, Doctor *Taylor* Master of the Roles, Sir *Nicholas Carew* Master of the Kings horse, Sir *Anthony Browne* and Sir *Thomas Wriothsly* Knight, otherwise called Garter king of Armes, who were sent thither with the whole Habit, Coller and other habiliments of the Order.

Upon King *Henries* defiance of the Emperour in the *French* Kings quarrell, *English* Merchants their ships and goods were attached in *Spaine*, and in the *Low Countries*, as likewise all *Spanish* & *Flemish* Merchants were attached here; which being very detrimentall to both Nations; at last, by mediation of *Hugo de Mendoza*, the Emperours Embassadour Legier, a reconcilement was made, and free traffique betweene the Nations was revived.

In this twentieth yeer, on the two and twentieth of *February*: Sir *Piers Butler* of *Ireland*, was created Earl of *Oscry*. And now King *Henry* began to be troubled in mind about his marriage with Queen *Katherin*; but whether his trouble of minde grew for scruple of conscience, or from desire of change, was by many men doubted; some thought he had set his affection upon the Lady *Anne Bullen* whom afterward he maried, and to make way for that mariage, moved his scruple, that he might be divorced; but this is not likely, for he maried not the said Lady, til above three yeers after this doubt had bin moved; and three yeers was a long time to have affection be delaid, which comonly is impatient of any delay: if King *Henries* own protestation may be taken, it was very scruple of conscience that troubled his mind; but then by what meanes this scruple came first into his head, is another doubt; some thought it was first moved by his confessor, Doctor *Longland* telling him, that the mariage with the relict of his Brother, could not be lawful; but neither is this likely, for Doctor *Longland* was not like to tel him so, who knew the mariage had been made by dispensation from the Pope, an authority in that time beyond exception; some thought it was a plot of *Woolseis*, thereby to make variance between King *Henry* and the Emperour, with whom he was at varience himself, and for spleen to the Nephew, he revenged upon the Aunt; but neither is this likely: or els the Cardinall was much deceived in his plot; for though the Emperor laboured *Milan* and some other Universities, to forbeare giving sentence against the mariage, yet he continued amity with King *Henry*, as much afterward as before; if we wil beleeve the King himself, it was the President of *Paris*, comming Embassadour from the King of *France*, that first

moved it, upon a propoſition of marriage betweene the Lady *Mary*, King *Henries* daughter, and the Duke of *Orleance*, ſecond ſonne to the *French* King: but by what meanes his ſcruple had beginning, King *Henries* deſire was now it ſhould have an ending, and that the matter might be debated with indifferency; he allowed the Queene to make choyce of what councell ſhe thought beſt; who thereupon choſe *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Nicholas weſt* Biſhop of *Elye*, Doctors of the Law; *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of Saint *Aſſaph*, Doctors of Divinity, with many other; and in the mean time, ſent to all the Vniverſities in *Italie* & *France* to have their opinions, but ſpecially to the Court of *Rome*, deſiring the Pope to ſend his Legat to hear the cauſe; who thereupon ſent Cardinall *Campeius*, and joyned Cardinall *Woolſey* in Commiſſion with him. The place appointed for the Cardinalls to ſit and to heare the cauſe, was at the *Black-friers*: where in the great Hall preparation was made of ſeats, and all things neceſſary for ſuch a ſeſſion. Amongſt other Officers of the Court, *Stephen Gardiner* (afterward Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) ſate as chiefe ſcribe. The Court being ſet, the Judges commanded ſilence, whilſt their Commiſſion was read; which done, the Scribes commanded the Cryer to call the King, by the name of King *Henry* of *England*, come into the Court; who anſwered, Here: then called he the Queen, by the name of *Katherine* Queen of *England*, come into the Court: the Queen though preſent, yet anſwered not, but riſing from her ſeat, went to the place where the King ſat, and kneeling down, ſaid in effect; Sir, I humbly deſire you to take pity upon me, for I am a poor woman & a ſtranger, & have here no indifferent Councel, where all are your Subjects, and leſſe aſſurance of friendſhip when they all depend upon your favour; I have bin your wife theſe twenty yeers, and have borne you divers children, if you can charge me with diſhoneſty or undutifulneſſe, I am content to depart from you to my ſhame; but if you cannot, I then deſire you to do me juſtice, and to ſpare me untill I may know what councel my friends in *Spain* will give me; but if you will not, then your pleaſure be fulfilled: and having ſo ſaid, ſhe roſe up, and making a low curſie, departed. The King being advertiſed that ſhe was going out of the Houſe, commanded the Cryar to call her again; who there upon called her, ſaying, *Katherine* Queen of *England* come into the Court, which her Gentleman-uſher Maſter *Griffith* hearing, told her, Madam, you are called; wel (ſaid ſhe) it makes no matter, I will not tarry, go your way: and thus ſhe departed, and never after would appear in any Court, but appealed from the Cardinals to the Pope himſelfe. The Queen being gone, the King ſaid, I confeſſe ſhe hath bin to me, the moſt dutifull and loving wife, that ever Prince had; and if it were not for this ſcruple of my conſcience, I would not leave her for any woman living: and having now referred the judgement of the cauſe to theſe Commiſſioners, I ſhould be moſt glad they could finde the marriage betweene us to be in ſuch ſort lawfull, that with obedience to the Law of God, we might continue together; for I take God to witneſſe, there is nothing I more deſire. This ſaid, the King roſe, and the Court was adjourned to another day; for notwithſtanding the Queens Appeal (from which ſhe would by no meanes be drawn) the Cardinals continued their Seſſion weekly, & heard all of both ſides: the Point that was chiefly ſtood on, was, whether Prince *Arthur* had ever had carnall knowledg of her, or no; the Kings Councell alleadged, he had, and proved it; firſt, by Prince *Arthurs* ſpeech, the nexr morning after his mariage, that he had bin that night in the midſt of *Spain*; and then by the words of the laſt Diſpenſation, *Vel forſan Cognitam*: the Queens Advocates alleadged the contrary; appealing to the Kings owne conſcience; whom the Queene charged that he knew her to be a Virgin when he married her; (though, to ſay the truth, it were ſtrange, Prince *Arthur* and ſhe having lyen five moneth together, and hee no leſſe then almoſt ſixteene yeeres old.) But whileſt Argumetns were thus urged on both ſides, and no certainty could appeare; the King ſent the two Cardinals to the Queene, lying then in *Bridewell*, to

perſwade

perſwade her, ſhe ſhould ſubmit her ſelfe to the *Kings* pleaſure, and not ſtand ſo peremptorily to her Appeale. The Cardinals coming to her found her at work amongſt her Maids, with a skaine of white thred about her necke: who having heard their meſſage, anſwered, That in all other things ſhe would willingly ſubmit her ſelfe to the *Kings* will, but in this which concerned her honeſty, and the legitimateneſſe of her children, ſhe durſt not, but would relye upon the wiſdom and pietie of both their Fathers, who (ſhe knew) would never have aſſented to the marriage, if there had bin the leaſt ſcruple of unlawfulneſſe in it; and other anſwer ſhe would not give. Upon their returne to the King, when he perceived ſhe could not be removed from her opinion; he commanded the Court to goe on; ſo that at laſt it came to judgement, which every man expected ſhould be the next day. At which day the King came thither (but in ſo ſecret manner that he might heare and not be ſeene) where the Kings Councell at the Barre calling for Judgement; Cardinall *Campeius*, as being chiefe Commiſſioner, ſtood up and ſaid; I finde the caſe very doubtfull, and the party Defendant ſtanding to her Appeale, I will therefore give no Judgement, till I have conferred with the Pope; and therefore I adjourne the Court for this time, according to the order of the Court of *Rome*, which heares no Cauſes judicially from the laſt of *July* till the fourth of *October*; at which protraction of time, King *Henry* was not a little angry, and the Duke of *Suffolk* being preſent, in a great rage ſaid; it was never merry in *England*, ſince we had Cardinals amongſt us. Soon after this, the Cardinall tooke his leave of the King, and returned to *Rome*: he was indeed commanded ſo to doe by the Pope, who would elſe moſt willingly have gratified *King Henry*, that had beſtowed upon him the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*. Whilſt theſe things were in acting, Cardinall *Woolſey* had an inkling of the Kings affection to *Anne Bullen*, daughter of the Viſcount *Rochford*; and that the Divorce once paſſed, he ment to marry her; which Match, becauſe for many reaſons, he miſliked; one perhaps, becauſe ſhe was a *Lutheran*, he ſent privily to the Pope, that by no means he ſhould give ſentence for the Divorce, till he had framed the Kings minde another way; for his deſire was, that the King ſhould marry the Dutcheſſe of *Alanſon*, the *French* Kings ſiſter. This packing of *Woolſey* was not ſo cloſely carried, but that it ſoone came to the Kings knowledge; and the King finding him a rubbe in his way, whom he expected to have expedited his proceeding, began to thinke it neceſſary to remove him, and to take him off from that greatneſſe which had made him ſo preſuming; and indeed he made ſhort worke with him; for ſoone after he ſent the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* to him for the Seale, which yet he would not deliver to them, till they brought him a Warrant under the Kings owne hand. When the Seale was brought to the King, he delivered it to Sir *Thomas Moore*, Speaker then of the Parliament (the firſt Lay-man that bore that Office in any memory;) and in his roome was choſen Speaker *Thomas Audley*, Attourney of the Dutchie. *Woolſey* now removed from his Chauncellourſhip; was in the Parliament then holden, charged with points of treaſon; but that charge was ſo cleerely taken off by his ſervant *Thomas Cromwell*, who was then of the Houſe, that the Cardinall was acquitted, to the great commendation of *Cromwell*, both for abilities in himſelfe, and faithfulneſſe to his Maſter.

After this, the *King* being informed, that all thoſe things which the Cardinall had done by his power Legantine, were within the caſe of Præmenire; he cauſed his Attourney *Chriſtopher Hales* to ſue out a Præmunire againſt him; and thereupon the two Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* were ſent unto him, to let him know, the Kings pleaſure was, he ſhould goe to *Aſher*, a Houſe neere to *Hampton-Court*, belonging to his Biſhopricke of *Winchester*, and there to reſide: whereupon, the Cardinall having firſt delivered up all his Moveables to the Kings uſe; (the greateſt ſtore and richeſt that was ever knowne of any Subject) went preſently to *Putney* by water,

water, and from thence rode to *Asher*, where he and his Family continued three or foure weekes, without either Bed, Sheetes, Table-loathes or Dishes to eat their meat in, or money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Bishop of *Carlile*. After this, his matter for the Præmunire being called upon in the Kings Bench, his two Atturnies confessed the Action, and thereupon had Judgement to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the Kings protection; but the King of his clemency, sent him a sufficient Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of *Yorke* and *Winchester*, with Plate and stuffe convenient for his dignity. His Bishopricke of *Duresme* was given to Doctor *Tunstall*, Bishop of *London*; his Abbey of Saint *Albans* to the Prior of *Norwich*, and the Bishopricke of *London* to Doctor *Stokesley*, Embassadour then beyond the Seas.

In this meane while, *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Savoy*, aunt to the Emperour, and the Lady *Loyse* Dutchesse of *Angoulesme*, Mother to the *French* King, met at *Cambray* to treat of a Peace between the Emperor, the Pope and the Kings of *England* and *France*, where were present Doctor *Tunstall* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, then Chancelour of the Dutchie of *Lancaster*, Commissioners for the King of *England*: after long debating, through the diligence of the said Ladies, a Peace was concluded; and was thereof called, The Womans Peace; and was indeed as fickle as women, for it was soone broken, and neither of the Princes trusted the other ere the more for it.

King *Henry* before this time had beene wholly ruled by the Cardinall and by the Clergie, but now growing sensible of that errour, he called his high Court of Parliament; in which the Commons complained sharply of their grievances against the Clergie, specially in six things.

The first, for that they exacted unreasonable summes of money, as due fees, for the probate of mens last Wils and Testaments *: in so much, that Sir* Henry Guildford *Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the Kings House declared openly, that he and others being Executers to Sir* William Compton; *payed for the probate of his Will to the Cardinall, and the Archbishop of* Canterbury *a thousand markes.*

The second, the extreame exaction, which spirituall men used in taking of corps, or mortuaries.

The third, that spirituall men became Farmours of great Granges and Farmes: to the prejudice of Husbandmen and Graziers.

The fourth, because many Abbots, *Pryors, and other spirituall men, kept Tan-houses, and bought and sold wooll, cloath, and other wares, as temporall Merchants.*

The fifth, because such Clergy men as had the best livings, would take the uttermost of their right, and yet live in the Court or in Noble mens or Bishops houses, where they spent nothing.

The sixth, because diverse ignorant men amongst them, held ten or twelve Benifices to themselves severally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great schollers at small pension.

These things before this time might not be touched, because the Bishops were Chancelours, and had all the rule about the King: but now the King looking better into the matter, gave way to these complaints: whereupon the Burgesses drew up three Bils; one of the probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries: and the third, for Non-residence, pluralities, and taking of farmes by spirituall men. The bill of Mortuaries, passed first the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords: within two dayes after, was sent up the Bill of probate of Testaments, at which the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the Bishops much frowned, but specially *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* who rose up and said; my Lords, you see what Bills come dayly from the Common House, and all is to the destruction of the Church, for Gods sake, consider what a realme *Bohemia* was, and when the Church went downe, then fell the glory of that Kingdome.

Now

Now with our Commons is nothing but downe with the Church; and all this mee ſeemeth, is for lacke of faith onely. When theſe words were reported to the Houſe of Commons, they tooke the matter very hainouſly, and thereupon ſent their ſpeaker *Thomas Audeley*, with thirty of the Houſe, to the King, complayning what a diſhonour to the King and to the whole Realme it was to ſay, that they which were elected for the wiſeſt men of all Shires, ſhould be charged to lack faith, which was all one as to ſay, they were Infidels and no Chryſtians, ſo as what Acts or Laws ſoever they made ſhould be taken as Laws made by *Paynims* and *Heathen*, and not worthy to be kept by Chriſtian men. And therfore humbly beſought his Majeſty, to call the ſaid Biſhop of *Rocheſter* before him, to give accompt of the words he had ſpoken. Wherupon within few daies after, the King ſent for the Biſhop, and acquainted him with the Commons complaint againſt him; who excuſed himſelfe, by ſaying he meant the doings of the *Bohemians* was for lack of faith, and not the doings of the Houſe of Commons; of which excuſe, the King ſent word to the Houſe by Sir *William Fitz-williams* Treaſurer of his houſhold, but it pleaſed the Commons nothing at all. After divers meetings between the Lords and the Commons, about the Bils of probate of Teſtaments and Mortuaries, the temporalty laid to the ſpiritualty their owne lawes and conſtitutions, and the ſpiritualty defended them, by preſcription and uſage; to whom a Gentleman of *Grayſ-Inne* made this anſwer, the uſage hath ever been of theeves, to robbe on ſhooters hill; is it therefore lawfull? whilſt theſe Bils were in debate, an Act was paſſed, which releaſed to the King all ſuch ſummes of money as he had borrowed at the Loane, in the fifteenth yeere of his Reigne; which Bill at firſt was much oppoſed, but the moſt part of the Houſe being the Kings ſervants, it was at laſt aſſented to, which once knowne in the Country abroad, made much murmering, and the Parliament to be ill ſpoken of; for every man counted it as a ſure debt, ſo as ſome made their Wils of the money, and ſome turned it over in ſatisfaction to their creditours. To qualifie which grievance, the King granted a generall pardon for all offences (certaine excepted) and was a meanes alſo to have the three Bils paſſed; one for probate of Teſtaments, another for Mortuaries; and the third, againſt plurality of Benefices; Non-reſidence, buying and taking of farmes by ſpiritual perſons, though this laſt with ſome qualifying.

During this Parliament, the King created Viſcount *Rochford*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, the Vicount *Fitz-Water* Earle of *Suſſex*, and the Lord *Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington*.

By this time, the Lords of the upper Houſe, had drawne certaine Articles againſt the Cardinall, and ſent them downe to the Houſe of Commons, the chiefe wherof were theſe.

Firſt, that without the Kings aſſent, he hath procured himſelfe to be made a Legat, by reaſon whereof he tooke away the right of all Biſhops and ſpirituall perſons.

Secondly, that in all his writings which he wrote to Rome, *or to any foraign Prince he wrote* Ego et Rex meus, *I and my King; ſo preferring himſelfe before the King.*

Thirdly, that without the Kings aſſent, hee carried the great Seale of England *with him into* Flanders.

Fourthly, that having the French-pox, he preſumed to come and breath upon the King.

Fifthly, that he cauſed the Cardinals-hat to be put upon the Kings Coyne.

Sixthly, that he would not ſuffer the Kings Clerke of the Market to ſit at Saint Albanes.

Seventhly, that he had ſent infinite ſtore of treaſure to Rome, *for purchaſing of his dignity.*

Theſe Articles were read in the Houſe, and if not otherwiſe proved, yet confeſſed

feſſed afterward under the Cardinals owne hand, which added to the former Præmunire; all his Lands and goods were ſeized on to the Kings uſe.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to *Greenwich*, and there kept his Chriſtmas with his Queene *Katherine* in great ſtate; for though this matter of making void the marriage between them, was hotly purſued by the King, yet abſtaining onely from her bed, he converſed with her ſtill, and they kept Court together, in as loving manner as they had done before. And now King *Henry* underſtanding that the Pope and the Emperour was to meet at *Bologna*, he ſent Embaſſadours thither, the Earle of *Wiltſhire*, Doctor *Stokeſley* Elect of *London*, and Doctor *Lee*, to declare both to the Pope and to the Emperour, the opinions of divers learned men in the matter of his Marriage; who all agreed that it was againſt the Law of God; and thereupon requiring the Pope to doe him Juſtice; and ſhewing to the Emperour, that the King moved this matter for diſcharge of his Conſcience onely, and to no other end. To which the Pope anſwered, that when he came to *Rome*, he would heare the matter diſputed, and doe the King right. The Emperour anſwered, that he would in no caſe be againſt the Law of God, and if this marriage were Judged ſuch by the Court of *Rome*, he would reſt contented: with theſe Anſwers the Embaſſadours returned.

It was now the two and twentieth yeere of King *Henries* reigne, when the Emperour gave to the Maſter of Saint *Johns* of *Hieruſalem* the Iſland of *Maltas*, in ſupplying of the Iſland of *Rodes*, which the *Turke* ſometime before had won from that Order.

In this yeere, the New Teſtament having beene Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by *Tindall*, *Joy*, and others, was forbidden to be read; and many for reading it, were ſharply puniſhed by command of the Biſhops and Sir *Thomas Moore* then Lord Chancellour; but none was more violent in the matter then the Biſhop of *London*, who cauſed all the Bookes to be brought into *Pauls* Church-yard, and there burned.

King *Henry* having heard by good information, that when *Campeius* was ſent Legat into *England*, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce; but was afterward upon change of the Popes mind, commanded to burne it; ſaw plainly by this, that the Pope had no meaning of proceeding really in the matter, but to keepe it a foot for his owne ends; neither to diſpleaſe the Empour by granting it, nor King *Henry* by not granting it, but promiſing expedition to keepe him in expectance; yet uſing delayes to keepe him in dependance; and therefore reſolved now to take ſuch a courſe, that he ſhould not need to care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, that no perſon of what eſtate or condition ſoever ſhould Purchaſe, or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of *Rome*, any thing prejudiciall to the Juriſdiction, or Prerogative of this his Realme, upon paine of impriſonment, and other puniſhments at his Graces pleaſure; and ſhortly after an Act was made, that Biſhops ſhould pay no more Annats, or money for Buls to the Pope; for as much as it was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of Biſhops, ſince the fourth yeere of King *Henry* the ſeventh, an hundred and threeſcore thouſand pounds, beſides what had been paid for Pardons and other diſpenſations. Another Act was then alſo made, that no perſon, ſhould appeale for any cauſe, out of this Realme to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commiſſary to the Biſhop, and from the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop, and from the Archbiſhop to the King: and all Cauſes of the King, to be tried in the upper Houſe of the Convocation.

At this time, the Cardinall lying ſtill at *Aſher*, and his Adverſaries doubting leaſt lying ſo neare the King, he might one time or other get acceſſe to the Kings preſence, and come againe into favour; they uſing meanes to have him ſent further off, and thereupon the King appointed him to goe to his Dioceſſe of *Yorke*, and not to come Southward without ſpeciall licence; whereupon

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in Lent he made great preparation for his journey, and having in his traine to the number of an hundred and threescore persons: by easie journeyes came to *Peterborrow*, and there kept his Easter; the weeke after he went to *Stamford* then to *Newark*, and so to *Southwell*, where he continued most part of all that summer: and then rode to *Scroby*, where he staid till Michaelmas and then came to *Cawood* Castle, within seaven miles of *Yorke* where he kept a plentifull house for al commers: and repaired the Castle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily wages. At last, he determined to be installed at *Yorke*, the next Munday after Alhallan-day; against which time great preparation was made, and the Cardinall sent to the King, to lend him the Miter and Pall, which he used to wear at any great solemnity. At which presumption the King marvailed not a little; saying to those that were about him, what a thing is this, that pride should thus reigne in a man that is quite under foot? but before the day of Instalment came; he was arrested in this manner; Sir *walter walsh* one of the Kings Privy-chamber, was sent downe to the Earle of *Northumberland*, with whom he was joyned in Commission to arrest the Cardinall; whereupon they goe together to *Cawood*, where the Cardinall lay: and being entred into the house, it was told the Cardinall, that the Earle of *Northumberland* was come, and in the Hall; then (quoth the Cardinall) I am sorry wee have dined, for I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good cheere. With that, he went and brought the Earle up, welcomming him in a complementall manner, as if he had come but onely to visit him: but being come into the Chamber, the Earle with a soft voyce, laying his hand upon the Cardinals arme, said; My Lord, I arrest you of high treason: the Cardinall somewhat astonied, asked to see his Commission, which the Earle denying to shew; then (saith the Cardinall) I will not obey your arrest; at that instant Master *walsh* came in, and kneeled downe to the Cardinall; who asked him if he were joyned in Commission with the Earle; who answered, he was: well then, said the Cardinall, I trow you are one of the Kings Privie Chamber, your name is *walsh*; I am content to yeeld to you, but not to my Lord of *Northumberland*, unlesse I see his Commission: the meaneſt of the Kings Privie-chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest Peere of the Realme, by the Kings commandement, without any Commission. Then the Earle took the Cardinals keyes from him, and put him in custody of his Gentlemen: some few dayes after, he was conveyed from *Cawood* to *Pomfret*, and after to *Sheffield* Parke, where he had kinde entertainment, and staid with the Earle of *Shrewsbury* and his Lady eighteene dayes; till at last sitting one day at dinner, his colour was observed to change, and being asked how he did; not well (saith he) I have something suddenly at my stomacke, as cold as a whetstone, which I know is winde; I desire to have something from the Apothecary, to breake winde; which was brought, and the Earle seeing the say taken, he tooke it, and thereupon broke winde indeed; but whether it were he tooke it in too great a quantity, or that there was some foule play used, he fell soone after into such a looseneſſe, that the night following he had above fifty stooles; yet the next day he rode to *Nottingham*, and the day after to *Leicester* Abbey; being so sicke by the way, that he was ready to fall off his Mule; comming to the Abby gates, the Abbot with all the Covent met him; to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my bones among you; and then was led up into his chamber, and went to bed; where growing sicker and sicker; the next morning Master *Kingston* Lievtenant of the Tower, who had beene sent to bring him up, comming to him, and asking him how he did; I doe but tarry. (saith he) the pleasure of God, to render up my poore foule into his hands; for this is my case, I have a flux with a continuall feaver, the nature whereof is, that if there be no amendment within eight dayes, either excoriation of the entrailes will ensue, or frenzie, or else present death; and the best of them is death; and (as I suppose) this is the eight day. Sir (said Master *Kingston*) you are afraid of that you have no cause; for

for I assure you, the King commanded me to say unto you, that you should be of good cheere, for that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did; No, no (Master *Kingston*) said the Cardinall, I see how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my gray hayres; but it is a just reward for my study to doe him service, not regarding the service of God, to doe him pleasure; and having so said, his speech failed, and incontinent the clock struk eight, and then he gave up the Ghost; which made some about him to remember, how he had said the day before: that at eight of the clock they should loose their master. Being dead, he was buried in the Abby of *Leicester*. This man held at once the Bishopricks of *Yorke*, *Winchester*, and *Durham*, the dignities of Lord Cardinall Legat and Chancelour of *England*, the Abbey of Saint *Albans*, diverse Priories, and sundry great Benefices in *Commendam*: he had also in his hands, as it were in Farme, the Bishoprick of *Bath*, *Worcester* and *Hereford*, which having beene given by King *Henry* the seventh to strangers, that lived out of the Realme, they suffered *Woolsey* to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension onely. The Retinue of this Prelate is scarce credible, a thousand persons daily in his household, of whom many Knights and some Lords; all which greatnesse as it came by the Kings favour, so by the withdrawing of his favour, it was overthrowne: so true is that saying of *Salomon*, *The Kings favour is as dew upon the grasse; but his wrath is as the roaring of a Lion, and as a messenger of death.* After this the King removed from *Hampton-Court* to *Greenwich*, where with his Queene *Katherine* he kept a solemne Christmas, and on twelfth night he sat in state in the Hall, where was divers Enterludes, costly Masques, and a sumptuous Banquet. After Christmas he came to his Mannor of *Westminster*, which before was called *Yorke Place*; for the Cardinall had made a Feoffment of it to the King, which the Chapter of *Yorke* confirmed, and then it was no more called *Yorke Place*, but the Kings *Mannor of Westminster*, now *Whitehall*.

At this time the whole Clergie of *England* was charged by the Kings learned Councell, to be in a Præmunire, for supporting and maintaining the Cardinals Legatine power, and were thereupon called by Processe into the Kings Bench to answer; but before their day of Appearance came, they in their Convocation concluded an humble submission in writing, and offered the King an hundred thousand pound to have their pardon by Parliament; which offer, after some labour, was accepted, and their pardon promised. In which submission the Clergie called the King supreame Head of the Church. This Pardon was signed with the Kings hand, and sent to the Lords, who assented to it; and then sent it to the Lower House: but here, divers of the House excepted against the Pardon, unlesse themselves also might be included in it; who (they said) having had something to doe with the Cardinall, might be brought into the same case as the Clergie were. Hereupon their Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, with a convenient number of the House, was sent to the King about it; to whom the King made answer, that he was their Soveraigne Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his mercy; and seeing they went about to restraine him of his liberty, he would grant a Pardon to the Clergie, which he might doe by his great Seale without them; and for their Pardon, he would be advised before he granted it: with this Answer the Speaker and Commons returned, much grieved and discontented; and some said that *Thomas Cromwell*, who was newly come into the Kings favour, had disclosed the secrets of the House, which made the King give this unpleasing Answer. But soon after the King of his own accord, caused their Pardon also to be drawn, and signed it; which easily passed both Houses, with great commendation of the Kings judgement, to denie it at first when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it was received as of grace.

In this Parliament time, on the thirtieth of *March*, Sir *Thomas Moore* Lord Chancellour, with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquain-

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ting them, that though in the matter of the Kings Divorce, he might ſufficiently reſt upon the judgement of learned men in his owne Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, yet to avoid all ſuſpicion of parciality, he had ſent into *France*, *Italy*, the Popes Dominions, and the *Venetians*, to have their opinions; and then cauſing them to be read, Sir *Bryan Tuke* tooke out of a box certaine writings ſealed, which were the determinations of the Univerſities of *Orleance*, of *Paris*, of *Anjou*, of *Burges*, of *Bolonia*, of *Padua*, and of *Thoulouſe*: all which were peremptory in theſe two Points; that the Brother, by the Law of God, might not marry the Relict of his brother; and then, being againſt the law of God, that it is not in the power of the Pope to diſpence with it: and now (ſaid they) you may know, that the King hath not ſought this Divorce for his pleaſure, but for diſcharge of his conſcience; and this ſaid, they departed. The King himſelfe, when he heard of theſe determinations, was ſo farre from rejoycing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the loſſe of ſo good a wife; yet he converſed with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but in abſtaining from her bed. But being willing the Queene ſhould know theſe Determinations; in Whitſonweeke after, he ſent divers Lords to acquaint her with them; requiring her thereupon to recall her Appeale, and to refer the matter to eight indifferent Lords; which ſhe utterly refuſed, uſing her uſuall Anſwer, that ſhe was his lawfull wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court of *Rome*, but of no other. After Whitſontide, the King and Queen removed to *Windſor*, and there continued till the fourteenth of *July*, on which day the King removed to *Woodſtocke* and left the Queen at *Windſor*, where ſhe remained a while, and after removed to *Eaſthamſted*, whither the King ſent to her divers Lords, firſt to perſwade her to be conformable to the law of God; which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his pleaſure was, ſhe ſhould be at either of theſe three places, his Mannor of *Oking*, or of *Eaſt-hamſtead*, or the Monaſtery of *Biſham*, and there to continue without further moleſting him with her ſuits.

And now came *Cranmer* in to play his part. It chanced that Doctor *Stephens*, Doctor *Foxe* and he met at *Waltham* one day at dinner; where falling into diſcourſe, about the caſe then in agitation, of the Kings mariage with Queene *Katherine*; the other Doctors thought the mariage might be proved unlawfull by the Civill Law: (but (ſaid *Cranmor*) it may better be proved by the Law of God, and it is no hard matter to doe it; which words of his being made knowne to the King, *Cranmor* is ſent for, and commanded to ſet his reaſons down in writing: which having done, and ſhewed them to the King; he was asked whether he would ſtand to that which he had written: who anſwered, he would, even before the Pope himſelfe, if his Majeſty pleaſed: marry (ſaid the King) and to Pope you ſhall go; and thereupon ſent him to the Court of *Rome*, and with him *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Doctor *Stokeſley* Elect of *London*, Doct. *Lee* the Kings Almoner, and others: who coming to *Bolonia* where the Pope was, had a day of audience appointed, but was hindred by a ridiculous accident; for the Pope holding out his foot for them to kiſſe his toe, as the manner is, a dog of the Earls, by chance in the room, ran and caught the Popes foot in his mouth, & made it for that time unfit to kiſſe. After this, when *Cranmor* had made his Propoſition, he was told, it ſhould be anſwered when the Pope came to *Rome*: ſo the Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed, and *Cranmor* went to the Emperours Court; where in private conference he ſatisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the moſt learned at that time about the Emperour, and brought him to be of his opinion. *Cranmor* returning home, and giving the King this ſatisfaction; the Kings mariage with Queen *Katherine* was ſoon after diſſolved by Parliament, and the Biſhop of *Canterbury* accompanied with Doctor *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Winchester*, the Biſhop of *Bathe* and *Lincolne*, and other learned men, rode to *Dunſtable* where Queen *Katherine* then lay; where being cited to appeare, and making default fifteen dayes together, for lack of appearance, ſhe was divorced from the King, and the mariage declared to be void and of none effect; and from

thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but Princesse Dowager: after which time, the King never saw her more.

At this time, being the foure and twentieth yeer of King *Henries* reigne, Sir *Thomas Moore*, after long suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to *Thomas Audeley* Speaker of the Parliament; and he made first Lord Keeper, and shortly after Chancelour; in whose roome of Speaker, *Humfrey Wingfield* of *Grayes-Inne* was chosen on the first of *September* this yeer: the King being at *Windsor*, created *Anne Bullen* Marchioneſſe of *Pembrooke*, giving her a thousand pounds land a yeere: and then being desirous to talke with the King of *France* in person, on the tenth of *October*, taking the said Lady with him, and divers Lords, as the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Marqueſſe of *Dorset* and *Exceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Derby*, *Rutland*, *Sussex* and *Huntington*, with divers Viscounts, Barons and Knights, he sailed over to *Callice*; and on the twentieth of *October* met with the King of *France* at *Boloigne*, with whom he staid foure dayes; in which time, to doe him honour, the King of *France* honored the two Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* with the Order of Saint *Michael*, and then both Kings went to *Callice*, where the *French* King staied certain dayes, in which time to doe the King of *France* honor, King *Henry* honored two of his great Lords with the Order of the Garter, and then after great magnificence in revelling & feasting, on the twentieth of *October* the *French* King departed from *Callice*, and King *Henry* returned into *England*, where on the fourteenth of *November* following, he maried secretly the Lady *Anne Bullen*, which mariage was not openly known till Easter after, when it was perceived she was with childe; at which time *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* dyed, *Thomas Cranmer* was elected Archbishop in his roome.

After that the King perceived his new wife to be with childe, he caused all Officers necessary to be appointed to her; and so on Easter eave she went to her closet openly as Queen, and then the King appointed her coronation to be kept on Witsunday following, and writings were sent to all Sheriffes, to certifie the nams of men of forty pounds, to receive the order of Knighthood, or else to make fine: the assesment of which fines was appointed to *Thomas Cromwell* Master of of the Jewel-house, and of the Kings Councell; a man newly come in the King favour, by whose industry great sums of money were by such fines gathered. In the beginning of *May*, the King caused Proclamation to be made, that all men who claimed to doe any service at the Coronation, by the way of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put in their claime three weekes after Easter in the Starchamber before *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, for that time high Steward of *England*, the Lord Chancellour and other Commissioners. Two dayes before the Coronation were made Knights of the Bath, the Earle of *Dorset*, the Earle of *Derby*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Monteagle*, the Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *William Windsor*, Sir *Francis Weston*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, Sir *John Hurlston*, Sir *Thomas Poynings*, Sir *Henry Savill*, Sir *George Fitzwilliams*, Sir *John Tyndall*, and Sir *Tho: Jermey*. On Whitsunday the Coronation was kept in as great state & pomp for al circumstances as ever any was, and the day after a solemn Justs was holden.

In *May* this yeer Pope *Clement* sent a messenger to King *Henry*, requiring him personally to appeare at the generall Councell, which he had appointed to be kept the yeer following; but when his Commission was shewed, there was neither time nor place specified for keeping of the said Councell; and so with an uncertain Answer to an uncertain Demand, the Messenger departed.

It was now the five and twentieth yeere of the Kings reigne, when on Midsomer day, *Mary* the *French* Queene, and then wife to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, dyed; and was buried at Saint *Edmunds-berry*; and on the seaventh of *September* following, betweene three and foure a clocke in the afternoone, the Queene was delivered of a daughter that was named *Elizabeth*; the Godfather at the christning was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Godmother the old Dutchesse of *Norfolke*,

Norfolke, and the old Marchioneſſe *Dorſet* widow; and at the Confirmation, the Lady Marchioneſſe of *Exceſter*: the Chriſtning was performed with exceeding great ſtate, and great gifts were given by the Goſſips.

This yeere, one *Pavier* the Town-clerke of *London* hanged himſelfe, (whom *Hollinſhead* ſaith) he heard once ſweare a great oath; that if he thought the thought the King would ſet forth the Scripture in *Engliſh*, rather then he would live to ſee that day, he would cut his owne throat: which I therefore relate, that the judgement of God may be ſeene upon ſuch unhallowed oathes.

A little before this time one *Elizabeth Barton*, named the Holy Maid of *Kent*, came to be diſcovered; whoſe abettours were *Richard Maſter* a Prieſt, Parſon of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Edward Bocking* Doctor of Divinity, a Monke of *Canterbury*, *Richard Deering* a Monke, *Edward Thwayts* Gentleman, *Henry Gold* Parſon of *Aldermary*, *Hugh Rich* a Fryar obſervant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gold*, Centlemen. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances; in which ſhe would deliver many ſtrange things, and amongſt others, ſaid, that by Revelation from God and his Saints ſhe was informed; that if King *Henry* proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he ſhould not be King of *England* one moneth after. And here we may ſee how credulous oftentimes great Schollars are in beleeving Impoſtures, when *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* were thought to give credit to this Counterfeit, that we need not wonder at Saint *Auſtin*; who though he gave credit to many lying Miracles, yet they were ſuch as had more probability in them then this; which conſiſted in nothing but making of faces, as upon Examination of the Maide and her Abettours was confeſſed; and thereupon ſhe and moſt of them were condemned, drawne to *Tyburne* and there hanged.

In this meane time the *Scots* had beene troubleſome, and made Inrodes upon the Borders; till at laſt, Commiſſioners being ſent to treat of agreement; a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings lives; which on the twentieth of *May* this yeer, was openly Proclaimed.

About this time, at the ſuit of the Lady *Katherine* Dowage, a Bull was ſent from the Pope, which curſed both the King and the Realme; which Bull was ſet up in the Towne of *Dunkerke* in *Flanders*, the Meſſenger not daring to come neerer: and becauſe it was knowne that the Lady Dowager had procured this Curſe to be ſent, the Duke of *Suffolke* was ſent to her, lying then at *Bugden* beſides *Huntington*, to diſcharge a great part of her houſhold ſervants; yet leaving her a convenient number, like a Princeſſe.

It was now the ſix and twentieth yeer of King *Henries* reigne, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion in the Crown, upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; to which, firſt all the Lords, Knights and Burgeſſes were ſworne; and after Commiſſioners were ſent into all parts of the Realm, to take the oath of all men and women to the ſaid Act. Another Act was alſo made, which authorized the King to be Supreame Head of the Church of *England*, and the Popes authority to be utterly aboliſhed. But Doctor *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *Thomas Moore* Knight, and Doctor *Wilſon* Parſon of Saint *Thomas Apoſtles* in *London*, expreſly denied at *Lambeth*, before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to take the Oathes; of whom Doctor *Wilſon* recanted, but the other two perſiſting in their opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of theſe two Biſhop *Fiſher* was much lamented, as reputed a man both of great learning and good life. The Pope had elected him Cardinall, and his Hat was come as farre as *Callice*, but before it could come into *England* his head was off. Sir *Thomas Moore* was both learned and very wiſe, but ſo given to a vaine of jeſting and merry ſcoffing, that he could not refrain it at the very time of his death: as when he was carried to the Tower, being demanded his upper garment (meaning his Gowne) you ſhall have it, ſaid he, and gave them his cap; ſaying, it

was the uppermoſt garment he had: alſo, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman kneeled downe and asked him forgiveneſſe; I forgive thee (ſaid he) but I promiſe thee, thou wilt never have credit by cutting off my Head, my necke is ſo ſhort: and when he was to lay his head downe upon the blocke, having a great gray beard, he ſtroked it out, and ſaid to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the blocke, leſt you ſhould cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut my beard. But his Devotion was no jeſting matter, for he uſed to weare a ſhirt of haire next his skin, for a perpetuall pennance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surpleſſe, and helpe the Prieſt to ſay Maſſe; which he forbore not to doe even when he was Lord Chancellour of *England*; as one time the Duke of *Norfolke* comming to the Church found him doing it. Two memorable things are recorded of him; one, which ſhewes his great integritie, and the ſmall reckoning he made of riches; that having paſſed through ſo many great imployments, and borne ſo many great Offices; yet in all his time, he never Purchaſed above one hundred pounds land a yeere, nor left any great ſtocke of money behinde him, when he died. The other, which ſhewes his filiall piety, that being Lord Chancellour of *England*, at the ſame time that his Father was a Judge of the Kings Bench, he would alwayes at his going to *weſtminſter*, goe firſt to the Kings Bench and aske his Father bleſſing, before he went to ſit in the Chancery.

The ninth of *July*, this yeere, the Lord *Dacres* of the North was arraigned at *weſtminſter* of high treaſon, before the Duke of *Norfolke*, as high Steward of *England*; his Inditement being read, he ſo anſwered every part and matter therein contained, that by his Peeres he was found Not guilty; a rare thing to ſtop a currant that ran with ſuch violence. The one and twentieth of *September* Doctor *Taylour* Maſter of the Roles, was diſcharged of that Office; and the nineteenth of *October* following, *Thomas Cromwell* was ſworne in his place.

This yeere the King of *Scots* was inſtalled Knight of Garter, by his Deputy the Lord *Erskin* and *Stephen Gardiner*, who after the Cardinals death, was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was ſent Embaſſadour Legier, into *France*, where he remained three yeeres. Alſo in *January*, of this yeere, *Katherine* Princeſſe Dowager, fell into her laſt ſickneſſe; to whom the King ſent the Emperours Embaſſadour Legier, deſiring her to be of good comfort; but ſhe finding her death to approach, cauſed onely one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King; commending to him her Daughter and his, and beſeeching him to be a good Father to her; and then deſiring him further, to have ſome conſideration of her Servants. On the eighth of *January*, at *Kimbolton*, ſhe departed this life, and was buried at *Peterborough*. A woman of ſo vertuous a life, and of ſo great obſequiouſneſſe to her husband, that from her onely merit, is grown a reputation to all *Spaniſh* wives. Alſo the nine and twentieth of *January*, this yeere, Queene *Anne* was delivered of a childe before her time, which was borne dead.

And now King *Henry* began to fall into thoſe great diſorders, which have been the blemiſh of his life, and have made him be blotted out of the Catalogue of our beſt Princes; for firſt, in *October* this yeer, he ſent Doctor *Lee* and others, to viſit the Abbeys, Priories, and Nunneries in *England*; who ſet at liberty all thoſe Religious perſons, that would forſake their habit, and all that were under the age of foure and twenty yeers; and in *December* following, a ſurvay was taken of all Chantries, and the names of ſuch, as had the guift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of *February*, an Act was made, which gave to the King all Religious houſes, with all their lands and goods, that were of the value of three hundred marks a yeere and under: the number of which Houſes, was three hundred ſeventy and ſix: the value of their lands yeerly, above two and thirty thouſand pounds, their movable goods, one hundred thouſand, the Religious perſons put out of the ſame houſes

above

aboue ten thouſand. This yeere, *William Tindall*, was burnt at a Town in *Flanders*, betweene *Bruſſels* and *Mechlyn*, called *Villefort*, for tranſlating into *Engliſh* the New Teſtament, and diuers parts of the old; who having beene long impriſoned, was upon the Lord *Cromwels* writing for his Deliverance, in all haſte, brought to the fire, and burnt.

It was now the eight and twentieth yeere of King *Henries* Reigne, when on Munday, there were ſolemne Juſts holden at *Greenwich*, from whence the King ſuddainely departed, and came to *Weſtminſter*, whoſe ſuddaine departure ſtroke great amazement into many, but to the Queene eſpecially, and not without cauſe; for the next day, the Lord *Rochford* her brother, and *Henry Norris* were brought to the Tower of *London*, priſoners, whither alſo the ſame day at five a clock in the afternoone, was brought Queene *Anne* her ſelfe, by Sir *Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancelour, the Duke of *Norfolke*, *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary, and Sir *William Kingſton* Leivtenant of the Tower, who at the Tower-gate, fell on her knees before the ſaid Lords, beſeeching God to help her, as ſhe was innocent of that whereof ſhe was accuſed: on the fifteenth of *May*, ſhe was arraigned in the Tower, before the Duke of *Norfolke*, ſitting as high Steward of *England*. When her Inditement was read, ſhe made unto it ſo wiſe and diſcreet anſwers, that ſhee ſeemed fully to cleere her ſelfe of all matters laid to her charge: but being tried by her Peeres, whereof the Duke of *Suffolke* was chiefe; ſhe was by them found guilty, and had Judgment pronounced by the Duke of *Norfolke*; immeadiatly the Lord *Rochford* her brother, was likewiſe arraigned and condemned: who on the ſeaventeenth of *May*, together with *Henry Norris*, *Marke Smeton*, *William Briorton*, and *Francis Weſton*, all of the Kings Privy-chamber, about matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower-hill, Queen *Anne* her ſelfe on the nineteenth of *May*, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the ſword of *Callice* by the hangman of that Towne; her body with the head, was buried in the Quire of the chappell there. This Queen *Anne*, was the daughter of *Thomas Bullen* Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth* daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*; the Earles Father was the ſonne of Sir *William Bullen*, whoſe wife was *Margaret* the ſecond daughter and Coheire of *Thomas Butler* Ealre of *Ormond*, and the ſaid Sir *William*, was the ſonne of Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, Lord Major of *London*, who lieth buried in Saint *Leonards* Church in the *Jewry*, whoſe wife was *Anne* eldeſt daughter & coheire to *Thomas* Lord *Hoo* and *Haſtings*: and his diſcent was out of the houſe of the *Bullens* in the County of *Norfolke*; thus much for her Parentage: for her Religion, ſhe was an earneſt Profeſſor, and one of the firſt Countenancers of the Goſpell: in Almeſ-deeds ſo liberall, that in nine moneths ſpace; It it is ſaid, ſhe diſtributed amongſt the poore, to the value of fifteene thouſand pounds: now for the crimes for which ſhe died, (Adultery and Inceſt:) proofes of her guiltineſſe there are none recorded: of her Innocency, many; firſt, her owne clearing of all objections, at the time of her arraignment: then *Cromwels* writing to the King, after full examination of the matter; that many things have been objected, but none confeſſed, onely ſome circumſtances had been acknowledged by *Marke Smeton*: (and what was *Marke Smeton*, but a meane fellow, one that upon promiſe of life, would ſay any thing; and having ſaid ſomthing, which they took hold of was ſoone after executed leaſt he ſhould retract it:) laſtly, they that were accuſed with her, they all denied it to the death: even *Henry Norris*, whom the King ſpecially favoured, and promiſed him pardon if he would but confeſſe it. It was a poore proofe of Inceſt with her brother, that comming one morning into her chamber before ſhe was up, he leaned down upon her bed, to ſay ſomthing in her eare; yet this was taken hold of for a proof: and it need be no marvaile if we conſider the many aduerſaries ſhe had; as being a Proteſtant, and perhaps in that reſpect, the King himſelfe not greatly her friend: (for though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papiſt ſtil: and then who knowes

not, that nature is not more able of an Acorn to make an oake, then authority is able of the leaſt ſurmiſe, to make a certainty. But howſoever it was, that her death was contrived: certain it is, that it caſt upon King *Henry* a diſhonourable Imputation; in ſo much, that where the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* had reſolved to chooſe him for head of their League; after they heard of this Queens death, in ſuch a manner, they utterly refuſed him as unworthy of the honour: and it is memorable what conceit Queene *Anne* her ſelfe had of her death; for at the time, when ſhee was led to be beheaded in the Tower, ſhee called one of the Kings Privy-chamber to her, and ſaid unto him, commend me to the King, and tell him; he is conſtant in his courſe of advancing me, for from a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marqueſſe, from a Marqueſſe, a Queen; and now, that he had left no higher degree of worldly honour for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Immediatly after her death, in the weeke before Whitſontide, the King maried *Jane Seymour*, daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, who at Whitſontide was openly ſhewed as Queene: and on the Tueſday in the Whitſon-weeke her brother Sir *Edmund Seymour*, was created Viſcount *Beauchamp*, and Sir *Walter Hangerford*, was made Lord *Hangerford*.

The eight of *June*, the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, without the Kings aſſent, had affianced the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, daughter to the Queen of *Scots*, and Niece to the *King*: for which he was attainted of treaſon, and an Act was made for like offenders hereafter; and ſo he died in the Tower, and ſhee long time remained there a priſoner; yet afterward was ſet at liberty, and maried *Mathew* Earle of *Lenox*, who by him had *Henry*, Father of *James* the firſt King of Great *Brittaine*.

In the time of this Parliament, the Biſhops and all the Clergy had a ſolemne Convocation at *Pauls* Church in *London*; where after much diſputation and debating of matters, they publiſhed a book of Religion; intituled, Articles deviſed by the Kings Highneſſe: in which booke are ſpecially mentioned but three Sacraments: namely Baptiſme, Euchariſt, and Pennance; alſo certaine Injunctions were ſet forth, whereby many of the old Holi-dayes were abrogated, ſpecially thoſe that fell in Harveſt time.

The two and twentieth of *July*, *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, baſe ſonne of King *Henry* by *Elizibeth Blunt*, died at Saint *James*, and was buried at *Thetſtone* in *Norfolke*.

The nine and twentieth of *June* the King held a great Juſts and Triumph at *VVeſtminſter*, but a diſaſtrous Sea-fight on the water; where one *Gates* a Gentleman was drowned in his harneſſe, and by the breaking of a Gunne two Mariners were ſore mained: in *July* following, *Thomas Cromwell*, Secretary to the King, and Maſter of the Rolles, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy-ſeale: and the nintеenth of *July* the Lord *Fitz-warren* was created Earl of *Bath*; and the day after, the ſaid *Cromwell* was made Lord *Cromwell*; and on the eighteenth of *July*, Vicar Generall under the King over the Spiritualty; who ſate diverſe times in the Convocation Houſe, amongſt the Biſhops as head over them: and now was the ſtate of Religion in *England* come to a ſtrange paſſe; becauſe alwayes in paſſing, and had no conſiſtance; for at firſt, the authority of the Pope was excluded in ſome caſes onely, a while after in all; but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward, his Doctrine came to be Impugned, but in ſome few points onely: a while after, in many more: that the fable of *Proteus* might no longer be a fable, when the Religion in *England* might be his true Morrall: and indeed, it could be no otherwiſe; the diſtance between the two Religious being not poſſible to be paſſed *Per ſaltum*; but muſt be done by degrees, which degrees may be obſerved in the progreſſe of the ſtory: for where at firſt, it was permitted onely to read the Bible in *Engliſh*, now it came to be permitted, to pray in *Engliſh*; for now in *September*, the Lord *Cromwell* ſet forth Injunctions, to have the Lords prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the ten Commandements,

dements, and all Articles of the Christian-faith translated into *English*, and to be taught by all Parsons and Curates to their Parishoners: which Innovation so stirred up the people, that in *Lincolnshire* they assembled to the number of twenty thousand; against whom the King himselfe went in person, who winning by perswasions their chief leaders, brought the rest upon pardon to submit themselves: but when he had himselfe done the work of mercy; he afterward sent the Duke of *Suffolke*, with Sir *Francis Brian*, and Sir *John Russell* to doe the worke of Justice; who caused *Nicholas Melton*, and a Monke naming himselfe Captaine Cobler, and thirteen others (Ringleaders of the sedition,) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commotion was scarce appeased, when presently there rose another in the North-parts, where forty thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an holy Pilgrimage, where on one side of their Ensignes, they had Christ hanging on the crosse, on the other side, the Cuppe and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Armes onely for maintenance of the Faith of Christ, and deliverance of the holy Church now oppressed; but these were opposed by *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, who having raised an Army without Commission, though to resist the Rebels, yet began to be much troubled, whither in so doing he had not committed Treason, and was never quiet till he had sent to the King for pardon and commission to proceed: at which time a rumour being raised amongst his souldiers, that the Earle so well liked the Rebels cause, that what shew soever he made, yet when it should come to the triall, he would not stick to joyne with them and take their parts: to remove which Opinion out of their minds, he caused all his souldiers to come before him, and made his Chaplaine give him an oath; by which he swore in their hearing, to be true to the Crowne, and never to be assisting to any Rebels: to his aide were sent the Duke of *Norfolke*, with the Marquis of *Exceter*, the Earles of *Huntington* and *Rutland*: who with a mighty Army approaching the Rebels, beyond *Doncaster*, in the way towards *York*, attempted first to have pacified them without blood-shed; but when no perswasions would serve, it was resolved of both sides to come to a battell; but see here the great goodnesse of God, for the night before the day appointed for battel, it happened that a litle Brook called *Don*, running betweene the two Armies, upon a small raine grew to such a height, that it was not passable by either foot or horse; so as the Armies having time to consider, and considering perhaps this miracle as sent of God, they came to agreement, and upon pardon disbanded and returned to their houses: but in the mean time they had besieged the Castle of *Scarborough* where the resolute carriage of Sir *Ralph Evers* is memorable; who held the Castle by onely his owne servants and Tennants, and that, when for twenty dayes together, he had no other sustenance but bread and water: but all Commotions were not yet appeased; for at this very time, there was another great Army assembled out of *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, and the North-parts of *Lancashire*; marching South-wards; but by the diligence of the Earl of *Darby*, to whom also the Earle of *Suffex* was sent, they were suppressed, and their chief Leaders, as the Abbots of *Wally*, *Sauly*, and others, apprehended and hanged: but neither is there yet an end of comotions, for now in *February Nicholas Musgrave*, *Thomas Tilby*, with others to the number of twelve thousand, began a Rebellion, and besieged *Carlile*, but by the power of the City were first beaten back, and then were encountred by the Duke of *Norfolke*, who caused seventy foure of them, by Martiall-law to be hanged on the walls of *Carlile*: but neither was there yet an end of Comotions, for now in *Setrington*, *Pickering*, *Leigh* and *Scarborough*, began a new Rebellion, by procurement of *Francis Bigot*, who had raised a great power, and meant to have taken *Hull*, but by the industry of Sir *Ralph Ellarker*, and the Major of the Towne, threescore of the Rebels were taken and hanged, and the rest put to flight, and glad to be quiet: but neither yet was there an end of Commotions, for in the latter end of this eight and twentieth yeer, the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Hussey*, Sir *Robert Constable* Sir *John Bulmer*

Balmer and his wife, Sir *Thomas Percy* brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempeſt* Eſquire, and others began to conſpire, although each of them before had been pardoned by the King: but this as being but the fagge end of Commotion, was ſoon ſuppreſſed, the Lord *Darcy* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, the Lord *Huſſey* at *Lincolne*, Sir *Robert Conſtable* was hanged in cheins at *Hull*, Sir *John Balmers* Paramour was burnt in *Smithfield*, and moſt of the other were executed at *Tyburne*: *Tantæ molis erat*, ſo great a matter it was, to make the Realme be quiet, in ſo great innovations of Religion.

This yeer on Saint *Georges*-feaſt, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Knight of the Garter, and on the twelfth of *October*, which is Saint *Edwards*-even, at *Hamton-Court*, the Queen was delivered of a ſonne; (but with ſo hard a labour that ſhe was faine to be ript) the child was named *Edward*, whoſe Godfathers at the Chriſtning were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Norfolke*, his Godmother was his ſiſter the Lady *Mary*: at his Biſhoping, his Godfather was the Duke of *Suffolk*: on the eighteenth of *October*, he was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earle of *Cheſter*: but the birth of his ſonne brought not ſo much joy to the King, as the death of his Queene brought him ſorrow; for within two dayes after ſhe died, and was buried at *Winſor*, and ſo much was the Kings grief for her death, that he continued a widdower two yeeres after.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miſerable diſſolation befell the family of the *Geraldynes* or *Fitz-Garrets*, (Earle of *Kildare* in *Ireland*) about this time; for *Gerald Fitz-Garret*, who had been ten yeers Depury in *Ireland*; upon complaint of ſome fault, was ſent for over into *England*, where not making a ſatisfying anſwer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his comming over, had with the Kings leave, left Deputy there his own ſonne, a Young-man of not above twenty yeers of age, but yet ripe of underſtanding and fit for the place: this young Lord, hearing that his father was committed priſoner to the Tower; and ſoon after, as the rumour encreaſed, that he was put to death; in rage to be revenged, roſe up in Armes; and having five Unckles in the Country (men of great eſtimation) drew them (though ſome of them unwillingly) to take his part; amongſt other outrages he committed, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* was ſlaine in his preſence: the Father in the Tower hearing hereof, with very griefe died; the Sonne and his Uncles, upon the Kings ſending an Army, were all either taken or ſubmitted; and being ſent for over into *England*, thoſe of his Unckles, that againſt their wils had been drawn into the Action, had good hope of their lives, till entring the ſhip of paſſage, which was called the *Cow*; they then preſently diſpaired, becauſe of a Propheſie, that five ſonnes of a certaine Earl ſhould be carried into *England* in the belly of a *Cowe*, and never after return: and indeed it fell out true, for through the malice of their adverſaries, (exaſperating the King againſt them and ſaying, there would never be quietnes in *Ireland*, as long as any of the *Geraldines* were left alive,) they were all put to death: one onely ſonne of the family remained, a youth of thirteene yeers of age, who though at that time ſick of the ſmal-pox, yet made ſhift to ſave himſelfe by flight; fled firſt into *France*, and frighted from thence, afterwards into *Flanders*, and driven from thence, at laſt into *Italy*, where protected by *Reginald Poole*, at that time made Cardinall, by Pope *Julie* the third, he was afterward, by his meanes, reſtored to his dignity and his patrimony.

This yeere *Edward Seymour*, Viſcount *Beauchamp* the Queens brother, was created Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Admirall, was created Earl of *Southamton*, Maſter *Paulet* was made Vice Treaſurer, Sir *John Ruſſell* was made Controller of the Kings Houſe, and diverſe Gentlemen were made Knights.

In *February* diverſe Roodes were taken downe by the Kings commandement, as the Roode of *Boxeley*, called the Rood of grace, which was made with vices to move the eyes and lips, alſo the Rood called Saint *Saviour* at *Bermondſey*

Abbey

Abbey in *Southwarke*, and diverſe others: in *May* a Frier Obſervant, called Frier *Forreſt*, who had taken the oath of Supremacy himſelfe, yet privately perſwaded others, that the King was not ſupreme head of the Church; was thereupon examined, and for his defence ſaid, that he took the oath with his outward man, but his inward man never conſented to it; but this anſwer ſerved not his turn from being condemned; and on a paire of Gallowes prepared for him, in *Smithfield*, he was hanged by the middle, and arme-holes, all quick, and under the Gallowes was made a fire wherewith he was conſumed: a little before his execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Gallowes, fetched out of *Wales*, which the *Welch-men* had in great reverence, called *Darvell Gatheren*, of which there went a Propheſie, that this Image ſhould ſet a whole Forreſt on fire, which was thought to take effect, in ſetting this Frier *Forreſt* on fire, and conſuming him to nothing.

In *September*, by the ſpeciall motion of the Lord *Cromwell*, all the notable Images, unto which were made any ſpeciall Pilgrimages and offerings, were taken downe and burnt; as the Images of *Walſingham*, *Ipſwich*, *Worceſter*, the Lady of *Wilſdon*, with many other, and forthwith by meanes of the ſaid *Cromwell* all the orders of Friers and Nunnes, with theirs Cloyſters and Houſes were ſuppreſſed and put downe: alſo the ſhrines of counterfeit Saints; amongſt others, the ſhrine of *Thomas Becket* in the Priory of Chriſt-church was taken to the Kings uſe, and his bones, ſcull and all which was there found, with a peece broken out by the wound of his death, were all burnt in the ſame Church by command of the Lord *Cromwell*: and the one and twentieth of *October*, the Church of *Thomas Becket* in *London*, called the Hoſpitall of Saint *Thomas of Acres* was ſuppreſſed: the ſixteenth of *November* the *Black-friers* in *London* was ſuppreſſed; the next day the *White-friers*, the *Gray-friers*, and the Monkes of the *Charter-houſe*, and ſo all the other immediately after, onely three Abbots reſiſted, the Abbot of *Colcheſter*, the Abbot of *Reding*, and the Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, who therefore were all taken and executed. The foure and twentieth of *November* the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* Preached at *Pauls-croſſe*, and there ſhewed the blood of *Hales*, affirming it to be no blood, but honey clarified and coloured with ſaffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Councell. The number of Monaſteries ſuppreſſed, were ſix hundred forty five, beſides foureſcore and ten Colledges, one hundred and ten Hoſpitals, and of Chantries and free Chappels two thouſand three hundred ſeventy foure. But now to make amends for the ſuppreſſing of ſo many Monaſteries, the King inſtituted certaine new Biſhoprickes, as at *Weſtminſter* *Oxford*, *Peterborough*, *Briſtow*, *Cheſter* and *Gloſter*; and aſſigned certaine Canons and Prebends to each of them.

The third of *November* *Henry Courtney* Marqueſſe of *Exceter*, and Earle of *Devonſhire*, *Henry Poole* Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Nicholas Carew* of *Bedington*, Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the Kings Horſe, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, brother to the Lord of *Aburgeiney*, were ſent to the Tower, being accuſed by Sir *Geoffry Poole*, the Lord *Montacutes* brother, of high treaſon; they were indited for deviſing to promote and advance one *Reinold Poole* to the Crowne, and put downe King *Henry*. This *Poole* was a neere kinſman of the Kings (being the ſonne of the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Saliſbury*, daughter and heire to *George* Duke of *Clarence*) he had been brought up by the King in learning, and made Deane of *Excetur*; but being ſent after, to learne experience by travaile, he grew ſo great a friend of the Popes, that he became an enemy to King *Henry*, and for his enmity to the King, was by Pope *Julius* the third made Cardinall; for this mans cauſe, the Lords aforeſaid being condemned, were all executed, the Lord Marquis, the Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, beheaded on the Tower-hill, the ninth of *January*, Sir *Nicholas Carew* the third of *March*, two Prieſts condemned with them were hanged at *Tyburn*, Sir *Jeoffry Poole* though condemned alſo yet had his pardon.

About this time one *Nicholſon alias Lambert*, being accuſed for denying the Reall preſence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to heare him; whereupon a Throne was ſet up in the Hall of the Kings Pallace at *Weſtminſter*, for the King to ſit: and when the Biſhops had urged their argumenrs, and could not prevaile, then the King tooke him in hand, hoping perhaps to have the honour of converting an Hereticke, when the Biſhops could not doe it, and withall promiſed him pardon if he would recant; but all would not doe, *Nicholſon* remained obſtinate, the King miſt his honor, the delinquent miſt his pardon; and ſhortly after was drawne to *Smithfield* and there burnt.

About this time King *Henry* being informed that the Pope, by inſtigation of Cardinall *Poole*, had earneſtly moved divers great Princes to invade *England*; He as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earnaſtly to provide for defence; and to that end, rode himſelfe to the Sea-coaſts to ſee them fortified, and in needfull places Bulwarkes to be erected: Hee cauſed his Navye to be rigged, and to be in readineſſe at any ſhort warning: he cauſed Muſters to be taken in all ſheeres; and liſts of all, able men in every County, in *London* ſpecially; where Sir *William Forman* the then Major, certified the number of fifteene thouſand; not that they were no more, but that ſo many were ready prepared; and theſe on the eight of *May*, the King himſelfe ſaw Muſtered in *James* Parke; where the Citizens ſtrove in ſuch ſort to exceed each other in bravary of armes, and forwardneſſe of ſervice, as if the City had bin a Campe, and they not men of the gowne, but all profeſt Souldiers; which they performed to their great coſt, but greater comendation.

It was now the one and thirtieth yeere of King *Henries* reigne, and the nine and fortieth of his age; when having continued a widdower two yeeres, he began to thinke of marrying againe; and hee needed not be a ſuitour for a wife, for he was ſued unto take one. The Emperour ſollicited him to marry the Dutcheſſe of *Milan*; but to marry her he muſt firſt obtaine a Licence from the Pope, and King *Henry* was reſolved rather to have no wife, then to have any more to doe with the Pope. Then the Duke of *Cleve* made ſuit unto him, to marry the Lady *Anne* his Siſter, and hee was a Proteſtant Prince; and ſo, though differing in points of Doctrine, yet in the maine Point of excluding the Pope, both of one minde. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord *Cromwell* ſpecially; and indeed it concerned him more then any other, that the King ſhould take a Proteſtant wife, ſeeing his actions had beene ſuch as none but a Proteſtant Queene would ever like; and if the Queene ſhould not like them; the King, though done by his leave, would not like them long. Hereupon ſuch meanes was uſed, that Embaſſadours came from the Duke of *Cleve* to conclude the March; and then, the eleventh of *December*, the Lady her ſelfe in great ſtate was brought, firſt to *Callice*, and then over to *Dover*; and being come to *Rocheſter*, the King ſecretly came to ſee her, afterward ſhe was conducted to *London*, met by the way in ſeverall places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdome. The third of *January* ſhe was received into *London* by Sir *William Hollice*, then Lord Major, with Orations, Pageants, and all complements of State, the greateſt that ever had beene ſeene. On Twelfth day the Marriage was ſolemnized, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did the office, the Earle of *Overſteine*, a *German* Lord gave her. In *Aprill* following the Lord *Cromwell*, as though he had won the Kings heart for ever by making this match, was made Earle of *Eſſex*; for in *March* before, *Henry Bourchier* Earle of *Eſſex*, and the ancienteſt Earle of *England*, had broken his necke by ſeeking to breake a yong Horſe, leaving onely one Daughter, and ſhe dying without iſſue, the Earldome came to the Family of *Devereux*, which yet enjoyed not the honour, till afterward in Queene *Elizabeths* time, and then made but not reſtored.

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The ninth of *March*, the King created Sir *William Paulet* Treasurour of his House, Lord Saint *John*, Sir *John Russell* Controlour, Lord *Russell*, and shortly after Sir *William Par* was created Lord *Par*. The eight and twentieth of *April* began a Parliament at *Westminster*, in the which *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, *Gertrude* wife to the Marquesse of *Exceter*, *Reynold Poole* Cardinall, brother to the Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Adrian Fosken*, *Thomas Dingley* Knight of Saint *Johns*, and divers others were attainted of high treason; of whom *Fosken* and *Dingley* the tenth of *July* were beheaded, the Countesse of *Salisbury* two yeeres after: and in this Parliament the Act of the six Articles was established, and Sir *Nicholas Hare* was restored to his place of Speaker in the Parliament.

It was now five moneths after the Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; and though the King at the first sight of the Lady, did not like her person; yet, whether as respecting the honour of Ladies, he would not disgrace her at the first meeting; or whether he ment to try how time might worke him to a better liking; or indeed, that he would not give distaste to the *German* Princes at that time, for sole ends he had a working, he dissembled the matter, and all things went on in a shew of contentment on all hands. But for all these shewes, the crafty Bishop of *London Stephen Gardiner*, finding how the world went with the Kings affection towards his Queene; and for her sake with *Cromwell*; to neither of whom he was greatly affected (not to the Queene, as misliking her religion; not to *Cromwell*, as envying his greatnesse;) he so wrought upon the Kings inclination; what by suggesting, and what by aggravating, that the Lord *Cromwell* the ninth of *July*, sitting in the Councell Chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the same moneth was attainted by Parliament, and never came to his Answer; by a Law, which (as some reported) he himselfe had caused to be made; and the eight and twentieth of *July* was beheaded on the Tower-hill; for crimes (as appeares in Record) of Heresie and Treason. This Lord *Cromwell* was borne at *Putney*, a Village in *Surrey* neere the Thames side; sonne to a *Smith*, after whose decease, his Mother was married to a Sheereman; for the pregnancy of his wit he was first entertained by Cardinall *Woolsey*, and by him imployed in many great affaires; the Cardinall falling, the King tooke him into his service; and finding his great abilities, first advanced him for his worth, and then for his pleasure overthrew him. But the greatest part of *Stephen Gardiners* practice had beene done before; for at Midsomer before, the King caused the Queene to remove to *Richmond*, as for her health and pleasure; and and in the time of her absence, on the sixt of *July*, sent certaine Lords to the Lower House of Parliament, who there declared certaine causes, for which the Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, was not to be counted lawfull; and so carried the matter, that the Convocation cleerly determined, the King might marry any other; and so might she. Being thus Divorced; it was further Enacted, she should no more be called Queene, but the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*. The fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expresly delivered; some say, a precontract of the said Lady with a Lord of *Germany* was prerended; but it seems to have bin for some womanish defect in her body; as she spared not to affirme that she had never bin carnally known by the King in al the time of their lying together: and as it is said, when her Ladies, one time said unto her, that they looked now every day to hear of her great belly; she should answer, they might look long enough, unlesse, saying, how dost thou sweereſt, God morrow sweet-heart, and such like words, could make a great belly; for (said she) more then this, there never passed between the King and me. How ever it was, she willingly submitted to the Decree, whether out of fear, or perhaps as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private life here in *England*, wel respected of the King, and dying sixteen yeers after, in the fourth yeer of Queen *Mary*, was buried at *westminster*.

About this time *Leonard Gray* Deputy of *Ireland*, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, for ſuffering his Nephew *Gerald Fitz-Garret* to eſcape, who had been declared an enemy to the ſtate, and then alſo was *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres*, a young man of foure and twenty yeers of age, hanged at *Tyburne*, for killing a meane peſon upon a ſuddaine affray; alſo the fourth of *Auguſt*, *Thomas Epſon* a Monke of *Weſtminſter*, for denying to take his oath, to be true to the King, had his Monks garment plucked from his back, the laſt Monke that was ſeen in ſuch habit in *England* till Queen *Maryes* dayes.

The ſixt of *July* in the two and thirtieth yeere of his Reigne, King *Henry* had been divorced from the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and now the eighth of *Auguſt* following, the Lady *Katherine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolke* and daughter to the Lord *Edward Howard* was ſhewed openly as Queene at *Hampton-Court*.

On the tenth of *June* the yeere following, Sir *Edmund Knevet* of *Norfolke*, Knight, was arraigned before the Officers of the Green-cloath, for ſtriking one Maſter *Cleere* of *Norfolke*, within the Tennis-court of the Kings Houſe, being found guilty, he had judgment to looſe his Right hand, and to forfeite all his lands and goods; whereupon there was called to do execution, firſt, the Serjeant Surgion, with his Inſtruments pertaining to his office, then the Serjeant of the Wood-yard, with a mallet and a block to lay the hand upon, then the Kings Maſter-cooke with the knife to cut off the hand, then the Serjeant of the larder to ſet the knife right on the joynt, then the Serjeant Farrier with ſearing irons to ſeare the veines, then the Serjeant of the *Poultry* with a Cock, which cock, ſhould have his head ſmitten off upon the ſame block, and with the ſame knife, then the Yeoman of the *Chandry* with ſeare-cloaths, then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a pan of fire to heare the irons, a chafer of water to coole the ends of the irons, and two formes for all Officers to ſet their ſtuffe on, then the Serjeant of the Cellar with wine, Ale and Beere, then the Serjeant of the Ewry, with Baſon, Ewre, and towels: all things being thus prepared Sir *William Pitkering* Knight Marſhall, was commanded to bring in his priſoner, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, to whom the chiefe Juſtice declared his offence, which the ſaid *Knevet* confeſſed, and humbly ſubmitted himſelfe to the Kings mercy, onely he deſired, that the King would ſpare his Right hand and take his left, becauſe (ſaid he) if my right hand be ſpared, I may live to doe the King good ſervice: of whoſe ſubmiſſion, and reaſon of his ſuite, when the King was informed, he granted him to looſe neither of his hands, and pardoned him alſo of his lands and goods.

The ſummer of his three and thirtieth yeer, King *Henry* with his Queene *Katherine*, made a progreſſe into the North-parts, and returning at Alhallantide to *Hampton-court* he was there informed, of the Queens deſſolute life firſt before her mariage with one *Francis Deerham*, a Gentleman of *Norfolke*, whom imployed afterward in *Ireland*; ſhe had lately againe at *Pomfret* received into her ſervice, and now ſince her mariage with one *Thomas Colepepper*, of the Kings Privy-chamber; whereupon the thirteenth of *November*, Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* Knight ſecretary to the King, was ſent to the Queen at *Hampton-Court*, to charge her with theſe crimes, and diſcharging her houſhold, to cauſe her to be conveyed to *Sion*, there to remaine, till the Kings pleaſure ſhould be further knowne: the delinquents being examined, *Deerham* confeſſed, that before the Kings mariage with the Lady *Katherine*, there had been a pre-contract between himſelfe and her; but when he once underſtood of the Kings liking towards her, he then waved and conſealed it for her preforment: ſo the firſt of *December*, theſe Gentlemen being arraigned at the *Guild-hall*, they confeſſed the Indictment, and had Judgment to die, as in caſes of treaſon: the tenth of *December*, they were drawne from the Tower to *Tyburne*, where *Colepepper* was beheaded, and *Deerham* was hanged and diſmembred; *Colepeppers* body was buried in *Sepulchers Church* in *London*, but both their heads were ſet on *London-*

bridge.

bridge: the two and twentieth of *December*, there were arraigned at the Kings-bench, the Lord *William Howard* and the Lady *Margaret* his wife, *Katherin Tilney* and *Alice Restwold* Gentlewomen, *Joane Bulmer*, wife to *Anthony Bulmer* Gentliman, *Anne Howard* wife to *Henry Howard* Esquire, and brother to the Queene, with divers others, who were all condemned for misprision of treason, for concealing the Queens misdemeanor, and adjudged to forfeit all their lands and goods during life, and to remaine in perpetuall prison. The sixteenth of *January* the Parliament began at *Westminster*, where the Lords and Commons petitioned the King, that he would not vex himselfe with the Queenes offence, and that both she and the Lady *Rochford* might be attainted by Parliament; and that to avoid protracting of time, he would give his royal assent unto it, under the great Seale, without staying for the end of the Parliament. Also, that *Derham* and *Colepepper* having beene attained before by the Common-Law, might be attainted likewise by Parliament: all which was assented to by the King; and after, on the thirteenth of *February*, the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on the greene within the Tower, where they confessed their offences, and dyed penitently: yet something to take off the offences of this Queene; it is certainly said, that after her condemnation, she protested to Doctor *White* Bishop of *Winchester*, her last Confessour, that as for the Act for which she was condemned, she tooke God and his holy Angels to witnesse, upon her soules salvation, that she died guiltlesse.

Before this, on the three and twentieth of *January*, King *Henry* was proclaimed King of *Ireland*; where as before this time, the Kings of *England* were onely entituled Lords of *Ireland*: and this title was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in *Ireland*, before Sir *Anthony Saintleger* knight, the Kings Deputy there.

About this time *Arthur Plantagenet* Viscount *Lisle*, base sonne to King *Edward* the fourth, having beene imprisoned upon suspition of a practice, for betraying of *Callice* to the *French*, whilst he was the Kings Lievtenant there, was now found to be innocent of the Fact: and thereupon, the King to make him some reparation for his disgrace, sent him a Ring and a very gracious message, by Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* his Secretary; whereat the said Viscount tooke so great joy, that the night following, of that very joy he died: so deadly a thing is any passion, even joy it selfe, if it be extream. After his death Sir *John Dudley*, his wives Sonne, was created Viscount *Lisle*. This Sir *John Dudley* was sonne to *Edmund Dudley*, beheaded in the first yeere of this Kings reigne, and was made Viscount *Lisle* in right of his Mother.

During this Parliament, one *George Ferrers* Gentleman, servant to the King and Burgesse for the town of *Plimmouth* in *Devonshire*, in going to the Parliament House, was arrested in *London* by a Processe out of the Kings Bench, for a Debt wherein he was lare afore condemned, as surety for one *Welden*, at the suit of one *White*; which arrest being signified to Sir *Thomas Moyle* knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgesses there; order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called Saint *John*, should be sent to the Counter in *Bredstreet* (whither the said *Ferrers* was carried) and there demand to have him delivered: but the Officers of the Counter not onely refused to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant such language, that they fell at last to an affray; at which time the Sheriffes comming, they also tooke their Officers part; so as the Serjeant was faine to returne without the prisoner; which being signified to the Speaker and the Burgesses, they tooke the matter in so ill part, that they would sit no more without their Burgesse; and thereupon rising up, repaired to the Upper House, where the whole Case was declared by the Speaker, before Sir *Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancellour, and the Lords and Judges there assembled: who judgeing the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the House of Commons it selfe: whereupon returning to their places againe, upon new debate of the Case, they

tooke order that their Serjeant shou'd once more repaire to the Sheriffe of *London*, and demand the prisoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellour offered to grant a Writ, but the House of Commons refused it; being of a cleare opinion, that all Commandements from the nether House were to be executed by their Serjeant without Writ, onely by shewing his Mace, which is his Warrant: but before the Serjeants returne into *London*, the Sheriffes better advised, became more mild, and upon the second demand, delivered the prisoner without any deniall, but then the Serjeant had further in charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clerkes of the *Counter*, to appeare personally the next morning before the House of Commons: where appearing, they were charged by the Speaker, with their contempt, and compelled to make immediate answere, without being admitted to any counsaile, Sir *Roger Chomley* Recorder of *London*, offered to speak in the cause, but was not suffered, nor any other but the parties themselves: in conclusion, the Sheriffes and *White* who had caused the Arrest, were committed to the Tower, the Officer that did the Arrest, with foure other Officers to Newgate; but after two or three dayes, upon the humble suite of the Major, were set at liberty; and because the said *Ferrers* being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by priviledge of Parlaiment, was not by law to be brought againe into execution; and so the creditour without remedy for his debt, against him as his principall debtour; therefore after long debate, by the space of nine or ten dayes together, they at last resolved to make an Act of purpose, to revive the execution of the said debt, against *Welden* who was principall debtour, and to discharge *Ferrers* that was but surety: wherein notwithstanding, the house was devided, and the Act passed but by fourteen voyces: the King being advertised of this proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancelour and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the lower House, to whom he declared his Opinion to this effect: first commending their wisdome, in maintaining the priviledges of their house, (which hee would not have to be infringed in any point) he alleaged, that he being head of the Parliament, and attending in his owne person upon the businesse thereof, ought in reason, to have Priviledge for himselfe and all his servants attending upon him, so as if the said *Ferrers* had been no Burgesse, but onely his servant; yet in that respect, he was to have the priviledge as well as any other: for I understand (saith he) that you, not onely for your owne persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your Cookes and Horse-keepers injoy the same priviledge: in so much, as my Lord Chancelour here present, hath informed us, that whilst he was Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the Temple was Arrested in *London*, and in execution upon a statute of the Staple, and for so much, as the said Cook during all the Parliament served the Speaker in that office; he was taken out of execution by priviledge of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court, (as our learned Counsaile informeth us) is so great, that all Acts and processes comming out of any other Court, must for the time cease and give place to it: and touching the party himselfe, though for his presumption he was worthy to have lost his debt, yet I commend your Equity, that have restored him to his debt against him that was the principall: when the King had said this, Sir *Edward Mountacute* Lord chiefe Justice, rose up, and confirmed by many reasons, all that the King had said, as likwise did all the other Lords, none speaking any thing to the contrary.

It was now the foure and thirtieth yeere of King *Henries* Reigne, when in *May* he took a loane of money of all such as were valued at fifty pounds and upwards in the Subsidy book, the Lord Privy-seale, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* were commissioners, that the loane in *London*, who so handled the matter, that of some chief Citizens they obtained a thousand markes in prest to the Kings use: for which Privie Seales were delivered to repay it againe within two yeeres.

At

At this time, were many complaints made by the *Engliſh*, againſt the *Scots*, partly for receiving and maintaining diverſe *Engliſh* Rebels, fled into *Scotland*, and partly for invading the *Engliſh* Borders; but ſtill when the King of *England* was preparing to oppoſe them, the *Scottiſh* King would ſend Embaſſadours to treat of reconcilement, till at laſt, after many deluſory prankes of the *Scots*; the King of *England*, no longer enduring ſuch abuſes, ſent the Duke of *Norfolke* his Leivtenant Generall, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hartford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, the Lords of the North parts, Sir *Anthony Browne* Maſter of the Kings horſe, and Sir *John Gage* Controller of the Kings Houſe, with others, to the number of twenty thouſand men; who on the one and twentieth of *October* entred *Scotland*, where ſtaying but eight dayes onely he burnt above eighteen Townes, Abbeys, and Caſtles, and then without having battaile offered, for want of victuals returned to *Barwick*; as ſoon as he was returned, comes abroad the King of *Scots*, raiſeth a power of fifteen thouſand men, and uſing great threatnings what he would doe, invaded the weſt Borders, but the edge of his threatning was ſoon taken off, for the baſtard *Dacres*, with *Jack* of *Muſgrave* ſetting upon them with onely an hundred Light-horſe, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* with three hundred, put them to flight; upon a conceit, that the Duke of *Norfolke* with all his Army had beene come into thoſe parts; where were taken priſoners of the *Scots*, the Earl of *Caſſill* and *Glencarne*, the Lord *Maxwell* Admirall of *Scotland*, the Lord *Flemming*, the Lord *Somerwell*, the Lord *Oliphant*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Oliver Sincleere*, the Kings Minion, *John Roſſe* Lord of *Gragy*, *Robert Erskin* ſonne to the Lord *Erſkin*, *Car* Lord of *Gredon*, the Lord *Maxwells* two Brothers, *John Leſſoy* baſtard ſonne to the Earl of *Rothus*, *George Hame* Lord of *Hemetton*, with divers other men of account, to the number of above two hundred, and more then eight hundred of meaner calling; ſo as ſome one *Engliſh* man, and ſome women alſo, had three or foure priſoners in their hands: at which overthrow, the King of *Scots* took ſuch grief, that he fell into a burning Ague, and thereof died, leaving behind him one onely daughter; and heere King *Henry* began to apprehend a greater matter then the victory, for he and his Counſaile conceived, that this daughter, would be a fit match for his ſonne Prince *Edward*, thereby to make a perpetuall union of the two Kingdomes; and to this purpoſe they conferred with the Lords whom they had taken priſoners, who exceeding glad of the propoſition, and promiſing to further it by all the poſſible meanes they could, were thereupon ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to return home. Comming into *Scotland* and acquainting the Earl of *Arraine* with the motion, who was choſen Governour of the young Queen and of the Realme; the matter with great liking was entertained, and in Parliament of the three eſtates in *Scotland*, the marriage was confirmed, and a peace between the two Realms, for ten yeers was proclaimed, and Embaſſadours ſent into *England*, for ſealing the conditions. But *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews* being Cardinall, and at the Popes devotion, and therefore an utter enemy to King *Henry*, ſo croſſed the buſineſſe that it came to nothing, but ended in a war between the two Kingdomes; ſo as in *March* the yeere following, the Lord *Seymour* Earle of *Hartford*, with an Army by Land and Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle*, with a Fleete by Sea, met at *New-caſtle*, and there joyned together, for invading of *Scotland*; with the Earl of *Hartford*, were the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Clinton*, *Conyers*, *Stinton*, the Lord *William Howard*, with Knights and others, to the number of ten thouſand, with Sir *John Dudley* the Admirall, were two hundred ſaile of ſhips: on the fourth of *May*, the whole Army was landed two miles from the Towne of *Lieth*, at a place called *Granther Crag*; and there the Lord Lievtennant puting his men in order, marched toward the Towne of *Lieth*: the Lord Admirall led the foreward, the Lievtennant the Battell, and the Earl of *Shrewſbury* the Rearward. Before they came to the Towne of *Lieth*, the Cardinal with ſix hundred horſe, beſides foot, lay in the way to impeach their paſſage; but they were ſo aſſailed

aſſailed by the, Harquebutars, that they were glad to flye, and the firſt man that fled was the Cardinal himſelf, and then the Earls of *Huntley*, *Murrey* & *Bothwel*, hereupon the *Engliſh* made forward to *Lieth*, and entred it without any great reſiſtance: the ſixth of *May* they marched towards *Edenbrough*, and as they approached the Towne, the provoſt with ſome of the Burgers, came and offered the keyes of the Towen, to the Lord Lievtennant, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and the Towne to be preſerved from fire; but the Lord Livetennant told them, their falſhood had been ſuch, as deſerved no favour, and therefore unleſſe they would deliver the Towne abſolutely without any condition, he would proceed in his enterpriſe, and burne the Towne. Here wee may ſee, what it is to make men deſperate, for to this the Proveſt anſwered, they were better then to ſtand upon defence, and ſo indeed they did, and made the *Engliſh* glad to retire, for the Caſtle ſhot ſo fiercely upon them, that having burnt onely a part of the Towne, they returned to *Lieth*; but whilſt they lay there, they ſo waſted the Country, that within ſeaven miles every way of *Edenbrough*, there was not a Towne, nor Village, nor houſe that was left unburnt: at *Lieth*, the eleveth day of *May*, the Lord Generall made Knights, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Conyers*, Sir *William Wroughton*, Sir *Thomas Holecraft*, Sir *Edward Dorrell*, ſir *Francis Hothome*, and others, to the number of at leaſt threeſcore: in *Lieth Haven*, they ſeized upon all the *Scottiſh* ſhips; whereof two were of notable fairneſſe, the one called the Salamander, given by the *French* King, at the mariage of his daughter into *Scotland*, the other called the Unicorne, made by the late *Scottiſh* King; the ballaſt of which two ſhips was Cannon-ſhot, whereof they found in the Towne, to the number of fourſcore thouſand. On the fifteenth of *May*, their Army and their Fleet departed from *Lieth*, both in one houre, having firſt ſet the Towne on fire and burned it to the ground: from *Lieth* the *Engliſh* Army marched to *Seaton*, from thence to *Haddington*, from thence to *Dunbar*, from thence to *Ranton*, all which Towns and Caſtles with diverſe others they burnt and utterly defaced; and on the eighteenth of *May* came to *Barwick*, not having loſt in all the journey above fourteen men:

In the meane time, in King *Henries* five and thirtieth yeer, on Trinity ſunday a new league was entred into and ſworne, between the King and the Emperour at *Hampton-court*, to be both offenſive and defenſive.

In this yeer, Proclamation was made, whereby the people were licenſed to eate white meats in Lent, but ſtreightly forbidden the eating of fleſh; whereupon ſhortly after, the Earle of *Surrey* with diverſe other Lords and Knights, were impriſoned for eating of fleſh contrary to the proclamation.

The third of *June* this yeer, there came out of *Ireland* three Lords, of whom *Obrine* was here created Earle of *Thomond*, (which honour his poſterity injoyeth to this day) *Mack William a Bary*, was created Earle of *Clanrinckford*, and *Mack Gilparick*, was made Barron of *Ebranky*.

King *Henry* had already had five wives all of them Maides, and no good luck with any of them, he will now therefore try his fortune with a Widdow, and thereupon the twelveth of *June*, in the five and thirtieth yeere of his Reigne hee took to wife the Lady *Katherine Par*, widdow of the Lord *Latimer* late deceaſed, who was then proclaimed Queen; but how lucky would this match have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knowes, ſeeing in the ſhort time of three yeers they lived together, it was no ſmal danger ſhe eſcaped, which though it hapenned not till a yeer or two after this time, yet will not unfitly be ſpoken of in this place, that ſo her ſtory may come together; this Queen as being an earneſt Proteſtant, had many great adverſaries, by whom ſhe was accuſed to the King, to have Hereticall books found in her cloſet; and this was ſo agravated againſt her, that they prevailed with the King, to ſigne a warrant to commit her to the Tower, with a purpoſe to have her burnt for Hereſie; this warrant was delivered to *Wriothſley* Lord Chancelour, and he by chance, or rather indeed

indeed by Gods providence, letting it fal from him, it was taken up and caried to the Queen; who having read it, went soone after to visit the King, at that time keeping his chamber, by reason of a sore leg; being come to the King, he presently fel into talk with her, about some points of Religion, demanding her resolution therin; but she knowing that his nature was not to be croſt, specially considering the case she was in, made him answer, that she was a woman accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majesty was wise and judicious, of whom she must learne as of her Lord and Head; not so by Saint *Mary* (said the King) for you are a Doctor *Kate* to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us, as often we have seen heretofore: indeed Sir (said she) if your Majesty have so conceived, I have been mistaken, for if heretofore I have held talke with you touching Religion, it hath bin to learn of your Majesty some point, whereof I stood in doubt, and sometimes that with my talke, I might make you forget your present infirmity: and is it even so sweet heart (quoth the King) why then we are friends, and so kissing her, gave her leave to depart. But soon after, the day was appointed by the Kings warrant, for apprehending her; on which day, the King being disposed to walk in the Garden, had the Queen with him, when suddenly the Lord Chancelour with forty of the Guard, came into the Garden, with a purpose to apprehend her: when as soon as the King saw, he stept to him, and calling him knave and foole, bid him avaunt out of his presence: the Queen seeing the King so angry with him, began to intreat for him, to whom the King said; ah poore soule, thou little knowest what it is he came about, of my word sweet heart, he hath bin to thee a very knave; and thus by Gods providence was this Queen preserved, who else had tasted of as bitter a cup, as any of his former wives had done.

About this time King *Henry* and the Emperour sent *Garter* and *Toyson d'or*, kings at Armes, to demand performance of certain Articles of the *French* King: which if he denied, they were then comanded to defie him: but the *French* King would not suffer them to come within his land, and so they returned: wherupon King *Henry* caused the said demands to be declared to the *French* Embassadour at *Westminster*; and in *July* sent over six thousand men, under the leading of Sir *John Walloppe* accompanied with divers Knights & Gentlemen, Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Marshal of the Army, Sir *Robert Bowes* Treasuror, Sir *Richard Cronwal* Captain of the horse, and Sir *George Carew* his Lieutenant. There were likewise Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *John* St. *John*, and Sir *John Gascoigne* Knights, that were Captains of the foot. Their Comission was to joyn with the Emperor, and together to make war upon *France*. The third of *August* open war was proclaimed in *London*, between the Emperor & the King of *England* on the one part, and the *French* King on the other, as mortal enemy to them both; and to all other christian Princes besides, as he that had confederated himselfe with the *Turk*. Sir *John Wallop* marching forth of *Callice* with his Army, joyned with the Emperors Forces, who together went and besieged *Landersey* a Town lately fortified by the *French*, lying within the borders of the Emperors dominions: to raise this siege, the *French* King had raised a mighty army; with which he came on, as if he ment to give the Emperor battaile; and thereupon the Emperor raising his siedge, with a purpose to encounter him, the *French* King tooke the opportunity to put men and victuals into the town, which was the thing he intended: and having done this, the night following departed with his army; and then the Emperour seeing him gone, and finding the winter coming on, and no hope of sudden getting the Town, being now newly supplied, he also broke up his Army, and returned home.

This yeer, the sunday before Christmas, the Lord *William Parre*, brother to the Queen, who had maried the daughter and heire of *Henry Bourchier* Earle of *Essex*, was at *Hampton Court* created Earl of *Essex*, & Sir *William Parre* knight unckle to them both, was made Lord *Parre* of *Horton* and Lord Chamberlin to the Queen; and on New-yeers-day Sir *Thomas Wriothsley*, the Kings Secretary, was made Lord *Wriothsley* of *Tichfield*.

In *June* this yeer, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* fled out of *Scotland* and came into *England*, whom King *Henry* received kindly, and gave him in marriage the Lady *Margaret* his Sisters daughter, by whom he had *Henry*, Father of our late King *James* of blessed memory.

Thomas Audley Lord Chancellour, being lately dead, *Thomas* Lord *Wriothsley* succeeded him in the place; and now was an Army levied to goe for *France*, the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Lord Privie Seal, accompanied with the Earl of *Surrey* the Dukes Son, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley* and his Son Sir *Robert Devereux*, Sir *Thomas Chainey* Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Francis Byran*, Sir *Thomas Poynings* Captaine of *Guysnes*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about Whitson tide passed over to *Callice*; and marching toward *Muttrel*, joyned with the Emperours forces, under the leading of the *Count de Buren*; which two Armies laid siedge to *Muttrel*, wherof *Monsseur de Bies*, one of the Martials of *France* was Captaine, but being then at *Bulloign*, and hearing of the siedg of *Muttrel*, he left *Bulloigne* and with his forces came thither, which was the thing that was desired, to draw him from *Bulloign*; and thereupon was the Duke of *Suffolke* appointed to passe over with the Kings army, accompanied with the Earl of *Arundell* Marshall of the Field, the Lord St. *John*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Gage* Controlor of the Kings house, Sir *Anthony Browne* Master of the Kings horse, with divers others; who the nintеenth of *July* came and incamped before *Bulloigne*; the four and twentieth of *July* the King in person, accompanied with divers of the Nobility, came to *Callice*; and the six and twentieth incamped before *Bulloign* on the north side: many batteries and assaults were made, so long, till at last the Town upon composition yeelded, and the Duke of *Suffolke* entred and tooke possession, suffring six thousand *French*, as was agreed, with bag and baggage to depart. The eight of *September* King *Henry* entred the town himselfe, and then leaving the Lord *Lisle* Lord Admirall, his Deputy there, he returned into *England*, landing at *Dover* the first of *October*. Many enterprises after this were made by the Dolphin of *France*, and by *Monsieur de Bies* for recovery of *Bulloigne*, but they were still repulsed, and the *English* kept the towne in spight of all they could doe; although at one time there came an Army of eighteene thousand foot, at another time an Army, wherein were reckoned twelve thousand Lance-knights, twelve thousand *French* foot-men, sixe thousand *Italians*, foure thousand of Legionarie souldiers of *France*, a thousand men of Armes, besides eight thousand light Horse; great Forces certainly to come and doe nothing.

Whilst these things were doing about *Bulloign*, the ships of the west Country and other places wafted abroad on the Seas, and took above three hundred *French* ships; so that the *Gray-friers* Church in *London* was laid full of wine, the *Austin-friers* and *Black-friers* full of herrings and other fish, which should have bin convayed in *France*.

About this time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjects, towards his wars in *France* and *Scotland*, to which purpose, the Lord Chancelour, the Duke of *Suffolke*, and other of the Kings Counsaile sate at *Baynards* Castle, where they first caled before them the Major and Aldermen, and because *Richard Read* Alderman, would not agree to pay as they set him, he was commanded to serve the King in his wars in *Scotland*, which the obstinate man rather choose to doe, then he would pay the rate he was required, but being there, he was taken prisoner by the *Scots*, to his far greater damage, then if he had agreed to the Benevolence required. For at this time, Sir *Ralph Evers* Lord Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roades into *Scotland*, assembled four thousand men, and entring *Scotland* now againe, was encountred by the Earl of *Arraigne* by whom he and the Lord *Oagle*, and many other Gentlemen were slaine, and diverse were taken prisoners, of whom Alderman *Read* was one.

It was now the seaven and thirtieth yeer of King *Henries* Reigne, when on Saint

Saint *Georges* day Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* Lord Chancelour, was made Knight of the Garter, alſo *Trinity* Tearme was adjourned, by reaſon of the warres but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tenthes were open.

At this time, the *Engliſh* fleet went before *New-haven*, but being there encountred by a farre greater fleet of *French*, they retnrned; with whoſe retreate, the *French* Admirall emboldned, came upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, where hee landed Souldiers, but upon firing of the Beacons was driven back, after which he landed two thouſand men in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, but was there repelled, though reported to have in his ſhips threeſcore thouſand men.

In *Auguſt* this yeer, died the valiant Captaine, the Lord *Poynings*, the Kings Lievtenant of his Towne of *Bulloigne*, and the ſame month alſo, died at *Guildford*, the noble Duke of *Suffolke*, *Charles Brandon*, Lord great Maſter of the Kings Houſe, whoſe Body was honourably buried at *Windſore* at the Kings coſt.

About this time, the *Scots* having received aide out of *France*, approached the *Engliſh* Borders, but durſt attempt nothing, whereupon the Earle of *Hertford*, Lievtenant of the North parts, raiſing an army of twelve thouſand men, *Engliſh* and ſtrangers, entred *Scotland* and burnt a great part of *Mers* and *Tividale*, as *Kelſay* Abbey and the Towne, the Abbeys of *Medroſſe*, *Driborne*, and *Tedworth*, with a hundred Townes and Villages more; when on the ſixteenth of *September*, an Army of *Scots* and *French* attempted to enter into *England* on the Eaſt borders, but in a ſtreight were ſet upon by the *Engliſh*, who ſlew and tooke of them to the number of ſeven ſcore, amongſt whom was the Lord *Humes* ſonne, and a principall *French* Captaine; in another roade, which they made into the Weſt Borders, the Lord *Maxwels* ſonne, and diverſe other were taken, but then at another time (ſuch is the chance of war) five hundred *Engliſh* entring the Weſt Borders of *Scotland* were diſcomfited, and the greateſt part of them either taken or ſlaine.

And now to revenge the preſumptious attempts of the *French* upon the *Iſle* of *Wight*, the Lord Admiral with his fleet approached the Coaſts of *Normandy* landed ſix thouſand men at *Treport*, burnt the Suburbs of that Towne with the Abbey, deſtoryed thirty ſhips there in the Haven, and then returned, not having loſt above fourteen perſons in the whole voyage.

At this time the Earle of *Hartford* lying at *Bulloigne*, had in his Army above fourſcore thouſand men, and many skirmiſhes paſſed between him and the *French*, till at laſt, by mediation of the Emperour and diverſe other Princes a meering was appointed to treat of a peace, between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; hereupon there came to *Guiſnes* for the King of *England*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *John Dudley* Viſcount *Liſle*, Baron of *Mawp.s* and high Admirall of *England*, Sir *William Paget* the Kings Secretary & Doctor *Nicholas Wootton* Dean of *Canterbury*. For the *French* King, there came to *Ard*, *Claude Daneholt* Admirall of *France*, the Biſhop of *Eureux*, Monſieur *Reymond* chiefe Preſident of *Roan*, and the Secretary *Bouchetell*. Diverſe times they met betwixt *Ard* and *Guiſnes*, and after long debating of matters, and diverſe breakings off: at length, the ſeventh of *June*, a Peace was concluded, and proclaimed in the City of *London* on Whitſunday the thirteenth of *June*, by ſound of trumpet; and the ſame day in like manner at *Paris* and *Roan*; the chiefe Article of which Peace was this; that the *French* King paying to the King of *England* eight hundred thouſand Crownes, within the terme of eight yeeres, ſhould have *Bulloigne* againe reſtored to him, which in the mean time ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the King of *England*, as a pledge for aſſurance of the ſaid money; and now for a full eſtabliſhment of this Peace, the Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admirall, with the Biſhop of *Dureſme* and divers other Lords, were ſent into *France* to take oath of the *French* King and of the Dolphin; as likewiſe at the ſame time, divers Lords came from the *French* King to take oath of King *Henry*; who by the way were met by the yong Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at *Hampton-Court*.

In his seven and thirtieth yeere, the three and twentieth of *November*, a Parliament began at *Westminster*, wherein was granted to the King, a Subsidie both of Spiritualty and Temporalty, and all Colledges, Chanteries and Hospitalls were given to him to dispose of: the foure and twentieth of *December* the Parliament was prorogued, on which day the King comming to the Parliament House, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancelour was used to answere, but at this time the King would answer himselfe, the effect whereof was, that where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it, not that he had them, but for putting him in mind, how necessary it was, he should have them; then he thanked the whole House for their Subsidie, and for giving him the Colleges and Chanteries, which hee promised to see bestowed, to the glory of God and good of the Realme; lastly, he ackowledged their love to himselfe, but found fault with want of love to one another; for what love, where there is not concord? and what concord, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist, and he againe calleth him Papist and Hipocrite: and this not onely amongst those of the Temporalty, but even the Clergy men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; some be so stiffe in their old mumpsimus, and others so curious in their new sumpsimus, that few or none Preacheth truly and sincerely the word of God; now therfore let this be amended, feare and serve God, be in Charity amongst your selves, to the which I as your supream Head and Soveraigne Lord, exhort and require you: and this said, the Acts were openly read, to some he gave his Royall assent, and to diverse assented not.

Whilst oath for the peace was thus taken by both Kings, *Bulloigne* remaining still in *King Henries* possession, *Monsieur de Chatillon* Captain of *Mont-pleasier* began to make a new Bastillion at the very mouth of the Haven of *Bulloigne* naming it Chatillous Garden: hereof the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* as then Deputy of *Bulloigne* advertised the *King* by Sir *Thomas Palmour*, requiring to know his pleasure whither he should race it, as a thing very incommodious to the Town, or let it stand; the *King* asked advice of his Counsail, who all agreed, that the conditions of the peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the Bastillian stand; whereupon the *King* caused his Secretary the Lord *Paget*, to write a letter to the *Lord Gray*, to that purpose, but then called Sir *Thomas Palmour* secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord *Gray*, that whatsoever he had written in his letter, yet with all speed possible, he should race the fortification to the ground; Sir *Thomas Palmour* replying that a message by word of mouth being contrary to his leter, would never be beleeved, wel (said the *King*) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his choice; upon the comming back of Sir *Thomas Palmour*, the Lord *Gray* called a counsaile, shewing them the Kings letter, and withall Sir *Thomas Palmours* message, and then asked their Advise, what in this case he should doe? who all agreed without any question, that the letter was to be followed, and not the message, to which the *Lord Gray* himselfe said nothing, but caused the message to be wtitten verbatim from Sir *Thomas Palmours* mouth, and those of the Counsaile, to set their hands to it: this done, the night following he issued forth with a company of Armed men and Pioners, and overthrew the fortification to the ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas Palmour* with letters to the King, who as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, whar, will he doe it or no? Sir *Thomas Palmour* delivering his letter said, your Majesty shall know by these, but then the King halfe angry, nay tell me (saith he) wil he doe it or no? being then told it was done, and the fortification clean raced, he turned to his Lords and said, what say you my *Lords* to this, *Chatillous* Garden is raced to the floore; whereto one presently answered, that he that had done it, was worthy to loose his head, to which the King streightly replyed, that he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was, that so Judged, then one such servants as had done it, and therewith commanded the Lord *Grays*

pardon

pardon should presently be drawn, the which he sent with letters of great thanks, and promise of reward; the cause why the King took this course was this, lest if he written the racing of the Fortification, in his letter it might have come to the *French-mens* knowledge, before it could have been done, and so have been prevented, and by this may be taken a scantling of King *Henries* great Capacitie.

It is now the eight and thirtieth yeere of his reigne, when about *Michaelmas* *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, and *Henry* Earle of *Surrey* his Sonne and heire, upon certaine surmises of treason, were committed to the Tower of *London*; and the thirteenth of *January*, the King then lying at the point of death, the said Earle was arraigned in the *Guild-hall*, before the Lord Major, the Lord Chauncellour, and other Lords there in Commission; the speciall matter wherewith he was charged, was the bearing of certaine Armes that were said to belong to the King and to the Prince; though the Earle justified the bearing of them, as belonging to divers of his Ancestours; affirming withall, that he had the opinion of Heraulds therein: But this notwithstanding, being no Lord of the Parliament, he was tried by a common Jurie, and by them was found guilty, and thereupon had judgement of death; and the nineteenth of *January* was beheaded on the Tower-hill. The Duke was attainted by Parliament and kept in prison, till in the first yeer of Queen *Mary* the Attaindour was reversed. The death of this Earle might lay an imputation of cruelty upon King *Henry*, if a just jealousie growing from the many circumstances of the Earles greatnesse, in the tender age of his owne Sonne did not excuse him: [illegible].

Soone after the death of this Earle, the King himselfe died; having made his last Will, in which he tooke order, that his Sonne *Edward* should succeed him in the Crowne, and he dying without issue, his daughter *Mary*, and she dying without issue, his daughter *Elizabeth*; although another order of succession had passed before by Act of Parliament. The Executors of his last Will were these sixteene; *Thomas Cranmor* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Wriothsley* Lord Chancellour, Sir *William Pawlet* Lord Saint *John*, and great Master of the Houshold, Sir *Edward Seymor* Earle of *Hartford* and high Chamberlin of *England*, Sir *John Russell* Lord Privie Seale, Sir *John Dudley* Viscount *Lisle*, Lord Admirall, *Cutbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthonie Browne* Master of the Horse, Sir *Edmund Montacute*, Lord chiefe Justice of the Common-Pleas, Sir *Thomas Bromley* one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sir *Edward North* Chancellour of the Augmentation, Sir *William Paget* Knight of the Order, Sir *Anthonie Dennie*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edward Wootton* Treasurour of *Callice*, and *Nicholas Wootton* Deane of *Canterbury* and *Tooke*. To whom were adjoyned as assistance these twelve, *Henry Fitz Allan* Earle of *Arundell*, *William Par* Earle of *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treasurour of the Houshold, Sir *John Gage* Controlour, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vicechamberlaine, Sir *William Peter* Principall Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of *Sissingherst* in *Kent*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Richard Southwell* and Sir *Edward Peckham*. And it was not without need to leave a full Councell Table, considering in what termes he left the Kingdome when he died. Abroad, in league with the Emperour, at Peace with the King of *France*; but whether these were not personall onely, and no longer binding then King *Henry* lived, might be doubted; with the *Scots* at deadly feud; with the Pope at utter defiance; from both which coasts there could be expected but little faire weather: at home, the frame of Religion extreamly disioynted; and the Clergie that should set it in frame, out of frame themselves: the mindes of the people extreamly distracted; and the Nobility that should cyment them, scarce holding themselves together: And in this stare was the Kingdome when King *Henry* the eight dyed, in the yeer 1547. the fifty sixth of his life, and of his Reigne the eight and thirtieth.

Of his Taxations.

IN his fourth yeer, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, was granted to the King, two Fifteens of the Temporalty, and two Tenths of the Clergie, and Head-money; of every Duke ten marke, an Earle five pound, a Barron foure pound, a Knight foure markes, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, to pay foure markes, and ſo after that rate till him that was valued at forty ſhillings, and he paid twelve pence, and every man and woman of fifteen yeers & upward four pence. In his ſixth yeer, a Parliament was holden, wherin divers Subſidies were granted to the King, towards the charges of his wars in *France*: in his fourteenth yeer, order was taken by the Cardinall, that the true value of all mens ſubſtance might be knowne, and he would have had every man ſworn, to tell what they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof, towards the Kings charges in his preſent wars, as the ſpiritualty had granted a fourth part: this the *Londoners* thought very hard, and thereupon were excuſed for taking oath, and were allowed to bring in their bils upon their honeſties; but when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinall, the Clergy granted one halfe of all their yeerly Spirituall Revenues, for five yeers, and the Temporalty two ſhillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upwards, and from forty ſhillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty ſhillings twelve pence; and under forty ſhillings, of every head of ſixteen yeers and upwards four pence, to be paid in every two yeers: in his ſixteenth yeer, the Cardinall of his owne head, attempted by Comiſſion, to draw the People to pay the ſixth part of every mans ſubſtance in plate or monie; but this was generally oppoſed, and the People in many Countries riſe upon it, ſo as comming to the Kings knowledg, he utterly diſavowed it, and blamed the Cardinall exceedingly for attempting it. In his foure and twentieth yeer in a Parliament then holden, a fifteenth was granted to the King, towards his charges of making fortifications againſt *Scotland*. In his one and thirtieth yeer, a Subſidie of two ſhillings in the pound of lands, and twelve of goods, with foure fifteenes were granted to the King, towards his charges of making Bulwarks. In his five and thirtieth yeer, a Subſidie was granted to be paid in three yeers, every *Engliſh-man* being worth in goods twenty ſhillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound, and from five pounds to ten pounds eight pence, from ten pounds to twenty pound ſix pence, from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two ſhilings; ſtrangers as wel denizens as others, being inhabitants to pay double, and for lands, every *Engliſh-man* paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty ſhillings to five pounds, & from five pounds to ten pounds ſixteen pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds two ſhillings, and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three ſhillings, ſtrangers double; the Clergy ſix ſhillings in the pound of Benefices, and every Prieſt having no Benifice, but an Anual ſtipend, ſix ſhillings eight pence yeerly, during three yeers.

Of Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

IN a Parliament holden in his ſixth yeere, diverſe Lawes were made, but two moſt ſpoken of; one for Apparell, another for Labourers. In his twelvth yeere, he cauſed the Statutes againſt Incloſures to be revived, and Commanded that decaied houſes ſhould be built up againe, and that incloſed grounds ſhould be laid open; which though it did ſome good, yet not ſo much as it might have done, if the Cardinall for his owne benefit, had not procured liberty for great men, to keep up their incloſures, to the oppreſſion of poor men. In his ſeventeenth yeer, the King lying at *Eltham*, diverſe ordinances were made by the Cardinall touching the Governance of the Kings Houſe, and were long after called the Statutes of *Eltham*. In his eighteenth yeere, in the month of

May

May, Proclamation was made againſt all unlawfull games, ſo that in all places tables, dice, cards and Bowles, were taken and burnt; but this order continued not long, for young men being reſtrained from theſe Games, fell ſome to drinking, ſome to ſtealing of Conies and Deere, and ſuch other miſdemeanours: alſo in this yeere, was an inhauncing of Coyne, for preventing the carrying it over to places where it went at higher rate, ſo that the Angell which went before but for ſeven ſhillings, ſhould now goe for ſeven and ſix pence, and every ounce of Gold ſhould be five and forty ſhillings, which was before but forty, and other Coynes accordingly. In his twentieth yeer Sir *James Spencer* being Major of *London*, the watch uſed on Mid-ſomer night was laid downe. In his three and thirtieth yeer, in a Parliament then holden, an Act was made, that whoſoevet ſhould poyſon any perſon ſhould be boyled to death, by which Statute one *Richard Rooſe*, who had poyſoned diverſe perſons in the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* place, was boyled to death in *Smithfield*, to the terrible example of all other. In his two and twentieth yeer, three Acts were made, one for probate of Teſtaments, another for Mortuaries, the third againſt plurality of benefices, Non-Reſidence, buying and taking of Farmes by ſpirituall perſons. In his thirtieth yeer, it was ordained by *Cromwel* the Kings Vicar General, that in al Churches a Regiſter ſhould be kept of every Wedding, Chriſtning, and buriall within the ſame Pariſh for ever. In his one and thirtieth yeer, the King firſt inſtituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen called Penſioners, to waight upon his perſon, aſſigning to each of them fifty pounds a yeer, for the maintainance of themſelvs and two horſes, in his ſix and thirtieth yeer, Proclamation was made for the inhancing of Gold, to eight and forty ſhillings, and ſilver to foure ſhillings the ounce, alſo he cauſed to be coyned baſe money, mingling it with braſſe which was ſince that time called downe the fifth yeere of *Edward* the ſixth, and called in the ſecond yeer of Queen *Elizibeth*. In his ſeven and thirtieth yeer, the brothell houſes, called the Stewes on the *Bank-ſide* in *Southwarke*, were put downe by the Kings Commandement, and was done by proclamation and ſound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth yeer, it was enacted, that Butchers ſhould ſell their meat by weight, Beef for a half-peny the pound, and Mutton for three farthings, alſo at this time forraigne Butchers were permitted, their fleſh in *Leadenhall-market*, which before was not allowed; in his time alſo, the Government of the Preſident in the *North* was firſt inſtituted, and the firſt Preſident there, was *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN the yeer 1517. the eighth yeer of this Kings Reigne, *Martin Luther* of *Wittemberg* in *Germany* a Frier of the Order of the *Hermiſſes*, taking occaſion from the abuſe of Indulgences, began to Preach againſt the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion; for repreſſing of whom the Counſaile of *Trent* was called by Pope *Paul* the third, in the yeere 1542. which continued above forty yeers, but was never received in the Kingdome of *France*; which Counſaile, by decreeing many things to be poins of faith, which were not ſo accounted before, hath made no ſmall diſtraction amongſt Papiſts themſelves: againſt this *Luther*, King *Henry* wrote a booke with great bitterneſſe, and with as great bitterneſſe was anſwered; at the ſame time with *Luther*, there aroſe alſo in the ſame Country other Reformers of Religion, as *Zuinglius*, *Occloampadius*, *Melanthon*, who differing from *Luther* in ſome few points, made the difference which is at this day of *Lutherans* and Proteſtants, ſo called at firſt *Auſpurg*, for making a proteſtation in defence of their Doctrine, which ſoon after ſpread all Chriſtendome over: King *Henry* in the ſixth and twentieth yeer of his Reigne, had excluded the Popes Authority out of his Realme; but thinking the worke not ſufficiently done, as long as Abbeys and Priories kept their ſtation, which were, as it were his Forteresſes and Pillars; there

there was not long after meanes found to have them suppressed, for aspersions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more then truth) of Adulteries and Murthers, they by Act of Parliament, in his eight and twentieth yeer, at lest neere foure hundred of them suppressed, and all their lands and goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth yeer all the rest; and lastly, in his five and thirtinth yeer, all Colledges, Chantries and Hospitals; so as the hives being now all removed, there have never since any Bees or Drones been seen in the Country: in this Kings time, the Citty of *Rome* was taken and sacked by the Imperiall Army, forcing the Pope to fly to his Castle Saint *Angelo*, and there kept a prisoner, till he agreed to such conditions as his Adversaries propounded. In the two and twentieth yeere of this Kings reigne, a Proclamation was set forth that no person should purchase any thing from the Court of *Rome*, and this was the first blow given to the Pope in *England*. In his three and twentieth yeer the Clergy submitting themselves to the King, for being found guilty of a Præmunire, were the first that called him supream head of the Church. In his foure and twentieth yeere a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annats or money for their Buls to the Pope, and another that no person should appeale for any cause out of this Realm, to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper Honse of the Convocation. In his six and twentieth yeer in *July*, *John Frith* was burnt in *Smithfield*, and with him at the same stake one *Andrew Howet* a Tailor, both for denying the Reall presence in the Sacrament; and in a Parliament holden this yeer, an Act was made which Authorized the Kings Highnesse, to be supreame head of the Church of *England*, and the Authority of the Pope to be abolished, and then also was given to the King the first fruits and tenths of all Spirituall livings; and this yeer were many put to dearh, Papists for denying the Kings Supremecy, Protestants for denying the Reall presence in the Sacrament; and it is incredible what numbers for these two causes were put to death, in the last ten yeers of this Kings Reign, of whom if we should make perticular mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs: in his eight and twentieth yeer, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Vicar General under the King, over the Spiritualty, and sate divers times in the Convocation House amongst the Bishops as head over them; and in *September* this yeere, he set forth injunctions, commanding all Parsons and Curates to teach their Parishoners the Pater Noster, the Ave, and Creed, with the ten Commandements and Articles of the Christian Faith in the *English* tongue. In his one and thirtieth yeer, was set forth by the Bishops, the Book of the six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks and to be burnt that should hold,

1. *That the body of Christ was not Really present in the Sacrament after Consecration.*
2. *That the sacrament might not truly be Administred under one Kind.*
3. *That Priests entred into Holy Orders might marry.*
4. *That vowes of Chastity entred into upon mature deliberation, were not to be kept.*
5. *That private Masses were not to be used.*
6. *That Auricular Confession was not necessary in the Church.*

This yeere also the Religion of St. *Johns* in *England*, commonly called the Order of Knights of the Rhodes was dissolved; and on *Assension* day, Sir *William weston* Knight, Prior of St. *Johns* departed this life, for thought (as was reported) after he heard of the dissolution of his Order, for the King took all the lands that belonged to that Order into his owne hands; in his six and thirtieth yeere, the Letany or Præcession was set forth in *English*, with commandement by the King, to be generally used in Parish Churches.

Workes

Workes of Piety done by him or others in his time.

UPon the ſuppreſſing of Abbeys, King *Henry* inſtituted ſix new Biſhopricks and ſix Cathedrall Churches, endowing them with convenient maintenance, he alſo gave competent Penſions during their lives, to ſuch Riligious Perſons as were turned out of their Cloyſters; he alſo inſtituted in both the Univerſities, Profeſſors of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, of Divinity, Civill-law and Phyſick, allowing to each of them forty pound a yeer: he alſo founded a Colledge at *Cambridge*; he gave at his death a thouſand markes to the poor, and to twelve poore Knights of *Windſore*, each of them twelve pence a day for ever, and every yeere a long gowne of white cloath: in the fifth yeer of this Kings reigne, *George Monor* Major of *London*, re-edified the decayed ſteeple of the Church of *waltham-ſtow* in *Eſſex*, adding thereunto a ſide Iſle with a Chappel where he lieth buried; on the North ſide of the Church-yard there he founded a faire Almſ-houſe, for a Prieſt and thirteen poor men and women, giving them a weekly maintenance; he alſo for the commodity of Travelours made a cawſey of timber over the marſhes, from *Waltham-ſtow* to *Lock-bridge* towards *London*. In this Kings eighth yeer *Richard Foxe* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* founded *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, minding to have made it a houſe for Monkes, but *Hugh Oldham* Biſhop of *Exceter*, perſwaded him to make it rather a Colledge for Schollars, and joyned with him in it, contributing great ſums of money towards it, contenting himſelfe with the name onely of a Benefactour. In his ſeventh yeer King *Henry* builded the town of *Greenwich*. In this Kings time, Cardinall *Woolſey* Founded two Colledges, one at *Oxford*, another at *Ipſwich*; to his Colledge at *Oxford* he had given foure thouſand pounds Land a yeere, but his Lands being all confiſcate to the King, the King tooke the Lands, but yet gave to the Colledge a competent maintenance for a Deane, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellowes; which Colledge is now called *Chriſt-Church*, and accounts King *Henry* for their Founder. His Colledge at *Ipſwich* was demoliſhed. This Cardinall alſo built *Hampton-Court*, the chiefeſt at this day of all the Kings houſes, and built or enlarged *White-hall*, called then *Yorke-Place*. King *Henry* in his foure and twentieth yeer, built his Manſion Houſe of Saint *James*, where alſo he made a faire Parke. This place before had beene an Hoſpitall of Siſters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Penſions during their lives. In his thirtieth yeere, *Nicholas Gibſon* Grocer, then Sheriffe of *London*, builded a Free-School at *Ratcliffe* nere *London* with maintenance for a Maſter and an Uſher; he alſo builded an Almſ-houſe there for fourteen poor and aged people. In his one and thirtieth yeer, *Thomas Huntlow* the then Sheriff of *London*, gave certain tenements to the Haberdaſhers, for finding of ten Almeſ-men of the ſame company. In his ſix and thirtieth yeer, Sir *John Allen* who had been twice Major of *London*, and of the Kings Counſaile, gave at his death, to the Citty of *London*, a rich Coller of Gold, to be worn by the Major: which Collor was firſt worne by Sir *William Laxton* on Saint *Edwards* day, at the Election of the new Major, who gave to every Ward in *London* twenty pounds, to be diſtributed amongſt poore Houſholders, beſides to ſixſcore perſons, whereof threeſcore men to every one a gowne of broad-cloth and a black cap; and threeſcore women, to every one a gowne of the like cloath and a white Kerchiffe. In his eight and thirtieth yeer, King *Henry* gave to the Citty of *London*, for reliefe of poore people Saint *Barthalomews* Spittle, the Church of the Gray-Friers, and two Pariſh Churches, the one at Saint *Nicholas* in the Shambles, the other Saint *Ewins* in Newgate-Market, all to be made one Pariſh Church of the Gray-Fryers; and in Lands he gave for the maintenance of the ſame five hundred markes a yeere for ever: and this Church to be named *Chriſt-Church*; founded by King *Henry* the eighth.

Caſualties in his time.

IN his ninth yeere happened a Swearing-ſickneſſe, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of *England* dyed, ſpecially in *London*; and was ſo violent, that in three and ſometimes two houres, it tooke away mens lives, and ſpared neither rich nor poore; for in the Kings Court the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, and many Knights, Gentlemen and Officers dyed of it. It began in *July*, and continued to the midſt of *December*. In his thirteenth yeere, was a great mortality in *London*, and other places of the Realme, and many men of Honour and Worſhip dyed; amongſt others, Doctor *Fitz-James* Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe place Doctor *Tunſtall* ſucceeded. In his nineteenth yeere, by extremity of raine in ſeed-time, there followed a great dearth of Corne, which would have cauſed great calamity, but that it was relieved in *London* by Merchants of the Styliard out of *Germany*, and a thouſand quarters ſupplied out of the Kings owne proviſion. In his twentieth yeere, in the end of *May*, began in *London* another Sweating-ſickneſſe, which afterwards infected all places of the Realme; by reaſon whereof the Tearme was adjourned, and the Circuit of the Aſſizes alſo; many dyed in the Court, as Sir *Francis Poynts*, Sir *William Compton* Knights, and *William Carew* Eſquire of the Kings Privie-Chamber; the King himſelfe for a ſpace, removed almoſt every day, till he came to *Tittinhanger*, a place of the Abbot of Saint *Albons*, where he with the Queene and a ſmall number remained, till the ſickneſſe was paſt. In his thirtieth yeere, the manner of caſting Pipes of Lead, for conveyance of water under-ground, without uſing of ſoder, was firſt invented by *Robert Brocke* Clerke, one of the Kings Chaplaines: a profitable invention, for by this, two men and a boy will doe more in one day, then could have beene done before by many men in many daves: *Robert Cooper* Goldſmith, was the firſt that made the Inſtruments, and put this Invention in practice. In a Rebellion in the North, in this Kings time, when the Duke of *Norfolke* was ſent with an Army againſt the Rebels, and that a day of battaile betweene them was appointed, it happened, that the night before a ſmall Brooke called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon the fall of a ſmall raine, ſwelled to ſuch a height, that it was not paſſable by either foot or horſe; a thing which had never happened before upon a great raine, and was then accounted (as indeed it was) no leſſe then a Miracle. In his three and thirtieth yeere, was a great mortality in the Realme, by reaſon of hot Agues and Fluxes; and withall ſo great a drouth, that ſmall Rivers were clean dryed, much cattell dyed for lacke of water, and the Thames were grown ſo ſhallow, that the Salt-water flowed above *London-bridge*, till the raine had encreaſed the freſh waters. In his five and thirtieth yeere, the firſt caſt-Peeces of Iron that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Buckſtead* in *Suſſex* by *Ralph Hogg* and *Peter Bawde*. In his ſix and thirtieth yeere, was a great Plague in *London*, ſo as *Michaelmas* Tearme was adjourned to Saint *Albones*, and there kept. In his ſeven and thirtieth yeere, on Tueſday in Eaſter-weeke, *William Foxley* Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower of *London*, fell aſleepe, and could not be waked with pinching or burning, till the firſt day of the next Tearme, which was full fourteene dayes; and when he awaked, was found in all points, as if he had ſlept but one night, and lived forty yeeres after. About this fifteenth yeere, it happened that divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Rime was made:

Turkes, Carps, Hoppes, Piccarell and Beere,
Came into ENGLAND *all in one yeere.*

Of his Wives and Children.

KIng *Henry* had ſix Wives, his firſt was *Katherine*, daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Relict of his brother *Arthur*, ſhe lived his Wife above twenty yeers, and then was divorced from him; after which ſhe lived three yeers by the name of *Katherine Dowager*, ſhe deceaſed at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntington*, the eighth of *January* in the yeere 1535. and lieth interred in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*, under a Hearce of black ſay, having a white Croſſe in the midſt. His ſecond Wife was *Anne* ſecond daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Earle of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*; ſhee was maried to him the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the yeere 1533. lived his wife three yeers, three months and five and twenty dayes, and then was beheaded, and her body buried in the Quire of the Chappell in the Tower: his third Wife was *Jane* daughter of Sir *John Seymour* and ſiſter to the Lord *Edward Seymour*, Earle of *Hartford* and Duke of *Somerſet*, ſhe was maried to him the next day after the beheading of Queen *Anne*, lived his Wife one yeer five months and foure and twenty dayes, and then died in Child-bed, and was buried in the midſt of the Quire of the Church within the Caſtle of *Windſor*. His fourth Wife was *Anne*, ſiſter to the Duke of *Cleve*, ſhe lived his wife ſix moneths, and then was Divorced; ſhe remained in *England* long after the Kings death, and accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London*, at the ſolemnizing of Queene *Maries* Coronation. His fifth wife was *Katherine*, daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece of *Thomas Howard* his brother Duke of *Norfolke*; ſhe was married to him in the two and thirtieth yeere of his reigne; lived his wife one yeere ſixe moneths and foure dayes, and then was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and buried in the Chancell of the Chappell by Queene *Anne Bullen*. His ſixt wife was *Katherine*, daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kendall*, and ſiſter to the Lord *William Parre*, Marqueſſe of *Northampton*; ſhe was firſt married to *John Nevill* Lord *Latimer*, and after his deceaſe to the King at *Hampton-Court*, in the five and thirtieth yeere of his reigne: ſhe was his wife three yeeres ſix moneths and five dayes; and then ſurviving him, was againe married to *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admirall of *England*, unto whom ſhe bore a daughter, but died in her Childe-bed, in the yeere 1548. He had children by his firſt wife Queene *Katherine*, *Henry* borne at *Richmond*, who lived not full two moneths, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*; alſo another Sonne, whoſe name is not mentioned, lived but a ſhort time neither: then a daughter named *Mary*, borne at *Greenwich*, in the eighth yeere of his reigne, and came afterward to be Queene of *England*. By his ſecond wife, Queene *Anne Bullen*, he had a daughter named *Elizabeth*, borne at *Greenwich*, in the five and twentieth yeere of his reigne; who ſucceeded her ſiſter *Mary* in the Crowne: he had alſo by her a ſonne, but borne dead. By his third wife Queene *Jane*, he had a Sonne named *Edward*, borne at *Hampton-Court* in the nine and twentieth yeere of his reigne, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdome. Beſides theſe, he had a baſe ſonne, named *Henry Fitz-roy*, begotten of the Lady *Talboyſe*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, borne at *Blackamore* in *Eſſex*, in the tenth yeere of his reigne; who was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*; married *Mary* daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*; with whom he lived not long, but dyed at Saint *Iames* by *Weſtminſter*, and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolke*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HEE was exceeding tall of ſtature, and very ſtrong; faire of complexion, in his latter dayes corpulent and burley: concerning his conditions,

Hee was a Prince of ſo many good parts, that one would wonder he could have any ill; and indeed he had not many ill, till flattery and ill councell in his latter time got the upper hand of him. His cruelty to his wives may not onely be excuſed, but defended; for if they were incontinent, he did but juſtice; if they were not ſo, yet it was ſufficient to ſatisfie his conſcience, that he thought he had cauſe to thinke them ſo; and if the marriage bed be honourable in all, in Princes it is ſacred. In ſuppreſſing of Abbies he ſhewed not little Piety, but great providence; for though they were excellent things being rightly uſed, yet moſt peſtilent, being abuſed; and then may the uſe be juſtly ſuppreſſed, when the abuſe ſcarce poſſibly can be reſtrained. To thinke he ſuppreſſed Abbies out of covetouſneſſe and deſire of gaine, is to make him extreamly deceived in his reckoning; for if we compare the profit with the charge that followed, we ſhall finde him certainly a great looſer by the bargaine. He was ſo farre from Pride, that he was rather too humble, at leſt he converſed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner then was uſuall with Princes. So valiant, that his whole life almoſt, was nothing but exerciſes of valour; and though performed amongſt his friends in jeſt, yet they prepared him againſt his enemies in earneſt, and they that durſt be his enemies found it. It may be ſaid, the complexion of his government for the firſt twenty yeers, was ſanguine and joviall; for the reſt, collerick and bloody: and it may be doubted, whether in the former, he were more prodigall of his owne treaſure, or in the latter of his Subjects blood; for as he ſpent more in Fictions, then any other King did in Realities, ſo in any diſtemper of his people, he had no other Phyſicke, but to open a veine: but we ſhall do him extreame wrong, to thinke that all the blood ſhed in his time, was of his ſhedding; they were the Biſhops that were the *Draco* to make the bloody Laws; the Biſhops that were the *Phalaris*, to put them in execution: the King oftentimes ſcarce knowing what was done. Certain it is, when a great Lord put a Gentlewoman the ſecond time on the rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemned him for ſuch extream cruelty. As for Religion, though he brought it not to a full Reformation; yet he gave it ſo great a beginning, that we may truly ſay of that he did, *Dimidium plus toto.* They who charge him with the vice of luſt, let them ſhew ſuch another example of continence as was ſeen in him to lye ſix moneths by a yong Lady, and not to touch her; for ſo did hee with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*: but this is to make Noſegayes, I like better to leave every flower growing upon its ſtaulke, that it may be gathered freſh; which will be done by reading the Story of his Life.

Of his Death and Buriall.

IT is Recorded of him, that in his later time he grew ſo fat and ſlothfull, that engines were made to lift and remove him up and downe; but howſoever in the ſix and fiftieth yeer of his age, whither a dropſie, or by reaſon of an ulcer in his leg, he fell into a langniſhing feaver, which brought him into ſuch extreamity, that his Phyſitians utterly deſpared of his life, whereof yet none durſt ſpeake a word to him, till Maſter *Denny* one of his Privy-chamber tooke the the boldnes to goe to him, telling him of the danger he was in, and withall putting him in mind to thinke of his ſoules health; to which he anſwered, that hee confeſſed his ſinnes to be exceeding great, yet had ſuch confidence in the mercy of God through Chriſt, that he doubted not of forgiveneſſe though they had been much greater; and being then asked by Maſter *Denny*, if he would have any Divine brought to him with whom to confer, he anſwered he would willingly have the Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, but not yet a while, til he had taken a litle reſt: whereupon the Archbiſhop being then at *Croydon*, was preſently ſent for, but before he could come, the King was growne ſpeechleſſe, onely ſeeming to retain a little memory, ſo as putting out his hand, and the Archbiſhop deſiring him to ſhew ſome ſigne of his faith in Chriſt, he then wrung the Archbiſhop hard

by

by the hand, and immediately gave up the Ghoſt, the eight and twentieth of *January*, in the yeer 1547. the ſix and fiftieth of his age, and of his reigne the eight and thirtieth: his body with great ſolemnity was buried at *Windſor* under a moſt coſtly and ſtately Tombe, begun in copper and guilt, but never finiſhed.

Men of note in his time.

MEn famous for the ſword were many in his time, and in a manner all, that it is hard making choice, without being partiall, unleſſe we ſhal preferre Dukes of equal valour, before others of meaner caling, and then wil the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolk* hold worthily the place firſt, and next to them the yong Earl of *Surrey*, who had been more fortunate if he had been leſſe valiant. Of men of letters in his time, there were whole Armies in forraigne parts, the moſt famous, were *Budæus*, *Ludovicus Vines*, *John Reuolin*, *Eraſmus Roteradamus*, *Vrſinus*, *Cornarius*, *Sadolet*, *Martin Bucer*; in *England* were *John Collet* Deane of *Pauls* and Founder of the Schoole there, *William Lilly* borne at *Odiham* in *Hamſhire*, firſt Scholmaſter of *Pauls*-Schoole, *Thomas Linaker* a learned Phiſitian, *John Skelton* a pleaſant Poet, *William Horman* Vice Proveſt of *Eaten*, who wrote divers workes, Sir *Thomas Moore*, *William Tindall*, *John Raſtal*, a Citizen and Stationer of *London*, *Chriſtopher Saint-Germane* an excellent Lawyer, Sir *Thomas Elyot*, *John Leland*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquities, Sir *John Bourchier* Knight, Lord *Berners*, who tranſlated the Chronocles of *Froyſard* out of *French* into *Engliſh*, *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of Saint *Aſſaph*, who wrote a book againſt *Eraſmus* traſlation of the new Teſtament; *Arnold* of *London*, who wrote certain Colections touching Hiſtoricall matters, *Thomas Lupſet* a *Londoner*, who wrote ſundry vertuous Treatiſes, *Henry Bradſhaw* a black Monke, who wrote the life of Saint *Werburough*, and alſo a certain Chronocle, *John Palſgrave* a *Londoner*, who wrote inſtructious for the perfect underſtanding of the *French* tongue, *John Skuiſh* a *Corniſh-man*, who wrote certaine abbreviations of Chronicles, with a Treatiſe of the wars of *Troy*, *Anthony Fitz-Herbert* a Judge, who wrote an Abridgment of the Law, *Wilfride Holme* who wrot a Treatiſe of the rebellion in *Lincolnſhire*, *Thomas Lanquet* who wrote an Epitomy of Chronicles, and alſo of the winning of *Bulloigne*, *Thomas Soulman* of *Gernſey*, who wrote divers notes of Hiſtory, *Cuthert Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Robert Whittington* who wrote divers Treatiſes for the inſtruction of *Grammarians*, *John Ruſſell*, who wrote a Treatiſe entituled *ſuper jure Cæſaris et Papæ*, alſo commentaries *in Cantica*, *Simon Fiſh* a *Kentiſh-man*, who wrote a book called the ſupplication of Beggars, *George Bullen* Lord *Rochford* brother to Queen *Anne* who wrote divers ſongs and ſoners, *Francis Bigod* Knight born in *Yorkeſhire*, who wrote a book againſt the Clergy, intitled *de Impropriationibus*, *Henry* Lord *Morley*, who wrote divers Treatiſes, as Comodies and Tragedies, as the life of ſectaries, and certaine rimes, *William Botevile alias Thynne*, who reſtored the works of Chawcer, *Richard Turpin*, who ſerving in the Garriſon of *Callice*, wrote a Chronicle of his time, and died in the yeer 1541. Sir *Thomas Wiat* Knight, who wrote divers matters in *Engliſh*-meeter, and tranſlated the ſeven Penitentiall Pſalmes, and (as ſome ſay) the whole Pſalter, he died of the peſtilence, as he was going Embaſſadour to the Emperour, in the yeer 1541. *Henry Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, who wrote divers Treatiſes in *Engliſh*-meeter, *John Field* a *Londoner*, who wrote a Treatiſe of mans Free-will, *de Servo hominis Arbitrio*, and Collections of the common Laws of *England*, *Robert Shingleton* borne in *Lancaſhire*, who wrote a Treatiſe of the ſeven Churches, and certaine Propheſies, *William Parry* a *Welſh-man*, who wrote a booke intitled *ſpeculum Juvenam*.

THE REIGNE OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

IT was now the yeere 1547. when on the eight and twentieth of *January* King *Henry* dying; Prince *Edward* his Sonne by his third wife, the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and the onely Sonne he left behinde him, as well by right of Inheritance, as by his last Will, succeeded him in the Kingdome; to whom as being but nine yeers old, and therefore unripe for Government; hee had assigned eight and twenty Councellours; a fit number, if agreeing amongst themselves; too many, if at variance: and at variance they would soon fall, if there were not a moderatour to keep them in concord; the first worke therfore necessary to be done in this new world, was to make choice of such a man, as might be to the Counsailors a Moderator, a protectour to the King, and in his minority, to the Kingdome. To this place, by common consent of the King and Counsaile, *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford* the Kings Unckle, was chosen to hold the place, untill the King should accomplish the age of eighteene yeeres. In which Office the first thing he did, was to make the young King Knight, who presently thereupon, made *Henry Hobblethorne* Major of *London* Knight, and then King *Henries* Obsequies being solemnly performed; on the seaventeenth of *February*, were raised in Honour the Earl of *Hartford* Protectour, to be Duke of *Somerset*, *William Par* Earle of *Essex*, to be Marquis of *Northampton*, *Dudly* Viscount *Lisle*, to be Earle of *Warwick*; *Wriothsley* Lord Chancelour, to be Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas* Seymour the Protectours brother, was made Lord of *Sudeley*, and Admirall of *England*, Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby* was made Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Edmund Sheffield* was made Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick*: on the nineteenth of *February*, the King in great state rode from the Tower to the Pallace of *Westminster*, where the day following, he was Crowned by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all rites accustomed, in great solemnity. At which time a generall pardon was Proclaimed for all offenders, six onely excepted, namely the Duke of *Norfolke*, Cardinall *Poole*, *Edward Courtney* eldest sonne to the Marquis of *Excetur*, Master *Fortescue*, Master *Throgmorton*, and Doctor *Pates* Bishop of *Worcester*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid taking the oath of Supremacy, all which six continued unpardoned, till the first yeere of Queene *Mary*, and then were restored. A few dayes after, the Earle of *Southampton* Lord Chancelour for being contumacious to the rest of the Lords in matters of Counsaile, was removed both from his Office of being Chancelour, and from his place in

Counsaile

Counsaile, and the great Seale was delivered to Sir *William Pawlet*, Lord *Saint-John*, and Lord great Master of the Kings Huoshold.

Within two months after the death of King *Henry*, died *Francis* King of *France* also, for whom solemne Obsequies were kept in *Pauls* Church, as hee likewise had kept before at *Paris* for King *Henry*: these two Kings were of so consenting natures, that they had certainly been great friends while they lived, if they had not been Kings, and that jelousie of state had not made them oftentimes not to be themselves.

King *Henry* before his death, had left in charge with the Lords of his Counsaile, by all meanes possible, to procure a proceeding in the mariage with the young Queen of *Scots*; and now in discharge therof the Lord Protectour himselfe, with an Army of twelve thousand foot, and six thousand horse, besides Labourers and Pioners thirteen hundred, entred *Scotland* the third of *September*, at which time also *Edward* Lord *Clinton* with a fleet of threescore saile assisted by sea, but before he would doe any hostile Act, he caused Proclamation to be made, that his comming was onely to have performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the mariage, tending to the good of both Kingdomes, if they would yeeld unto, he would then returne in peaceble manner, and the more to draw them on, where before it was demanded to have the Queen brought into *England*, and there to be brought up, the Protectour was content, she should remaine in *Scotland* till yeers of consent: this demand, the more moderate sort of the *Scots* accounted very reasonable, but those of the *French* and Papal faction, who were the greatest persons, and the greatest number strongly opposed; wherupon, the Lord Protectour, presently put his Army into Array, the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Brian*, with eight hundred Light-horse, were sent before to provide lodging for the Army, and to give advertisement of the enemies approaches; then followed the Avant-guard, in number between three and foure thousand foot, one hundred men at Armes, and six hundred Light-horse, led by the Earle of *Warwick*; then followed the maine Battaile, consisting of above six thousand foot, six hundred men at Armes, and one thousand Light-horse led by the Protector himself lastly followed the Arrear, wherein were between three and foure thousand foot, one hundred men at Armes, and six hundred Light-horse, under the conduct of the Lord *Dacres*, upon one wing the Artillery was drawne, being sixteen pieces of great Ordinance; the other wing was made by men at Armes and Demilances; for the Avant-guard and halfe the battaile, riding about two flight shoot from their side, the other halfe of the battaile, and the whole flanke of the Arrear was closed by the carraiges, being nine hundred Carrs besides Waggons; the rest of the men at Armes, and the Demilances marched behinde. In this order they marched two dayes, taking in three Castles as they went, with little resistance; where it is memorable, what a suddaine device the Defendants of one of them used to save themselves; for finding they were no longer able to defend themselves, and that their obstinacy had excluded all hope of pardon; they made suite, they might not presently be slain, but have some time to commend their soules to God, and afterwards be hanged: which respite being obtained, their pardon afterward did more easily ensue; so much doth the winning of time oftentimes prevaile, more then any other policy. The Governour of *Scotland*, hearing of the Protectours approch and having no sufficient Army ready to resist him, sent his Heralds abroad, into all parts of the Realm, and commanded the fire-crosse to be carried (an antient custome in cases of importance) which, was two firebrands set in fashion of a crosse, and pitched upon the point of a speare, and therewith Proclamation to be made, that all above sixteen yeers of age, and under sixty, should resort forthwith to *Musselborough* & bring convenient provision of victuals with them. By this meanes, having gotten a sufficient Army, he set forward towards the *English* who were now come to a River called *Linne*, and here the Earle of *Warwick* being too venterous, was like to have bin entrapped, but by his valour came

came off bravely; and now the *Scottiſh* Horſe-men began to hover about the *Engliſh* Army, and to come pricking towards them, ſometimes within length of their ſtaves, uſing provoking words, to draw the *Engliſh* from their ſtrength; but the Protector, not moved with their provocations, maintained a cloſe march till he came to *Salt-preſton* by the *Frith*, where he incamped within two miles of the *Scottiſh* Army: and here the *Scots* having gotten the advantage of a Hill came upon the *Engliſh* with the number of twelve hundred Horſe, beſides five hundred foot that lay in ambuſh behind the Hill; at which time the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Brian*, impatient of ſuch bravaries, obtained leave of the Generall to encounter them, and ſo as they came ſcattered upon the ſpurre, within a ſtones caſt of the *Engliſh*, and were beginning to wheele about, the Lord *Gray* with ſome troops of Light horſ-men, charged them home, and was forthwith ſeconded by certaine numbers of Demilances, and both of them backed with a thouſand men at Armes; yet the *Scots* reſolutely maintained the fight three houres and more, but in the end, overlaid with number, they were put to flight and chaſed almoſt to the edge of their Camp. In this fight the chiefeſt force of the *Scottiſh* Horſ-men was defeated, the Lord *Hume*, by a fall from his Horſe loſt his life, his ſonne and Heire with two Prieſts and ſix Gentlemen were taken priſoners, and about fifteene hundred ſlaine: the next day, the Protectour and the Earle of *Warwick*, rode towards the place where the *Scottiſh* Army lay, to view the manner of their incamping. As they returned, an Herauld and a Trumpeter from the *Scots* overtook them; who having obtained Audience, the Trumpeter ſaid, that the Lord *Huntley* his Maſter, to ſpare effuſion of Chriſtian blood, would fight upon the whole quarel, either with twenty againſt twenty, or with ten againſt ten, or elſe try it between the Lord Generall and himſelfe: the Protectour anſwered, that for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any bargaine; and as for himſelfe, that being in publick charge, it was not fit he ſhould hazard himſelfe againſt a man of private Conditions, which otherwiſe he would moſt willingly accept: here the Earle of *Warwick* intreated the Lord Generall, that he might accept the Challenge, and Trumpeter (ſaith he) bring me word, that thy Maſter will performe the Combat with me, and thou ſhalt have an hundred Crownes for thy paines; nay rather (ſaith the Lord Generall) bring me word that thy Maſter will abide and give us battaile, and thou ſhalt have a thouſand Crownes for thy paines: and thereupon, when no other agreement could be made, a generall battaile was reſolved on: in the Army of the *Scots*, were five or ſix and thirty thouſand men; in the Avant-guard, commanded by the Earle of *Angus*, about fifteen thouſand; in the Battaile, over whom was the Lord Governour, about ten thouſand; and in the Arreare as many, led by the valiant *Gourdon* Earle of *Huntley*; *Hackbutters* they had none nor men at Armes, but about two thouſand Horſ-men (Prickers as they terme them) the reſt were all on foote well furniſhed with Jack and Scull, pikes, daggers, Bucklers made of boord, and ſlicing ſwords broad and thin; every man had a long Kirchiffe, folded twice or thrice about his neck, and many of them had cheines of Lattin, drawne three or foure times along their hoſes and doublet-ſleeves: they had alſo to affright the enemies Horſes, great rattles covered with parchment or paper, and ſmall ſtones within put upon ſtaves three ells long. And now both Armies joyned in battaile, where a long fight and much variety of fortune on both ſides; at length, the victory fell to the *Engliſh*: in this fight, divers of the Nobility of *Scotland* were ſlain; of the inferior ſort about ten, or as ſome ſay, fourteen thouſand: of the *Engliſh* were ſlain, onely one and fifty Horſe-men and on footmen, but many hurt; the Lord *Gray* was dangerouſly thruſt with a pike in the mouth which ſtruck two inches into his neck; the *Scottiſh* priſoners accounted by the Marſhals booke, were about fifteene hundred, the chiefe whereof were, the Earle of *Huntley*, the Lords *Teſter*, *Hobley* and *Hamilton* *Poole* and the Lord of *Wimmes*; the Earle of *Huntley*, the Maſter of *Sanc-*

being asked whilſt he

was

was a priſoner, how he ſtood affected to the marriage; made this anſwer, that he liked the mariage wel enough, but he liked not this kinde of woing. This victory of *Muskelborough* againſt the *Scots*, was on the tenth of *December*, the very ſame day on which thirty yeers before a victory had bin had againſt them at *Flodden* field; ſo as it ſeems this day was fatall to the *Scots*, and confirms the opinion of Aſtologers, that there are dayes to ſome men fortunate & unfortunate to others if they could be known. This victory ſtrook ſuch a terror into many of the *Scots*, that the Earl *Bothwel* and divers chiefe Gentlemen of *Tividale* and *Meers* ſubmitted themſelves to the King of *England*, and were received by the Prorectour into his protection: after this, the *Engliſh* army took many towns and Caſtles, and then for want of Proviſion, returned into *England*, having not ſtayed above five and twenty dayes in *Scotland*, and not loſt above threeſcore men. But notwithſtanding this great overthrow at *Muskelborough*, the Governour of *Scotland* would not yet be quiet; but aſſembling the people, made unto them a long Oration, exhorting them to defend the liberty of their Countrie, and not to be daunted with any event of warre. In this mean time many diſtractions and troubles hapned in *England*; partly in matters of Religion, and partly about Incloſures: and firſt for incloſures, the Lord Protector cauſed Proclamation to be ſet forth, commanding they who had Incloſed any Lands, accuſtomed to lye open, ſhould upon a certain pain, before a day aſſigned, lay them open again: and then in matter of Religion, certain Injunctions were ſet forth, for removing of Images out of Churches; and divers Preachers were ſent with Inſtructions to diſſwade the people from praying to Saints or for the dead; from uſe of Beads, Aſhes & Proceſſions; from Maſſes, Durges, praying in any unknown tongue; and for defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed publickly to be red in Churches: & many for offering to maintaine theſe Ceremonies, were either puniſhed or forced to recant. *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, was committed to the Fleet, for refuſing to receive theſe Injuctions; *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was likewiſe committed firſt to the Fleet and after to the Tower, for that he had preached; It were well, theſe changes in Religion ſhould be ſtayed untill the King were of yeers to govern by himſelfe: for the like cauſes *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Heath* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, were in like manner committed to priſon, and all of them diſpoſſeſſed of their Biſhopricks; and that which was worſe, the Biſhopricks themſelves were diſpoſſeſſed of their Revenues, in ſuch ſort, that a very ſmal patt remained to the Biſhops that came after. And now a Parliament was held, in the firſt yeer of the King, and by Prorogation in the ſecond; wherein divers Chantries, Colledges, free Chappels, Fraternities and Guildes, with all their Lands and goods were given to the King; which being ſold at a low rate, enriched many and ennobled ſome, and thereby made them firme in maintaining the change: alſo it was then ordered, that no man ſhould ſpeak againſt receiving the Euchariſt in both kindes, and that Biſhops ſhould be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceding, or confirmation inſuing; and that all Proceſſes Eccleſiaſticall ſhould be made in the Kings name, as in Writs at the Common-Law; and that al Perſons exerciſing Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction, ſhould have the Kings Armes in the Seales of their Office: and further, the Statute of the ſix Articles and other Statutes concerning puniſhment of Lollards were repealed, and the Kings Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirmed.

All this while the warres in *Scotland* continued, and were managed by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* with variable ſucceſſe; and now about this time was ſent to him in aide, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* with fifteen thouſand men; againſt him, in aid of the *Scots* was ſent the *Rhinegrave* with ten thouſand *French*; who entring into conſultation, how to remove the yong Queene out of the reach of the *Engliſh*; provided a Fleet, and ſailing round about *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* Fleet lay in wait to impeach their paſſage, yet conveyed her ſafely into *France*, being then but ſix yeers old; accompanied in the

journey with *James* her baſe brother, *John* Erskin and *William Levi*ſton; and in *April* following was married to *Francis* the Dolphin of *France*.

You heard before the alterations, now heare the troubles; for when the Injunctions were ſent abroad into the Countrey, and Commiſſioners appointed to ſee them executed; one Maſter *Bodye* a Commiſſioner, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwall*, was ſuddenly by a Prieſt ſtabbed into the body with a knife. Hereupon the people flocked together in divers parts of the ſheere, taking Armes, and beginning to commit outrages; and although the chiefe Offendour was hanged and quartered in *Smithfield*, and many of his complices executed in divers parts of the Realme; and withall a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay downe Armes, yet neither could that ſeverity, nor this lenity reſtraine them from their inſolencies; but in divers Countries, as *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Gloſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Woſterſhire*, but ſpecially in *Semerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire*, great aſſemblies of people gathered to a head; whoſe chiefe Leaders were *Humfrey Arundel*, and about ſix others of inferiour note, but many Prieſts. Some of theſe (we may ſay) were Commonwealth mutiners; and ſome mutined for religion: they who were for the Common-wealth could agree upon nothing; ſome would have no Juſtices, ſome no Gentlemen, ſome no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Juſtice, but above all Incloſures muſt down; but whether all, or which, or how to be imployed, none could tell. The religious Mutiners were not altogether ſo various in their voyces, as having ſome few amongſt them by whom they were guided: theſe in name of the people hammered up theſe Arricles following; upon granting of which, they profeſſed that both their bodies and goods ſhould be at the Kings devotion.

1. *That Curates ſhould adminiſter Baptiſme at all times of neceſſity, as well as week-dayes as on holy-dayes.*
2. *That their children might be confirmed by the* Biſhop.
3. *That the Maſſe might be celebrated, no man communicating with the Prieſt.*
4. *That they might have reſervation of the Lords body in their Churches.*
5. *That they might have holy-bread and holy-water in remembrance of Chriſts precious body and blood.* 6. *That Prieſts might live unmarried.*
7. *That the ſix Articles ſet forth by King* Henry *the eight might be continued, at leſt till the King ſhould come to full age.*

Upon theſe demands, the King, although he knew that Reaſons would little prevaile with unreaſonable men; yet to diſcharge the place he held, he ſent them in writing Anſwers to them all, and withall a generall pardon, if they would deſiſt and lay downe armes. But the ſedicious growing the more outragious, the fairer they were intreated; and finding themſelves unable to ſubſiſt with their owne eſtates, began to thinke upon the ſpoyle of Cities; and firſt they came ro *Excetour*, and demanded entrance, which the Citizens refuſing, they fell to ſet fire on the gates; but the Citizens prevented this, by caſting in wood and maintaining the fire, till they had caſt up a halfe moone within; upon which when the ſeditious attempted to enter, they were preſently hewen and cut in peeces. After this they mined the wals, laid powder, and rammed the mouth; but the Citizens prevented this alſo, by making a countermine, whereinto they poured ſuch plenty of water, that the wet powder could not be fired. All this while, the Lord *Ruſſell* Lord Privie Seale, who had beene ſent downe to ſuppreſſe the Commotion, lay at *Huntington*, expecting more Forces; whilſt theſe Citizens of *Excetour*, for twelve dayes together endured ſo great famine, that they were faine to eat horſes, and make bread of courſe bran moulded in cloathes, for that otherwiſe it would not cleave together. At laſt the Lord *Gray* came to the Lord *Ruſſell* with ſupply of Forces; who after many conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raiſe their ſiedge at *Excetour*; and thereby freed the City from many miſeries: to whom the King afterward, gave the Mannour of *Evyland*, in reward for their lovalty. After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, were againe ſet upon by the Kings Army, and the greateſt

part

part of them ſlaine, the reſt fled; many were taken and executed by Martiall Law; the chiefe Leaders were ſent to *London* and there executed. The ſedition being thus ſuppreſſed; it is memorable what ſport Sir *William Kingſton* the Provoſt Marſhall made, by vertue of his Office, upon men in miſery. One *Boyer* Major of *Godmin* in *Cornwall*, had bin amongſt the Rebels, not willingly but enforced; to him the Provoſt ſent word he would come and dine with him, for whom the Major made great proviſion; a little before dinner, the Provoſt took the Major aſide, and whiſpered him in the eare, that an execution muſt that day be done in the town, and therefore required to have a paire of Gallows ſet up againſt dinner ſhould be done; the Major failed not of his charge, preſently after dinner the Provoſt taking the Major by the hand, intreated him to lead him to the place where the Gallowes was, which when he beheld he asked the Major if he thought them to be ſtrong enough; yes (ſaid the Major) doubtleſſe they are; well then (ſaid the Provoſt) get you up ſpeedily, for they are provided for you. I hope (anſwered the Major) you mean not as you ſpeak: in faith (ſaid the Provoſt) there is no remedy, for you have bin a buſie Rebell; and ſo without reſpit or defence he was hanged to death:) a moſt uncurreous part, for a gueſt to offer his hoſt. Neere the ſaid place dwelled a Millar, who had bin a buſie actor in that Rebellion; who fearing the approach of the Marſhall, told a ſturdy fellow his ſervant, that he had occaſion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to enquire after the Millar, he ſhould not ſpeak of him, but ſay that himſelfe was the Millar, and had bin ſo for three yeers before. So the Provoſt came and called for the Millar, when out comes the ſervant, and ſaith, he was the man: the Provoſt demanded how long he had kept the Mill; theſe three yeeres anſwered the ſervant: then the Provoſt commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next tree. At this the fellow cryed out, that he was not the Millar but the Millars man: nay Sir (ſaid the Provoſt) I will take you at your word, and if thou beeſt the Millar thou art a buſie knave; if thou beeſt not, thou art a falſe lying knave, and howſoever thou canſt never do thy Maſter better ſervice then to hang for him; and ſo without more adoe he was diſpatched.

When this ſedition in *Devonſhire* was appeaſed, there roſe another in *Norfolke*, and that ſpecially upon a grievance for encloſures; the Rebels had got one *Robert Ket* a Tanner of *Wimondham* to be their Leader, and were growne to a body of twenty thouſand, ſeating themſelves at *Monſhold*, neer *Mount-Surrey*, where they carried a face as it were of Juſtice and Religion; for they had one *Conyers* an idle fellow to be their Chapleyne, who morning and evening read ſolemn Prayers, alſo Sermons they had often, and as for Juſtice they had a bench under a tree where *Ket* uſually ſate, and with him two of every hundred whence their Companies had been raiſed, to heare complints and to give Judgment, and from hence were warrants ſent in the Kings name, to bring in powder, ſhot, victuals, and all things neceſſary: which tree hath ever ſince been called the tree of Reformation; and now being grown to a heighth, they preſented certain complaints to the King, requiring, he would ſend a Herauld to them, to give them ſatisfaction; the King though he tooke it for a great indignity, to have ſuch baſe fellowes to capitulate with him, yet framing himſelfe to the time, he returned this anſwer; that in *October* following he would cal a Parliament wherein their complaints ſhould be heard, and all their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, requiring them in the meane time, to lay downe Armes and returne to their houſes, and therupon granting them a generall pardon: but this was ſo far from ſatisfying the ſeditious, that hereupon firſt, they aſſaulted the Town of *Norwich* tooke it, and made the Major attend them as their ſervant, and then returned again to their ſtation at *Manſhold*: not long after *William Parre* Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, divers Knights, and fifteen hundred Horſe, with a ſmall band of *Italians* was ſent againſt them; whom the ſeditious ſo ſtoutly oppoſed, that much miſchiefe was done on both

sides, the Lord *Sheffield* falling with his Horse in a ditch was taken prisoner, and as he pulled off his helmet to shew who he was, he was by a Butcher stricken downe with a club and slaine; so as the Marquesse with his forces not prevailing, there was afterward sent the Earle of *Warwick* with six thousand foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, with whom were the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powis* and *Bray* his two sonnes *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of Name. When the Earl was come neere to the Camp of the seditious, he sent a Herauld to them, offering them the Kings pardon, if they would desist, but they were so far from accepting it, that a lewd Boy turned up his naked breech towards the Herauld and bid him kisse it; upon this, many skirmishes passed between the Earle and them, with losse sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; at last they came to a Battaile, where the Rebels placed in the Front, all the Gentlemen they had taken prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain, of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above two thousand, and now once againe the Earle offered them pardon, if they would desist; but for all their losses, they continued obstinate still, at last the Earle sent to know if they would entertaine their pardon, in case he should come in person and assure them of it; this moved them much, and then they answered, they knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would embrace it; whereupon the Earle riding to them, and causing their pardon to be read, they threw away their weapons, wishing all joy and prosperity to the King: nine of the principall Rebels were hanged upon the tree of Reformation; *Ket* himselfe flying away was taken and hanged in chaines upon *Norwich* Castle; the day of this defeat of the sedicious, was a long time after observed for a festivall day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*, and thus ended the sedition in *Norfolke*; when at the same time another arose in *Yorkshire*, whereof the chiefe movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clerk, and *Stephenson* a Post, to whom were assembled foure or five thousand, who tooke their encouragement from a certain Prophesie, which did foretell, that the time should come, when there should be no King, when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed, when the Realm should be ruled by foure Governours elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in commotion, which should begin at the South and North Seas of *England*, and that time they understood to be the present, and that the Rebels of *Devonshire*, *Norfolke* and *Yorkshire* should draw together to accomplish this prophesie; but as soon as they heard that the tumults of *Devonshire* and *Norfolke* were quieted, they found that they were deceived in the understanding of the prophesie, and thereupon presently upon the Kings pardon, they fell off and dispersed, their chiefe Leaders *Ombler*, *Dale* and foure others were executed at *Yorke*; and with this, the Spirit of sedition was quite laid in all places of the Kingdome.

But the King of *France*, taking advantage of these sedicious, though he had been in treaty before of peace with *England*, yet now he brake off the treaty, Proclaimed war, and denounced it by his Embassadour to the King: hereupon all *French-men* in *England*, not Denizens, were taken prisoners, and all their goods seized for the King, which the *French* King understanding, he sent a fleet of Ships to surprise *Gernsey* and *Jarnsey*, but was repelled with the losse of a thousand men: after this, he levied an Army by land, and went himselfe in person against *Bulloigne*, defended by the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, but being weary of the worke, he left his Lievtenant *Chatillon* to pursue the Siedge, who having made many fierce batteries, and at last assaults and not prevailing, they then attempted to hinder the Towne from supply of victuals; and to this end, charged a Galley with gravell and stones, meaning to sinke it in the Haven, but the *English* took the Galley before it was sunke, and made use of the stones for their owne defence: after this, they made faggors of light matter, mixed with pitch, tar, tallow, rosin, powder and wild-fire, with intention to fire the ships in the Haven, but that enterprise was defeated by the *Bulloignes*, and the fag-

gors

gots taken from the *French*; and more then this, there was little done in thoſe parts at this time.

But in *England* in the meane time, an unfortunate accident happened, which beginning upon a very light occaſion, produced afterward very heavy effects; whereof, though there were many concurrant circumſtances, yet the originall cauſe was the pride of a woman, upon a point indeed, wherein the natures of women are commonly moſt tender, Precedency of place: the Protectour had maried *Anne Stanhope*, a woman of a haughty ſtomack, and the Lord Admirall his Brother the Queene *Dowager*, a Lady of great mildneſſe: the neereneſſe of the Husbands, gave occaſion to the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutcheſſe would inwardly murmur, why ſhee being the wife of the elder brother and the better man, ſhould give place to her, who was the wife of the younger brother, and the meaner man; this envy of hers toward the Queen, bred a malice in her towards the Admirall, as thinking the miſchiefe ſhe did to the husband, to be a part of revenge upon the wife, and though the Queene ſhortly after died in Child-bed, yet the mallice of the Dutcheſſe towards the Admirall lived ſtill; (ſo hard a thing it is, for malice once ſetled in a womans heart, to be removed) out of this malice, ſhe put divers ſurmiſes into her husband the Protectours head againſt his brother the Admirall, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end he might aſpire to the place he held; but certainly as miſliking his government being a Proteſtant, who was himſelfe a Papiſt; in this caſe cauſes of jealouſie againſt the Admirall was obvious enough, for it was knowne that in King *Henries* time, he had aimed at the mariage of the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Henries* ſecond daughter; and now his wife the Queen *Dowager* being dead (and not without ſuſpition of poyſon) he fell upon that mariage a freſh, which could not be thought to tend, but to ſome very high aſpiring end: the Protectour a plain man, and one that had not the cleereſt inſight into practiſes; whether too importunately provoked by his wife, or whither out of an honeſt mind, not willing to patronize faults though in a brother, gave way to accuſations brought againſt him, ſo as in a Parliament then holden, he was accuſed, for attempting to get into his cuſtody the perſon of the King, and government of the Realm, for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings ſiſter, for perſwading the King in his tender yeers, to take upon him the rule and ordering of himſelfe; upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not ſufficiently againſt him, who was never called to his anſwere) he was by Act of Parliament condemned, and within few dayes after condemnation, a warrant was ſent under the hand of his brother the Protectour to cut off his head; wherein (as after it proved) he did as much, as if he had laid his own head downe upon the block; for whilſt theſe brothers lived and held together, they were as a ſtrong fortreſſe one to the other; the Admirals courage ſupporting the Protectours authority, and the Protectours authority maintaining the Admirals ſtoutneſſe; but the Admiral once gone, the Protectours authority as wanting ſupport began to totter, and fell at laſt to utter ruine: beſides there was at this time, amongſt the Nobility a kind of faction; Proteſtants who favoured the Protectour for his owne ſake, and other of Papall inclination, who favoured him for his brothers ſake, but his brother being gone, both ſides forſooke him, even his owne ſide; as thinking they could expect little aſſiſtance from him, who gave no more aſſiſtance to his own brother, and perhaps more then all this, the Earl of *Warwick* at this time, was the moſt powerfull man both in Courage and Counſaile amongſt all the Nobility, and none ſo neere to match him as the Admirall while he lived, but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and durſt, or durſt and was able to ſtand againſt him: however it was, not long after the Admirals death, the Protectour was invaded with ſundry accuſations, wherein th Earl of *Warwick* made not alwaies the greateſt ſhow, but yet had alwayes the greateſt hand; one thing the Protectour had done, which though a privare act, yet gave a publick diſtaſte. To make him a Manſion-houſe in the *Strand* (the ſame

which is now called *Somerſet-houſe*) he pulled downe a Church, and two Biſhops houſes by the *Strand Bridge*; in digging the foundation wherof, the bones of many who had been there buried, were caſt out and carried into the fields; and becauſe the ſtones of thoſe houſes and the Church ſuffiſed not for his work, the ſteeple and moſt part of the Church of Saint *Johns* of *Jeruſalem* neer *Smithfield*, was mined and overthrowne with powder, and the ſtones applied to this ſparious building; and more then this, the Cloyſter of *Pauls* on the North ſide of the Church, in a place called *Pardon* Church-yard, and the dance of Death very curiouſly wrought about the Cloyſter, & a Chapel that ſtood in the midſt of the Churchyard; alſo the *Charnal* houſe, that ſtood upon the South ſide of *Pauls* (now a Carpenters yard) with the Chappell, timber and Monuments therin were beaten downe, the bones of the dead caried into *Finſbury-fields*, and the ſtones converted to this building. This Act of the Protectours, did ſomething alienate the Peoples minds from him; which the Earle of *Warwick* perceiving thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him; and therupon drew eighteene of the Privy Counſaile to joyne with him, who withdrawing themſelves from the Court, held ſecret conſultations together, and walked in the Citty with many Servants weaponed, and in new Liveries; whereof when the Lord Protectour heard, he ſent ſecretary *Peter* to them, to know the cauſes of their Aſſembly, requiring them to reſort unto him peaceably, that they might comune together as friends; but in the meane time, hee Armed five hundred men, and removed the King by night from *Hampton-court* to *Windſor*: on the other ſide, the Lords at *London* having firſt taken poſſeſſion of the Tower, ſent for the Major and Aldermen of the Citty, to the Earle of *Warwicks* lodging at *Ely-houſe* in *Holburn*; to whom the Lord *Rich* then Lord Chancelour made a long Oration wherin he ſhewed the ill government of the Lord Protector, and the many miſchiefes that by it were come upon the Kingdome; and therupon requiring them to joyn with the Lords there aſſembled to remove him; and preſently that day, a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the Citty to that purpoſe; to which the Lords and Counſailors that ſubſcribed their names were theſe; the Lord *Rich* Chancelour, the Lord *Saint-John* Lord great Maſter, the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, the Earle of *Warwick* Lord great Chamberlaine, the Earle of *Arundell* Lord Chamberlaine, the Earle of *Shrewſbury*, the Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, Sir *John Gage* Conſtaple of the Tower, Sir *William Peter* ſecretary, Sir *Edward North* Knight, Sir *Edward Montague* chiefe Juſtice of the Common-pleas, Sir *John Baker* Chancelour of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Edward Wootton*, Sir *Richard Southwell* Knights: and Doctor *Wootton* Deane of *Canterbury*. In the afternoone of the ſame day, the Lord Major aſſembled a Common Counſaile in the *Guild-hall* where two letters arrived almoſt in one inſtant from the King and the Lord Protectour, for a thouſand men to be Armed for defence of the Kings Perſon; another from the Lords at *London* for two thouſand men to aide them in defence of the Kings perſon alſo; both pretending alike, and therefore hard how to pleaſe them both. The Recorder ſet forth the complaint of the Lords againſt the Protectour, in ſuch ſort, that he made many inclinable to favour that ſide, but one named *George Stadlow* better adviſed, ſtept up, and in a long Speech ſhewed, what miſchiefes had come to the City by oppoſing the King; and therefore gave his opinion to ſuſpend giving aide to the Lords, at leſt for a time. His advice was harkened to, and thereupon the Court reſolved onely to arme a hundred Horſemen and foure hundred foot, in defence of the City; and to the letters, returned ſubmiſſive but dilatory anſwers. After ſome other paſſages betweene the Protectour and the Lords, Sir *Edward Winkfield* Captaine of the Guard, was ſent from the Lords to *Windſor*; who ſo well perſwaded the King of the Lords loyall affection towards him, and of their moderate intention towards the Protectour, that the King was contented to have him preſently remvoed from him, and ſuffered him within two dayes after

ter to be carried to the Tower. In whoſe abſence, ſeven Lords of the Councell and foure Knights were appointed by turnes to attend the Kings perſon; and for affaires of State, the government of them was referred to the whole body of the Councell: ſoone after were ſent to the Protectour in the Tower, certain Lords of the Councell, with Articles againſt him, requiring his preſent Anſwer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or elſe ſtand upon his juſtification. The chiefe Article was this; That he tooke upon him the Office of Protectour, with expreſſe condition, that he ſhould doe nothing in the Kings affaires, but by aſſent of the late Kings Executours, or the greareſt part of them; and that contrary to this condition, he had hindered Juſtice, and ſubverted laws of his owne authority, as well by letters as by other command; and many other Articles, but all much to this purpoſe. The Protectour, whether thinking to ſpeed better by ſubmiſſion then by conteſting; or perhaps finding himſelfe not altogether innocent, (for indeed in ſo great a place, who can beare himſelfe with ſuch ſincerity, but he will commit errours, with which he may be taxed;) ſubſcribed an acknowledgement with his owne hand; humbly ſubmitting himſelfe to the Kings mercy, and deſiring their Lordſhips favour towards him. Upon this ſubmiſſion, three moneths after he had bin impriſoned, he was releaſed, entertained and feaſted by the King, and ſworne again to be a Privie Councellour, but no more Protectour: at which time, betweene him and the Lords, a ſhew at leſt of perfect amity was made; and to make it the more firme, the Dukes daughter was afterward married to the Lord *Liſle*, Sonne and heire to the Earle of *Warwicke*; at which marriage the King himſelfe was preſent; and perhaps to honour their reconcilement and this marriage, the Earle of *Warwicke* was made Lord Admirall of *England*, Sir *John Ruſſell* Lord Privie Seale was created Earle of *Bedford*, the Lord *Saint-John* was created Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and ſoone after made Lord Treaſurour, Sir *William Paget* Controlour of the Kings Houſe, was made Lord *Paget*, Sir *Anthony VVinkfield* Captaine of the Guard, was made Controlour, and Sir *Thomas Darcye* was made Captaine of the Guard. But of the other ſide, the Earle of *Arundell*, the Earle of *Southampton*, were put off from the Councell; of whom, the Earle of *Southampton* dyed ſhortly after at *Lincolne-Place* in *Holborne*, and was buried in Saint *Andrewes* Church there.

About this time a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein one Act was made againſt ſpreading of Propheſies; another againſt unlawfull Aſſemblies: but for feare of new tumults, the Parliament was untimely Diſſolved, and Gentlemen were commanded to retyre to their Countrey-habitations; and for the ſame cauſe alſo *Trinity* Terme did not hold.

About this time alſo, Pope *Paul* the third dyed; after whoſe death the Cardinals being divided about the election of a new Pope; the Imperial part, which was the greateſt, gave their voyces for Cardinall *Poole*; which being told him, he diſabled himſelfe, and wiſhed them to chooſe one that might be moſt for the glory of God, and good of the Church: upon this ſtop, ſome that were no friends to *Poole*, and perhaps looked for the place themſelves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongſt other, that he was not without ſuſpition of *Lutheriſme*, as having bin very converſant with *Immanuell Tremellius* and *Anthonius Flaminius*, great *Lutherans*, and not altogether without blemiſh of incontinency; there being a young Nunne that was thought to be his daughter. But of theſe criminations *Poole* ſo cleered himſelfe, that he was afterward more importuned to take the place then he was before; and thereupon one night the Cardinals came unto him, being in bed; and ſent him word they came to adore him (which is one ſpecial kind of electing the Pope) but he being awaked out of his ſleepe, and acquainted with it, made anſwer, that this was not a worke of darkeneſſe, and therefore required them to forbeare till the next day, and then to doe as God ſhould put in their mindes. But the *Italian* Cardinals attributing this putting off, to a kinde of ſtupidity and ſloth in *Poole*; looked

no

no more after him, but the next day choſe Cardinall *Montanus* Pope, who was afterward named *Julius* the third.

And now the King of *France*, upon many juſt conſiderations, was growne deſirous to have a Peace with *England*; and thereupon ſent one *Guidolti* a *Florentine* into *England*, to make ſome overture of his deſire to the Lords of the Councell; who addreſſing himſelfe to the Earle of *Warwicke*, whom he knew to be moſt prevalent; ſo prevailed, that it was concluded foure Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent from the King of *England* into *France*, and foure from the *French* King, to treat with them. The Commiſſioners for the *Engliſh* were *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Peter* and Sir *John Maſon*, Secretaries of State. For the *French* were *Monſieur Rochpot*, *Monſieur Chatillon*, *Guyllart de Martyer* and *Rochetelle de Daſſie*: much time was ſpent to agree about a place of meeting; till at laſt the *Engliſh* to ſatisfie the *French*, were contented it ſhould be before *Bulloigne*; where were many meetings and many differences about conditions; but in concluſion, a Peace was concluded upon certaine Articles; the chiefe whereof was, that *Bulloigne* and the places adjacent ſhould be delivered up to the *French* within ſix weekes after the Peace Proclaimed; and that the *French* ſhould pay for the ſame two hundred thouſand crownes, within three dayes after delivery of the Towne; and other two hundred thouſand crowes upon the fifth day of *Auguſt* following: hoſtages were on both ſides given for performance; and to thoſe Articles the *French* King was ſworne at *Amyens*, and the King of *England* in *London*: the Lord *Clinton* who had been Deputy of *Bulloigne* was made Lord Admirall of *England*.

Preſently after this Agreement, the Duke of *Brunſwicke* ſent to the King of *England*, to offer his ſervice in the Kings wars, with ten thouſand men, and to intreat a marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the Kings eldeſt ſiſter. To his offer of aide, anſwer was made, that the Kings warres were ended; and touching the marriage with the Lady *Mary*, that the King was in ſpeech for her marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugall*, which if it ſucceeded not, he ſhould then be favourably heard. Upon this, the Emperours Embaſſadour demanded of the King, that the Lady *Mary* might have free exerciſe of the Maſſe, which the King not onely conſtantly denied, but thereupon Sermons were exerciſed at Court, and order taken, that no man ſhould have any Benefice from the King, but firſt he ſhould Preach before him; and ſhortly after, under pretence of preparing for Sea-matters, five thouland pounds were ſent to relieve Proteſtants beyond the Seas. At this time alſo, an Embaſſadour came from *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, to enter league with the King for entercourſe of Merchants; and charge was then alſo given, that the Lawes of *England* ſhould be adminiſtred in *Ireland*.

About this time the Queene Dowager of *Scotland*, going from *France* to her Countrey, paſſed thorow *England*, having firſt obtained a ſafe Conduct, ſhe arrived at *Porteſmouth*, and was there met by divers of the *Engliſh* Nobility; conducted to *London*, ſhe was lodged in the *Biſhops-Pallace*: after four dayes ſtaying, having beene feaſted by the King at *Whitehall*, ſhe departed; being waited on by the Sheriffes of Counries to the borders of *Scotland*. And now was one *Steward* a *Scot* apprehended in *England*, and impriſoned in the Tower, for intending to poyſon the yong Queene of *Scots*, whom the King delivered to the *French* King upon the frontiers of *Callice*, to be by him juſticed at his pleaſure.

At this time certaine Ships were appointed by the Emperour, to tranſport the Lady *Mary* either by violence or by ſtelth out of *England* to *Antwerpe*; whereupon Sir *John Gates* was ſent with Forces into *Eſſex*, where the Lady lay; and beſides, the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſent with two hundred men, the Lord Privie Seale with other two hundred, and Maſter *Sentleger* with foure hundred more, to ſeverall coaſts upon the Sea, and the Lord Chancellour and Secretary *Peter* were ſent to the Lady *Mary*; who after ſome conference, brought

brought her to the Lord Chancellours houſe at *Lyee* in *Eſſex*, and from thence to the King at *Weſtminſter*. Here the Councell declared unto her, how long the King had permitted her the uſe of the Maſſe, and conſidering her obſtinacy, was reſolved now no longer to permit it, unleſſe ſhe would put him in hope of ſome conformity in ſhort time. To which ſhe anſwered, that her ſoule was Gods; and touching her faith, as ſhe could not change, ſo ſhe would not diſſemble it. Reply was made, that the King intended not to conſtraine her faith, but to reſtrain the outward profeſſion of it, in regard of the danger the example might draw. After ſome like enterchange of ſpeeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arived an Embaſſadour from the Emperor, with a threatning meſſage of warre, in caſe his couſin the Lady *Mary*, ſhould be denied the free exerciſe of the Maſſe: hereupon the King preſently adviſed with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and with the Biſhop of *London* and *Rocheſter*, who gave their opinion, that to give licence to ſin was ſin, but to connive at ſinne might be allowed ſo it were not too long, nor without hope of reformation: then anſwere was given to the Embaſſadour, that the King would ſend to the Emperour within a month or two, and give him ſuch ſatisfaction as ſhould be fit.

And now the King being uncertaine of the faith, both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by alliance to ſtrengthen himſelfe; and thereupon ſent one *Bartwicke*, to the King of *Denmarke* with private inſtructions, to treat of a mariage, betweene the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings youngeſt ſiſter, and the King of *Denmarks* eldeſt ſon; but when it came to the point, this Lady could not be induced to entertaine mariage with any.

After this, the Marqueſſe of *Northampton* was ſent Embaſſadour to the *French* King, as well to preſent him with the Order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other ſecret affaires: with him were joyned in Commiſſion the Biſhop of *Elye*, Sir *Philip Hobbie*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Maſon*, and Maſter *Smith* Secritary of State; alſo the Earle of *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond* were appointed to accompany them; as likewiſe the Lords *Liſle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Aburgavenie* and *Evers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of note, to the number of ſix and twenty; and for avoiding of immoderate traine, order was given that every Earle ſhould have but foure attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, onely the Commiſſioners were not limited to any number. Being come to the Court of *France*, they were forthwith brought to the King, being then in his Bedchamber; to whom the Marqueſſe preſented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was preſently inveſted: then the Biſhop of *Elye* in a ſhort Speech, declared, how the King of *England*, out of his love and deſire of amitye, had ſent this Order to his Majeſtie; deſiring with all, that ſome perſons might be authorized to treat with them, about ſome other matters of importance; whereupon a Commiſſion went forth to the Cardinall of *Lorraigne*, *Chaſtillion* the Conſtable, the Duke of *Guyſne*, and others. At the firſt, the *Engliſh* demanded, that the yong Queene of *Scots* might be ſent into *England* for perfecting of marriage betweene King *Edward* and her. But to this the *French* anſwered, That concluſion had beene made long before for her marriage with the Dolphin of *France*. Then the *Engliſh* propoſed a marriage betweene King *Edward* and the Lady *Elizabeth* the *French* Kings eldeſt daughter: to this the *French* did cheerfully incline; but when they came to talke of Portion, the *Engliſh* demanded at firſt fifteen hundred thouſand crownes, then fell to foureteene, and at laſt to eight hundred thouſand: the *French* offered at firſt, one hundred thouſand crownes, then roſe to two hundred thouſand, and higher they would not be drawne; ſaying, it was more then ever had bin given with a daughter of *France*. Shortly after *Monſieur* the Marſhall and other Commiſſioners were ſent by the *French* King, to deliver to the King of *England* the Order of Saint *Michael*; and then was further treaty about the marriage; and becauſe the *French* could be ſcrued no higher then two hundred thouſand crownes, it was at

laſt accepted, and the agreement was reduced into writing, and delivered under Seale on both ſides.

And now King *Edward* ſuppoſing his ſtate to be moſt ſafe, when indeed it was moſt unſure; in teſtimony both of his joy and love, advanced many to new titles of honour; the Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, who had maried the eldeſt daughter of *Charles Brandon* was created Duke of *Suffolke*, the Earle of *Warwicke* Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earle of *Wiltſhire* was created Marqueſſe of *Winchester*, Sir *William Herbert* Lord of *Cardiffe* and Maſter of the Horſe, was created Earle of *Pembrooke*; alſo *William Cecill* the Kings Secretary, *John Cheeke* one of his Schoolmaſters, *Henry Dudley* and *Henry Nevill* were made Knights, and (that which perhaps it had bin happy, if it had never bin) Sir *Robert Dudley* one of the Duke of *Northumberlands* ſons (the ſame who was afterward the great Earle of *Leiceſter*) was ſworne one of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber; for after his comming into a place ſo neere about him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.

The aſpiring thoughts of the Duke of *Northumberland*, were now growne up to be put in execution: He was advanced in title of honour equall with the higheſt; in authority and power above the higheſt; he had placed his politicke ſonne neere about the Kings perſon; the next thing was to remove the Duke of *Somerſet* out of the way; and for this alſo he had prepared inſtruments; Sir *Thomas Palmer*, *Crane*, *Hamond*, *Cecill*, and others; who brought ſeverall accuſations againſt the Duke; ſome trenching upon the King and Kingdome, but one ſpecially againſt the Duke of *Northumberlands* perſon; whoſe practiſes when the Duke of *Somerſet* found, and had cauſe to feare; he went one day Armed into the Duke of *Northumberlands* Chamber, with a purpoſe to kill him; but finding him in his bed, and being received with much kinde complement by him, his heart relented, and thereupon came away without any thing done: at his comming out, one of his company asked him if he had done the deed? who anſwered, No: then ſaid he, you are your ſelfe undone: and indeed it ſo fell out; for when all other Accuſations were refelled, this onely ſtucke by him, and could not be denyed; and ſo on the firſt of *December* he was arraigned at *Weſtminſter*; where the Lord *William Paulet* Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter* and Lord Treaſurour, ſat as high Steward of *England*, and with him Peeres to the number of ſeven and twenty; the Dukes of *Suffolke* and *Northumberland*, the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, the Earles of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bathe*, *Suſſex*, *Worceſter*, *Pembrooke* and *Hertford*; the Barons, *Aburgaveny*, *Audeley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latymer*, *Borough*, *Zouth*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcye*, *Sturton*, *Windſor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham* and *Bray*. The Lords being ſet, the Inditements were read, in number five, containing a charge, for raiſing men in the North parts of the Realme; and at his houſe, for aſſembling men to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*; for reſiſting his Attachment, for raiſing *London*, for aſſaulting the Lords, and deviſing their deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not guilty, and made a ſatisfactory Anſwer to every point, though the Kings learned Councell preſſed them hard againſt him. This done, the Lords went together, where exception was taken by ſome, as a thing unfit, that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, and the Earle of *Pembrooke* ſhould be of the Jurie; ſeeing the priſoner was chiefely charged with practiſes againſt them. But to this, the Lawyers made anſwer, that a Peere of the Realm might not be challenged; ſo after much variation of opinions, the priſoner was acquitt of Treaſor, but by moſt voyces found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute, lately by his owne procurement made; That if any ſhould attempt to kill a Privie Councellour, although the Fact were not done, yet it ſhould be Felonie, and be puniſhed with death. But upon his being acquit of Treaſon, the Axe of the Tower was preſently laid downe, which made people conceive he had beene acquitted of all; who thereupon for joy, gave ſo great a ſhout,

ſhout, that it was heard as farre as Charing-Croſſe: but the Duke was little the better for being acquitted of Treaſon, ſeeing he was found guilty of Felonie; and had Judgement to dye. It is thought by ſome, he might have ſaved his life, if he had demanded his Clergie; but it is rather thought, that in that Statute Clergie was denied. Two moneths after his condemnation; (much againſt the Kings will) Hee was brought to the Tower-Hill to execution; where being aſcended the Scaffold, hee entred into a Speech, wherein though he juſtified himſelfe, for any matter tending to the hurt of the King or Kingdome; yet he confeſſed, he was juſtly by the Law brought to this death; and thanked God, that had given him ſo large a time of repentance, ſpecially that he had opened his eyes, to ſee cleerely the light of the Goſpell; and going on in his Speech, a ſudden noyſe aroſe, of ſome crying, away, away; which made ſome thinke a Pardon had beene come; but was indeede the voyce of ſome that had beene warned to be at the Execution, and were come ſomewhat late: but the tumult being appeaſed, the Duke went on with his Speech, and at laſt commending his ſoule to God, with a countenance not ſhewing a ſigne of feare or perturbation, onely his cheekes a little redder then they uſe to be; he peaceably laid downe his head upon the blocke, and in a moment with one ſtroke of the Axe, had it ſtrucken off. The death of this Duke, made the Duke of *Northumberland* more odious to the people then he was before; and there were ſome that dipped Handkerchiffes in his blood, and kept them to upbraide the Duke of *Northumberland* withall, when he came himſelfe afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir *Ralph Vane* and Sir *Miles Partridge* were hanged at the Tower-hill, Sir *Michael Stanhope* and Sir *Thomas Arundell* were there beheaded.

After the Dukes condemnation, it was thought fit to have ſomething done for averting the Kings minde, from taking thought; and to that end, one *George Ferrers*, a Gentleman of *Lincolnes-Inne*, was appointed in the Chriſtmas-time, to be Lord of Miſrule; who ſo carried himſelfe, that he gave great delight to many, and ſome to the King, but not in proportion to his heavineſſe.

About this time was a call of ſeven Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feaſt at *Grayes-Inne*; of whom, Maſter *Robert Brooke* Recorder of *London*, was the firſt; and the next Maſter *Dyer*, who was choſen Speaker the next Parliament.

About this time alſo, the Lord *Paget* was committed to the Tower, for what cauſe is not certaine; and being a Knight of the Order, his Garder was taken from him by Garter king at Armes, upon this pretence, that he was ſaid to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother; and the Garter was then beſtowed on the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Duke of *Northumberlands* eldeſt Sonne, and the Lord *Rich* Lord Chancellour, was put off from his Place, and the Seal then delivered to Doctor *Thomas Goodricke* Biſhop of *Elye*.

About this time alſo three great Ships were ſet forth at the Kings charge, for diſcovery of a paſſage to the Eaſt *Indies* by the North Seas; the chiefe Pilot and directour in this Voyage, was one *Sebaſtian Gabato* an *Engliſhman*, borne at *Briſtow*, but the ſon of a *Genoway*: theſe Ships at the laſt arrived in the Countrey of *Muſcovia*, but not without loſſe of their Captain Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who being toſſed and driven by tempeſt, was afterward found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his people.

At this time alſo the Duke of *Suffolks* three Daughters, which he had by *Frances*, Daughter of *Charles Brandon* and Mary Queene of *France*, were married at *Durham*-Houſe; the eldeſt *Jane* to the Lord *Guildford Dudley*, fourth Soone of the Duke of *Northumberland*: the ſecond *Katherine*, to *Henry* Sonne and heire to the Earle of *Pembrooke*; the yongeſt *Mary*, being ſomwhat deformed, to *Martyn Keyes* the Kings Gentleman-Porter. And then alſo

Katherine the Duke of *Northumberlands* yongeſt daughter, to the Lord *Haſtings*, eldeſt ſonne of the Earle of *Huntington*. And now had the Duke of *Northumberland* gone a great way in his deſign; it remained to perſwade King *Edward* to exclude his two ſiſters from ſucceſſion in the Crowne; for that done, his daughter in law the Lady *Jane*, would come to have a right; for as for pretenders out of *Scotland*, or any other, he made no great matter. And now to worke the King to this perſwaſion, (being in a languiſhing ſickneſſe, not farre from death) he inculcates to him, how much it concerned him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preſerved in purity, not onely in his owne life, but as well after his death; which would not be, if his ſiſter the Lady *Mary* ſhould ſucceed, and ſhe could not be put by unleſſe her other ſiſter the Lady *Elizabeth* were put by alſo, ſeeing their rights depended one upon another; but if he pleaſed to appoint the Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolkes* eldeſt daughter, and his owne next kinſwoman to his Siſters, to be his ſucceſſour, he might then be ſure that the true Religion ſhould be maintained, to Gods great glory, and be a worthy Act of his owne religious Providence. This was to ſtrike upon the right ſtring of the yong Kings affection, with whom nothing was ſo deere as preſervation of Religion; and thereupon his laſt Will was appointed to be drawne (contrived chiefly by the Lord chiefe Juſtice *Montague*, and Secretary *Cecill*:) by which Will, as farre as in him lay, he excluded his two ſiſters from the ſucceſſion, and all other, but the Duke of *Suffolkes* daughters; and then cauſing it to be read before his Councell, he required them all to aſſent unto it, and to ſubſcribe their hands; which they all, both Nobility, and Biſhops and Judges did; onely the Archbiſhop *Cranmer* refuſed at firſt, Sir *James Hales* a Judge of the Common-Pleas to the laſt, and with him alſo Sir *John Baker* Chancellour of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of *Northumberlands* purpoſe, but that the King ſhould dye; which ſoone after he did at *Greenwich* the ſixth of *July*, in the yeere 1553. One point of the Dukes policie muſt not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the Lady *Mary* might raiſe after the Kings deceaſe, if ſhe ſhould be at liberty; he therefore, ſeeing the King drawing on, uſed all meanes poſſible to get her within his power; to which end Letters are directed to her in the Kings name from the Councell, willing her forthwith to repaire to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his ſickneſſe, as to ſee all matters well ordered about his perſon: whereupon, the Lady ſuſpecting nothing, addreſſed her ſelfe with all ſpeed to the journey; till being upon the way, ſhe was advertiſed of the Dukes deſigne; and then ſhe returned to her Houſe at *Hoveden*, and ſo eſcaped the ſnare; by whoſe eſcape, the whole deſigne of the Duke of *Northumberland* was diſappointed; as ſoone after will be ſeene.

Of his Taxations.

IN no Kings reigne was ever more Parliaments for the time, nor fewer Subſidies; the greateſt was in his laſt yeere, when yet there was but one Subſidie, with two fifteenes and tenths granted by the Temporalty, and a Subſide by the Clergie. And indeed to ſhew how loath this King was to lay Impoſitions upon his people, this may be a ſufficient argument; that though he were much in debt, yet he choſe rather to deale with the Foulker in the Low-Countries for money upon loane, at the intereſt of fourteene pounds for a hundred, for a yeere. But his wayes for raiſing of money, was by ſelling of Chantrie Lands and Houſes, given him by Parliament; and by inquiring after all Church-goods, either remaining in Cathedrall and Pariſh-Churches, or embezeled away, as Jewels, gold and ſilver, Chalices, ready money, Copes, and other Veſtments; reſerving to every Church one Challice, and one covering for the Communion-Table, the reſt to be applied to his benefit. He alſo raiſed money by enquiring after offences of Officers in great places; in which inquirie, one *Beaumont*

mont Maſter of the Rolles, being convinced of many crimes, ſurrendred all his Offices, Lands and Goods into the Kings hands: alſo one *Whalley* Receiver of *Yorkeſhire*, being found a delinquent, ſurrendred his Office, and payed a great fine beſides: alſo the Lord *Paget*, Chancellour of the Dutchie, convinced, that he had ſold the Kings Lands and Timber-woods without Commiſſion, and had applied the Kings Fines to his owne uſe; for theſe and other offences, ſurrendred his Office, and was fined at foure thouſand pounds, which he payed in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raiſing of money; twenty thouſand pounds weight of Bullion, was appointed to be made ſo much baſer, that the King might gaine thereby a hundred and forty thouſand pounds.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

IN his third yeere a Parliament was holden; wherein one Act was made againſt ſpreading of Propheſies; another againſt unlawfull Aſſemblies. In his fourth yeere a Parliament was holden, wherein Prieſts children were made legitimate; and uſury for the loane of money was forbidden. In his fifth yeer, it was ordained that the Lawes of *England* ſhould be adminiſtred in *Ireland*; and a king at Armes named *Vlſter*, was newly inſtituted for *Ireland*; whoſe Province was all *Ireland*; and he was the firſt fourth king of Armes, and firſt Herauld appointed for *Ireland*. Alſo in his fifth yeere, baſe monies formerly coyned, were cried downe; ſo as the ſhilling went but for nine pence, and ſhortly after but for ſix pence, the groat but for three pence, and ſhortly after but for two pence.

Affaires of the Church in his time.

IN the firſt yeere of this Kings reigne, Injunctions were ſet forth, for pulling downe and removing all Images out of Churches; alſo certaine Homilies were appointed to be made by learned men, to be read in Churches, for the peoples inſtruction: and at Eaſter this yeer, it was ordered, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper ſhould be miniſtred to the Lay-people in both kindes; alſo Matriage was allowed to Clergie men; Auricular Confeſſion and prayer for the dead were forbidden: and it is obſervable, that the very ſame day that Images were pulled downe at *London*, the great overthrow was given to the *Scots* at *Muſkleborough*. Alſo at this time, by the Archbiſhop *Cranmers* means, divers learned Proteſtants came over into *England*, and had here entertainment, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*; of whom *Peter Martyr* was ſent to read a Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, *Bucer* and *Fagius* in *Cambridge*. In this Kings fourth yeer, all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken downe, and Tables placed in their roomes. In his fifth yeer the Book of Common Prayer was eſtabliſhed.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his ſecond yeere, Saint *Annes* Church within Aldeſgate was burnt. In his fifth yeere, a ſweating ſickneſſe infeſted firſt *Shrewesbury*, and then the north parts, and after grew moſt extreame in *London*, ſo as the firſt weeke there dyed eight hundred perſons, and was ſo violent that it tooke men away in foure and twenty houres, ſomerimes in twelve, and ſomrimes in leſſe: amongſt other of account that dyed of this ſickneſſe, were the two ſonnes of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, who dyed within an houre after one another, in ſuch order that both of them dyed Dukes. This diſeaſe was proper to the *Engliſh* Nation, for it followed the *Engliſh* whereſoever they were in foraigne parts; but ſeized upon none of any other Countrey. In this yeere, one Maſter *Arden* of

Kent, by procurement of his wife was murthered in his owne houſe; being dead, his body was carried out and laid upon the ground, in a cloſe hard by; where this is memorable, that for two yeers after, the ground where his body lay, bore no graſſe, but repreſented ſtill as it were a picture of his body, onely in the ſpace between his legges and armes there grew graſſe, but where any part of his body touched, none at all. Yet this miraculous accident was not ſo much for the murther, as for the curſes of a widow-woman, out of whoſe hands the ſaid Maſter *Arden* had uncharitably bought the ſaid cloſe, to her undoing. And thus the divine juſtice even in this world oftentimes works miracles upon offenders, for a mercifull warning to men, if they would be ſo wiſe to take it. In his ſixth yeer, the third of *Auguſt*, at *Middleton-ſtony*, eleven miles from *Oxford*, a woman brought forth a childe which had two perfect bodies from the navill upward, the legges for both the bodies grew out at the midſt where the bodies joyned, and had but one iſſue for the excrements of them both: they lived eighteen dayes, and were women children. This yeere alſo were taken at *Quinborow* three *Dolphins*, and at *Black-Wall* ſix more, the leaſt of which was bigger then any horſe.

Works of Piety by him or other in his time.

THis King gave three houſes to the reliefe of the poor; firſt for the fatherleſſe and beggers children, he gave the late *Gray-Fryers* in *London*, which is now called *Chriſts Hoſpitall*: then for lame and diſeaſed perſons he gave the *Hoſpitall* of Saint *Thomas* in *Southwarke*, and Saint *Barthalomews* in *Weſt Smithfield*: Thirdly, for riotous and idle perſons, he gave his houſe of *Bridewell*; and for their maintenance, he took ſix hundred pounds a yeer land from the houſe of the *Savoy* (which had been long abuſed) and beſtowed it upon theſe houſes; to which he added four thouſand marks a yeer more. By his example Sir *William Cheſter* Alderman of *London*, and *John Calthroppe* Draper, at their owne coſts made the Brickwalls and way on the backſide that leadeth to the Hoſpitall of Saint *Barthalomews*; and alſo covered and vawted the Towne Ditch, which before was very noyſome. In the ſecond yeer of this King, Sir *John Greſham* then Major of *London*, founded a free Schoole at *Hoſt* in *Norfolke*; alſo at his deceaſe, he gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds, to be diſtributed amongſt the poor, and to maids marriages two hundred pounds. In his third yeer, Sir *Rowland Hill* the then Lord Major of *London*, cauſed to be made a Cawſway commonly called *Overlane* pavement, in the high way from *Stone* to *Nantwich*, in length four miles, for the eaſe of horſe and man. He cauſed alſo a Cawſway to be made from *Dunchurch* to *Branſen* in *Warwickſhiere*, more then two miles in length; and gave twenty pounds towards the making of *Roiton* Bridge three miles from *Coventry*. He made likewiſe the high way to *Kilborne* neere to *London*. Alſo four Bridges, two of them of ſtone, containing eighteen arches in them both; the one over the River of *Severne* called *Acham* Bridge, the other *Terne* Bridge; and two other of Timber at *Stoke*, where he built alſo a good part of the Church. A free Schoole likewiſe he builded at *Drayton* in *Shropſhiere*, with Maſter and Uſher, and gave ſufficient ſtipends to them both. Alſo he purchaſed a free fair to the ſaid Towne, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen dayes a free Market for cattell. Beſides all this, he gave to the Hoſpitall of *Chriſt-Church* in *London* in his life time, five hundred pounds, and at his death, a hundred. In this Kings fourth yeer, Sir *Andrew Jud* Major of *London*, founded a notable free Schoole at *Tunbridge* in *Kent*; he builded alſo an Almſhouſe for ſix poor people, nigh to the Parish Church of Saint *Helens* in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreete*; and gave threeſcore pounds land a yeer to the Skinners of *London*, for which he bound to pay twenty pounds to the Schoolemaſter, and eight pounds to the Uſher of his free Schoole at *Tunbridge* yeerly for ever; and four ſhillings weekely to the ſix poor Almſpeople,

and ſomething more yeerly. In his ſixth yeer, Sir *George Barnes* Major of *London*, gave a Windmill in *Finſbury-field* to the Haberdaſhers of *London*, the profits thereof to be deſtributed to the poor of that Company; alſo to Saint *Bartholamews* the little, certaine Tenements to the like uſe.

Of his perſonage and conditions.

COncerning his perſonage, it is ſaid, he was in body beautifull, of a ſweete aſpect, and ſpecially in his eyes, which ſeemed to have a ſtarry livelineſſe and luſtre in them. Concerning his conditions, in matter of fact, there is not much to be ſaid; but in matter of diſpoſition and inclination very much, even to admiration. For though his tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing fruit, yet it was come to the forwardneſſe to bear plenty of buds and bloſſomes. For proofe of his mercifull diſpoſition this one example may be ſufficient; when one *Joan Batcher* was to be burned for blaſphemy and hereſie, all the Counſell could not get him to ſigne the Warrant, till the Archbiſhop *Cranmer* with much importunity perſwaded him, and then he did it, but not without weeping. For his pregnancy of wit, and knowledge in all kindes of learning; we ſhall need but to hear what *Cardan* (who coming into *England*, had often conference with him) reporteth of him: that he was extraordinarily skilfull in Languages, and in the Politicks; well ſeen in Philoſophy and in Divinity, and generally indeed a very miracle of Art and Nature. He would anſwer Embaſſadours ſomerimes upon the ſuddaine, either in *French* or *Latine*; he knew the ſtate of forraigne Princes perfectly, and his own more. He could call all Gentlemen of account through his Kingdome by their names; and all this when he had ſcarce yet attained to the age of fifteene yeers, and died before ſixteene; that from hence we may gather, it is a ſigne of no long life, when the faculties of the minde are ripe ſo early.

Of his death and buriall.

IN the ſixth yeer of his reigne, which was the yeer before he died, he fel ſick of the Meaſels, and being well recovered of them, he fell after ſoon into the ſmal Pox, & of them alſo was ſo well recovered, that the ſummer following he rode a progreſſe, with a greater magnificence then ever he had done before; having in his traine no fewer then four thouſand horſe. In *January* following, (whether procured by ſiniſter practiſe, or growing upon him by naturall infirmity) he fell into an indiſpoſition of body, which ſoon after grew to a cough of the Lungs. Whereupon a rumour was ſpread abroad by ſome, that a Noſegay had been given him at Newyeerſtide, which brought him into this ſlow but deadly conſumption; by others that it was done by a Gliſter: how ever it was, he was brought at laſt to ſo great extremity, that his Phyſicians deſpared of his life; and when Phyſicians could do him no good, a Gentlewoman (thought to be prepared for the purpoſe) tooke him in hand, and did him hurt; for with her applications his legges ſwelled, his pulſe failed, his skinne changed colour, and many other ſymptomes of approaching death appeared. The hour before his death, he was overheard to pray thus by himſelfe, O Lord God, deliver me out of this miſerable and wretched life; O Lord, thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy choſens ſake, if it be thy will ſend me life and health that I may truly ſerve thee: O Lord God, ſave thy choſen people of *England*, and defend this Realme from Papiſtrie, and maintaine thy true Religion, that I and my People may praiſe thy holy Name, for thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſts ſake. So turning his face and ſeeing ſome by him, he ſaid; I thought you had not been ſo nigh: Yes, ſaid Doctor *Owens* we heard you ſpeak to your ſelfe; then ſaid the King, I was praying to God: O, I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my ſpirit; and in ſo ſaying gave up the Ghoſt, the ſixth

day

day of *July*, in the yeer 1553. and in the ſixteenth yeer of his Age when he had reigned ſix yeers, five moneths, and nine dayes. It is noted by ſome, that he died the ſame moneth, and the ſame day of the moneth that his father King *Henry* the eight had put Sir *Thomas Moore* to death. His body was buried upon the ninth of *Auguſt* in the Chappell of Saint *Peters* Church in *weſtminſter*; and laid neere to the body of King *Henry* the ſeventh his grandfather. At his funerall which was on the tenth of *Auguſt* following, his ſiſter Queen *Mary* ſhewed this reſpect to him, that though Doctor *Day* a Popiſh Biſhop preached, yet all the ſervice with a communion was in *Engliſh*.

Men of note in his time.

THis Kings reigne being ſhort, and having but ſmall warres, had not many ſword-men famous for any acts they did; Gowne men there were ſome, as *Edward Holl* a Councellour in the Law, who wrote a notable Cronicle of the union of the two houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*; *William Hugh* a *Yorkeſhire-man*, who wrote a notable Treatice called *The troubled mans medicine*; *Thomas Sternehold*, borne in *Southampton*, who turned into *Engliſh* Meeter ſeven and thirty of *Davids* Pſalmes.

The *Interregnum* betweene the death of King *Edward* and the proclaiming at *London* of Queene *Mary*.

KIng *Edward* being dead, the Duke of *Northumberland* tooke upon him to ſit at the Sterne, and ordered all things at his pleaſure: ſo two dayes after he with others of the Councell, ſent to the Lord Major that he with ſix Aldermen and twelve principall Commons, ſhould repaire preſently to the Court; to whom when they came, it was ſecretly ſignified that King *Edward* was dead; and that by his laſt Will, to which all the Nobility and Judges had given aſſent, he had appointed the Lady *Jane*, daughter to the Duke of *Suffolke*, to ſucceede him; his Letters Patents whereof were ſhewed them, and therupon they were required, to take their Oathes of Allegeance to the Lady *Jane*, and to ſecure the City in her behalfe; which whether diſſemblingly, or ſincerely; whether for love or fear, yet they did, and then departed. The next day the Lady *Jane* in great ſtate, was brought to the Tower of *London*, and there declared Queene; and by edict with the ſound of Trumpet proclaimed ſo through *London*; at which time, for ſome words ſeeming to be ſpoken againſt it, one *Gilbert Pot* a Vintners ſervant, was ſet in the Pilory, and loſt both his ears. Before this time, the Lady *Mary* having heard of her brothers death, and of the Duke of *Northumberlands* deſignes; removed from *Hoveſdon* to her Mannour of *Keninghall* in *Norfolke*, and under pretence of fearing infection, (having lately loſt one of her houſhold ſervants of the plague) in one day ſhe rode forty miles, and from thence afterward to her Caſtle of *Framingham* in *Suffolke*; where taking upon her the name of Queene, there reſorted to her the moſt part of all the Gentlemen both of *Norfolke* & *Suffolke*, offering their aſſiſtance; but upon condition ſhe would make no alteration in Religion, to which ſhe condiſcended; and thereupon ſoone after came to her, the Earles of *Oxford*, *Bathe* and *Suſſex*, the Lord *Wentworth*, *Thomas Wharton*, and *John Mordant* Barrons eldeſt ſonnes; and of Knights *Cornwallis*, *Drury*, *Walgrave*, *Shelton*, *Beningfield*, *Jerningham*, *Suliard*, *Freſton* and many others. The Lady *Mary* being thus aſſiſted, wrote her letters ſigned the ninth of *July* to the Lords of the Councell, wherein ſhee claimed the Crowne, as of right belonging to her; and required them to proclaime her Queene of *England* in the City of *London*, as they tendred her diſpleaſure. To this letter of hers, the Lords anſwered, that for what they did, they had good Warrant; not onely by King *Edwards* laſt Will, but by the Lawes of the land, conſidering her Mothers divorce, and her owne Illegitima-

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tion; and therefore required her to ſubmit her ſelfe to Queene *Jane*, being now her Soveraigne. This Letter was written from the Tower of *London*, under the hands of theſe that follow, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Elye* Chancellour, *William* Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*, *John* Earle of *Bedford*, *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke*, *Francis* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Thomas* Lord *Darcey* Lord Chamberlin, *Cobham*, *Rich*, *Huntington*, *Cheyney*, *John Gates*, *William Peter*, *William Cecill*, *John Clerke*, *John Maſon*, *Edward North* and *Robert Bowes*. The quarell on both ſides being thus begun by Letters, is proſecuted by Armes; and the Lords for their Generall make choyce of the Duke of *Suffolke*, as a man moſt likely to be firme and ſure in the imployment; but the Queen his daughter cannot miſſe his preſence; and beſides, is not willing to hazard his perſon; and thereupon, ſhe by intreaties and the Lords by perſwaſions prevaile with the Duke of *Northumberland* to undertake the charge; who before his going having conference with the Lords, let them know how ſenſible he was of the double danger he under-went in this enterprize; both in reſpect of the Lady againſt whom he went, and in reſpect of them whom he left behinde him; for if they in his abſence ſhould by any accident be drawne to waver in their reſolution, they might worke their owne ſafety with his deſtruction, and make themſelves ſeeme innocent in his guiltineſſe. To which one of the Lords replied and ſaid; Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be, for which of us all can waſh his hands cleane of this buſineſſe? and therefore it behooves us to be as reſolute as your ſelfe; and the Earle of *Arundell*, to teſtifie his reſolution in the matter, ſaid, he was ſorry it was not his chance to goe with him, at whoſe feet he could finde in his heart to ſpend his blood. So the Duke with the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, the Lord *Gray*, and divers other of account, on the fourteenth of *July* ſet forward on the journey with eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; and paſſing through *Shoreditch*, the Duke ſaid to the Lord *Gray*, ſee how the people preſſe to ſee us, but not one of them ſaith, God ſpeed you. The Duke had every dayes march how farre he ſhould goe, appointed him by Commiſſion; which being very ſlow, whether it were done of purpoſe, by ſome that favoured the Lady *Maries* ſide, was certainly a great helpe to her proceedings; for by this meanes ſhe had the longer time to make her preparations; and indeed in this time two accidents happened, of great benefit to her; one, that *Edward Haſtings* the Earle of *Huntingtons* brother, having an Army of foure thouſand foot committed to him by the Earle of *Northumberland*, he now left his Party, and went to the Lady *Mary*: the other, that ſix great Ships which lay before *Yarmouth* to intercept the Lady *Mary*, if ſhe ſhouly attempt to flye, now at the perſwaſion of Maſter *Jerningham*, came in to her aide: which two revolts ſo terrified the *Londoners*, that though Doctor *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, on the ſixteenth of *July*, at *Pauls* Croſſe Preached a Sermon, wherein he invited the people to ſtand firme to Queene *Jane*, whoſe cauſe he affirmed to be moſt juſt, yet few or none were perſwaded by him; ſo as the Lords themſelves fell off from the ſide, who aſſembling at *Beynards*-Caſtle, firſt the Earle of *Arundell*, then the Earle of *Pembrooke* fell to invectives againſt the Earle of *Northumberland*; and then all the Lords joyning in opinion with them, they called for the Major, and in *London* Proclaimed the Lady *Mary* Queene; as likewiſe the Lord *Windſor*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie* and Sir *Edward Haſtings* did in *Buckinghamſhire*; Sir *John Williams* of *Tame*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlaine* in *Oxfordſhire*, and Sir *Thomas Treſham* in the County of *Northampton*. All this came ſoone to the knowledge of the Duke of *Northumberland*, being then at *Burie*; who thereby ſeeing how the world went, thought it his beſt courſe to turne with the ſtreame, and thereupon returning to *Cambridge*, he tooke the Major of the Towne with him into the Market-place, and there himſelfe for want of a Herauld, Proclaimed the Lady *Mary* Queene, and in ſigne of joy threw up his Cap; which

yet ſerved not his turne, for the next morning *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earle of *Arundell*, came into *Cambridge* from Queene *Mary*, who entring his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell on his knees; deſiring him for Gods love to conſider his caſe, that had done nothing but by the Warrant of him and the Councell: My Lord (ſaid the Earle) I am ſent hither by the Queen to arreſt you; and I (ſaid the Duke) obey your arreſt; yet I beſeech your Lordſhip, to uſe mercy towards him whoſe Acts have been no other then were injoyned by Commiſſion: you ſhould have thought of that ſooner (ſaid the Earle) and thereupon committed him to a Guard, and left him to the Queenes mercy. Thus ended all this great Dukes deſignes, in his owne deſtruction, and brought him to fall on his knees to them, who had often before bowed their knees to him; and the Earle, who at the Dukes going out, could have beene contented to ſpend his blood at his feet, was now contented to be made an inſtrument of his fall: ſo ſudden are the turnes of mens affections, and ſo unſtable is the building upon their aſſeverations; at leſt no man muſt looke to have his caſe be of any weight againſt him, who hath his owne caſe put in the Ballance. Together with the Duke his three Sonnes *Iohn*, *Ambroſe* and *Henry*, the Earle of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *Iohn* and *Henry*, Sir *Thomas Palmer* and Doctor *Sands* were conveyed towards *London*, and brought to the Tower; and the next day the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, the Lord *Robert Dudley* and Sir *Robert Corbet*. Before which time, the Duke of *Suffolke* entring his daughters the Lady *Ianes* Chamber, told her, ſhe muſt now put off her Royall Robes, and be contented with a private life: to which ſhe anſwered, She would much more willingly put them off, then ſhe had put them on; and would never have done it, but in obedience to him and her Mother. And this was the end of the Lady *Ianes* ten dayes Reigne.

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THE REIGNE OF QUEEN MARY.

THE Lady *Mary* having bin Proclaimed Queen in *London* and other parts of the Realme; removed from her caſtle of *Framingham* towards *London*; and being come to *Wanſtead* in *Eſſex*, on the thirtieth of *July*, the Lady *Elizabeth* her ſiſter, with a traine of a thouſand horſe, rode from her place in the Strand to meet her: on the third of *Auguſt*, the Queene rode through *London* to the *Tower*, where at her entrance were preſented to her *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, *Stephen Gardiner* late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Dutcheſſe of *Somerſet*; who all kneeling downe, ſhe kiſſed them, and ſaid, Theſe be my Priſoners, and then cauſed them preſently to be ſet at liberty: the next day ſhe reſtored the Lord *Courtney* to his Marchiſate of *Exceter*; and the ſame day alſo ſhe not onely reſtored *Stephen Gardiner* to his Biſhopricke of *Winchester*, but a few dayes after made him Chancellour of *England*; yet this was the man that had ſubſcribed to her Mothers Divorce, and had written Bookes againſt the lawfulneſſe of her mariage. The firſt of *Auguſt* *Edmund Bonner* late Biſhop of *London* priſoner in the *Marſhalſey*, and *Cuthert Tunſtall* the old Biſhop of *Durham* priſoner in the Kings Bench, had their Pardons and were reſtored to their Sees. Sortly after, all the Biſhops which had been deprived in the time of King *Edward* the ſixth, were reſtored to their Biſhopricks, and the new removed, as *Ridley* was removed from *London* and *Bonner* placed, *Skory* from *Chicheſter* and *Day* placed, *Miles Coverdale* from *Exceter* and *weſt* placed, *John Hooper* from *Worceſter* and *Heath* placed. Alſo all Beneficed men that were married, or would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms.

On the thirteenth of *Auguſt* one Maſter *Bourne* a Canon of *Pauls*, preaching at *Pauls* Croſſe, not onely prayed for the dead, but alſo declared that Doctor *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, (late reſtored, and there in preſence) for a Sermon by him made foure yeeres before, in the ſame place, and upon the ſame Text, had unjuſtly beene caſt into the vile priſon of the Marſhalſey; which Speech ſo offended ſome of the Auditory, that they cried, Pull him downe, pull him downe; and had certainly done him violence (for a Dagger was throwne at him) if Maſter *Bradford* a Proteſtant Preacher, had not ſtept into his place and appeaſed the tumult, and Maſter *Rogers* another Proteſtant Miniſter (who were both afterward burnt for Religion) had not ſhifted away *Bourne* into *Pauls* Schoole.

Hitherto Queene *Maries* reigne had beene without blood, but now the Cataracts of ſeverity will be opened, that will make it raine blood: for now on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, *John Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*, *William Parre* Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, and *John* Earl of *Warwicke*, ſonne and heire to the Duke, were arraigned at *Weſtminſter-hall*, before *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* as high Steward of *England*; where the Duke of *Northumberland*, after his Indictment read, required the opinion of the Court in two points; firſt, whither a man doing any Act by authority of the Princes Counſaile, and by warrant of the great Seale of *England*, might for any ſuch Act be charged with treaſon: ſecondly, whither any ſuch perſons as were equally culpable, and by whoſe commandements he was directed, might be his Judges and paſſe upon his triall: whereunto was anſwered, that concerning the firſt; the great Seale which he alleaged for his warrant, was not the Seale of the lawfull Queen of the Realm, but of an Uſurper, and therfore could be no warrant for him: and as to the ſecond, it was reſolved, that if any were as deeply to be touched in the caſe as himſelf, yet ſo long as no Attainder were of record againſt them, they were perſons able in law to paſſe upon his triall, and not to be challenged but at the Princes pleaſure. After which anſwers, the Duke uſed few words, but confeſſed the Indictment, and accordingly had judgment to dye. By whoſe example the other priſoners arraigned with him, confeſſed the Indictments, and thereupon had judgment: the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John*, and Sir *Henry Gates* brethren, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* Knights, were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, who confeſſing their Indictments, had judgment, which was pronounced by the Marqueſſe of *Winchester*, Lord high Treaſurer, ſitting that day as chiefe Juſtice: after theſe condemnations, followed the executions; for on the two and twentieth of *Auguſt John* Duke of *Northumberland* was brought to the Tower-hill, and there beheaded; being upon the ſcaffold in a gowne of green coloured damaske, he put it off and then made a long Speech, wherein he asked the Queen forgiveneſſe, whom he acknowledged to have grievouſly offended; and then making profeſſion of his Faith, that he died a true Catholick (meaning a Papiſt) he ſaid the Pſalmes of *Miſerere* and *De Profundis*, the *Pater noſter*, and ſix of the firſt verſes of the Pſalme *In te Domine ſperavi*, ending with this verſe, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit*; and this ſaid, he looked about him, as looking for a Pardon, but none comming, he laid his head downe upon the blocke, and at one blow had it ſtrucken off; his body with the head was buried in the Tower, by the body of *Edward* late Duke of *Somerſet* (mortall enemies while they lived, but now lying together as good friends) ſo as there lyeth before the high Altar in Saint *Peters* Church, two Dukes between two Queens, namely the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Duke of *Northumberland* between Queen *Anne* and Queene *Katherine*, all foure beheaded. Of what religion this Duke was may well be doubted, ſeeing at his death he profeſſed himſelf a Papiſt, when lately before he had importuned King *Edward* to make the Lady *Jane* his ſucceſſour, leſt the Papall religion ſhould be reſtored; it ſeems he was not greatly of either but for other ends; a Proteſtant then when it was to make his daughter in law Queen; now a Papiſt, when it was to ſave his life (for it was thought he had Pardon promiſed, if he would recant. At the ſame time and place were beheaded Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who were no ſuch temporizers but perſiſted and dyed in the Proteſtant Religion, which they had alwayes profeſſed.

After this, a ſprinkling of mercy came from the Queene; for on the third of *September* the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, the two chiefe Juſtices, Sir *Roger Cholmley* and *Mountague*, Sir *John Cheeke* and others were delivered out of the Tower whether before they had been committed; but a ſhower of ſeverity followed ſoon after, for on the fifteenth of *September* Maſter *Latimer* and Doctor *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* were ſent to the Tower, and on the third of *November* following, the ſaid Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Lady *Jane* (late Queene)

and

and the Lord *Guildford* her husband, with the Lords *Ambroſe* and *Henry*, ſonnes to the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were all arraigned at the Guild-hall, found guilty and had judgement to dye.

All this while Queen *Mary* had contented her ſelfe to be Queene by Proclamation; but now that things were ſomething ſetled, ſhe proceeds to her Coronation: for on the laſt of *September* ſhe rode in her Chariot through *London* towards *VVeſtminſter* in this order; firſt rode a number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Biſhops, then Lords, then the Councell, after whom followed the Knights of the *Bath*, thirteene in number in their Robes, then the Biſhop of *VVincheſter* Lord Chancellour, and the Marqueſſe of *VVincheſter* Lord high Treaſurer, next came the Duke of *Norfolke*, and after him the Earle of *Oxford* who bore the ſword, then the Major of *London* in a Gowne of Crimſon Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold; after came the Queenes Chariot, and then followed another Chariot wherein ſat the Lady *Elizabeth* her ſiſter and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleeve*, and then came Ladies and Gentlewomen riding on horſes, trapped with red velvet: &c. In this order they came through *London* to *VVeſtminſter*; where in many places by the way, were Pageants and ſtately ſhewes, and many rich preſents given to the Queene. The next day ſhe went by water to the old Palace, and remained there till eleven of the clock, and then went on foot upon blew cloth, being railed on either ſide to Saint *Peters* Church, where ſhe was Crowned and Anointed by the Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, (the two Archbiſhops being then in the Tower) with all Rites and Ceremonies of old accuſtomed.

After her Coronation, a generall pardon was publiſhed in her name, but interlaced with ſo many exceptions of matters and perſons, that very few tooke benefit by it; for after the pardon publiſhed, there were Commiſſioners aſſigned, to compound with ſuch perſons as were excepted: from ſome of whom they tooke away their Fees and Offices, ſome they fined, and ſome they depriued of their eſtates and livings.

About this time Sir *James Hales* one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, who in the time of King *Edward* had refuſed to ſigne a writing for diſinheriting the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*; (a fact worthy at leaſt of a kinde remembrance from the Lady *Mary* now Queene) yet now, for that at a quarter Seſſions in Kent, he gave charge upon the ſtatutes of King *Henry* the eight, and King *Edward* the ſixth, in derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*; he was firſt committed to the Kings *Bench*, then to the *Counter*, and laſtly to the *Fleet*; where he grew ſo troubled in minde, that he attempted with a Pen-knife to kill himſelfe; and being afterward recovered of that hurt, and brought to the Queenes preſence, who gave him very comfortable words, yet could never come to be quiet in his minde; but in the end, drowned himſelfe in a River not halfe a mile from his houſe, the River being ſo ſhallow, that he was faine to lye groveling before he could diſpatch himſelfe of life.

And now another ſprinkling of mercy came from the Queene; for the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, and Sir *Henry Gates*, lately before condemned to dye, were now pardoned and ſet at liberty. The Lady *Jane* alſo was allowed the liberty of the Tower, not without hope of life and liberty altogether; if her father the Duke of *Suffolke* had not the ſecond time been cauſe of her deſtruction.

About this time alſo a Synod was aſſembled, for conſulting about matters of Religion; and the point ſpecially of the reall preſence in the Sacrament. The Prolocutour was Doctor *VVeſton*; and of the Proteſtant ſide, were *John Almer* and *Richard Cheyney*, both Biſhops afterward in Queene *Elizabeths* time, alſo *John Philpot*, afterward burnt; *James Haddon* and others. After long diſputation, where reaſons were not ſo much weighed as voyces numbred; the Papall ſide, as having moſt voyces, carried it; and thereupon was that Religion againe reſtored, and the Maſſe commanded in all Churches to be celebrated, after the ancient manner.

It

It was now the yeer 1553. when Queene *Mary* was come to the age of seven and thirty yeers, and therefore high time now to thinke of marriage, at least if she meant to have issue of her body; but a hard matter it was to finde a husband in all points fitting for her, yet three at this time (in common fame at least) were taken into consideration: one was the Lord *Courtney* Marquesse of *Exeeter*, a goodly Gentleman and of Royall blood, but there was exception against him because inclining (as was thought) to *Lutheranisme*; another was Cardinal *Poole*, of a dignity not much inferiour to Kings, and by his Mother descended from Kings; but there was exception against him also, because foure and fifty yeers old, (as old a Batchelour as Queen *Mary* was a maid) and so the lesse hope of issue betweene them: but the third (if he might be had) was without exception, and this was *Phillip* Prince of *Spaine*, the Emperour *Charles* his eldest sonne, with whom being a *Spaniard*, she was the fitter matched, as being by the Mother a *Spaniard* her selfe. And now very oppertunely came in the beginning of *Jan.* Embassadors into *England* about it; amongst others, the Count of *Egmond* Admirall of the *Low Countryes*; and *John* of *Memorancy* Lord of *Curryers*; whose message was so kindely entertained, that the marriage in short time was absolutely concluded, though it seemed something strange to many, that she should now be wife to the sonne, who thirty yeers before should have been wife to the father. But so it is, Queenes are never old, so long as they are within yeers of bearing children. And indeede the match was concluded, with conditions of farre more advantage to Queene *Mary*, then they were to King *Phillip*, as on the fourteenth of *January Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancelour of *England*, openly in the Presence Chamber at *Westminster*, declared to all the Lords and Gentlemen there present: for it was agreed, that after the marriage, King *Phillip* should have the Title of all the Queenes Dominions, and be assumed into fellowship of the government; but yet with reservation to the Queene, of all Priviledges and Customes of the Kingdome, and free disposition of all Offices and Honours, as likewise the Queene should be assumed into the fellowship of all the Kings Dominions, and surviving him, should have a Joynture of two hundred thousand Pounds a yeer. Then for the issue betweene them, if she had a Sonne, that he should inherit the *Low Countryes* and *Burgundy*; and King *Phillips* sonne *Charles*, which he had by a former wife, should inherit all his Dominions in *Italie* and *Spaine*; but if his sonne *Charles* should fail without issue, then the sonne he should have by Queene *Mary*, should inherit his Kingdomes of *Italie* and *Spaine* also. And the like good provision was also made for daughters. But notwithstanding these great advantages of the match, yet such was the precipitant rashnesse of some; that thinking themselves wiser then the Queene and the Councel, they sought by all meanes to oppose the match; giving out that it tended to bring *England* under the yoke of *Spaine*, and to make the Countrey a slave to strangers. This was the generall murmuring of people; but the first that shewed himselfe in Armes, was Sir *Thomas wyat* of *Kent*; who having communicated the matter with the Duke of *Suffolke* the Lady *Janes* father, with *Peter Caroe* a Knight of *Devonshire*, and divers others; intended onely to make secret provision, but not to stirre till Prince *Phillip* should be come, that so their cause of taking armes might have the better colour. On the fifteenth of *January*, *Robert Dudley* sonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was arraigned at the *Guildhall* of high Treason, who confessed the indictment, and had judgement given by the Earle of *Sussex*, to be drawen, hanged, bowelled and quartered.

But now in counsels communicated to many, it is a hard matter to have counsell kept, and Sir *Peter Caroe* finding that their plot was discovered, fled privily into *France*, where lurking for a time, he was afterward taken at *Bruxells*, and brought captive into *England*; as likewise at the same time and place Sir *John Cheeke* King *Edwards* Schoolmaster was taken, who being drawne by terrours to embrace the Papall Religion, with very griefe afterward

ward of his errour pined away and dyed; Sir *Peter Caroe* lived many yeers after, and dyed in *Ireland*; though it be falsely recorded, they were both burnt for Religion, in *Iune* of this yeer. *Wyatt* hearing of Sir *Peter Caroes* flight, and that all their purpose was discovered; was driven before his time to enter into armes, giving out for the cause that it was not to attempt any thing against the Queene, but onely to remove ill Councellours, and chiefly to repell Prince *Phillip*; least by this mariage the Kingdome should come in subjection to the *Spaniard*. With *Wyatt* were joyned Sir *Henry Isley*, Sir *George Harper*, *Anthony* and *William Knevet*, and divers other Gentlemen of the County; against him were the Lord *Abuegaveny*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Lord Warden of the Ports, Sir *Sobert Southwell* Sheriffe of *Kent*, Sir *Warram Sentleger*, Sir *Thomas Kempe* Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Sir *Thomas Finch* with divers other; yet all these great men had such doubt of the people, that they durst not proceed but very warily. The five and twentieth of *Ianuary*, newes came to *London* of *Wyats* rising; against whom was presently sent the Duke of *Norfolke*, with Sir *Henry Iernyngham* Captaine of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray*, Sir *Iohn Fogge*, *Iohn Covert*, *Roger Appleton* Esquires, and five hundred souldiers out of *London*; appointed to go after him, under the leading of Captaine *Brett*. And now see in times of Sedition, how uncertaine a thing it is to trust to the people; for before *Brett* could overtake the Duke, Sir *George Harper* was secretly got to him, who so perswaded him that he and his five hundred souldiers left the Duke and went all to *VVyatt*; which made the Duke and those with him presently to flye, and put such boldnesse into *VVyatt*, that now he marched in great confidence towards *London*, with so great terrour to all sorts of people, that at *VVestminster-Hall*, the Serjeants and other Lawyers, pleaded in harnesse.

In the meane time, the Duke of *Suffolke* was perceived in *VVarwickshire*, to be raising of Forces in assistance of *VVyatt*; against whom was presently sent the Earle of *Huntington*, and the Duke finding himselfe unable to make resistance, having with all his industry gotten together but onely fifty men; he betooke himselfe to a Tenant of his One, *Underwood*, with whom he hoped and had promise to remaine undiscovered, till he might have opportunity to escape, as some say, as others to a Keeper of his Parke called *Nicholas Lawrence*, who kept him in a hollow Oake in the said Park, for two or three dayes: but whether *Underwood* or *Lawrence*, either out of fear, or out of hope of reward, he betrayed him to the Earle, by whom he was taken, and under a strong guard carried to the Tower. Upon this, Queen *Mary* her selfe came into *London*, where calling the Major and chiefe of the City together, she made an Oration, wherein she shewed the insolency of *VVyatt*; who though he pretended the but onely the crossing of the marriage; yet was now grown to such presumption, that he required to have the custody of her person; and to have Councellours retained or removed at his pleasure. And as for her mariage, she there affirmed she had done nothing in it, but by advice of her Councell; and for her selfe, that she was not so longing for a husband, but that if it were not more for the good of the Kingdome, then for her ow nsatisfaction, she would never once think of entertaining it. Having by her speech confirmed the minds of the Citizens; Forces are presently raised, and placed about the Bridge, and other fit places of the City. The third of *February*, *Wyatt* with an Army of three or four thousand, came to *London*, hoping of present entrance, but finding the Bridge broken, and souldiers placed to resist him, after two dayes stay in *Southwarke*, he removed to *Kingstone*, where he found likewise the Bridge broken, yet with great industry suddenly repairing it, he passed over his men, and meant with all speed, to get to the Court, before the Queene should have notice of him coming; and had done so indeede, if a mischance, and an errour upon that mischance had not hindred him. For being come within six miles of *London*, the carriage of one of his great Ordnance brake, in mending whereof so much

time

time was ſpent (and *VVyatt* by no perſwaſions would go forward without it) that the time was paſt, in which his friends at *London* expected his coming; which diſappointment made many in thoſe parts to fall off, and being perceived by thoſe about him, many of them alſo; ſo as one halfe of his Army was ſuddenly gone and left him; amongſt other, Sir *George Harper*, the moſt intimate of all his councell, went to the Queene and diſcovered all his purpoſes: whereupon the Earle of *Pembrooke* with a company levied upon the ſudden, was ſent againſt him; which made *VVyat* ſlacke his pace, ſo as it was noone before he came to the ſuburbs of the City; and then placing his Ordnance upon a hill, and leaving there the greateſt part of his Army, he onely with five Enſignes marched towards Ludgate, and being encountred at Charing-croſſe by the Lord Chamberlin and Sir *John Gage*, after a ſmall fight put them to flight in ſuch ſort, that word was carried to the Queene, how neer *VVyat* approached, and how wonderfully he prevailed all the way he came: with which nothing diſmayed; well then (ſaid ſhe) I will go in perſon againſt him my ſelfe; and was preparing to doe ſo indeed (ſo much was her Fathers valour running in her veines:) but it needed not; for by this time Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captaine of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Maſter of the Ordnance, and Sir *Phillip Paris*, had given him battaile and ſlaine many of his men; and that which was more, comming to Ludgate, he was denied entrance; and then thinking to retyre, he heard the Earle of *Pembrooke* with his Forces was behinde at Charing-croſſe; ſo as neither able to goe forward nor yet backward, he was at a ſtand and in amazement, and then leaning a while upon a ſtall by the Bell-ſavage, after a little muſing, he returned towards Temple-gate; where *Clarentius* the Herauld meeting him, fell to perſwade him, not to be a cauſe of more effuſion of blood, nor by perſiſting in obſtinacy to exclude all hope of the Queenes mercy. The Souldiers of *VVyat* were earneſt with him to have ſtood it out; but *Wyat* as ſillily ending, as he had unadviſedly begun; yeelded himſelfe to Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, and getting up upon his horſe behinde him, in that manner rode to the Court; where he had not the entertainment he expected, for without more adoe he was preſently ſent away to the Tower. The Captaine taken, the reſt made no reſiſtance, few fled, and of the other many were taken and laid in priſon: and this was done the ſixth of *February*. And now conſultation was held what Delinquents ſhould be puniſhed; where the firſt that was thought on was the Lady *Jane*, in whom was verified, *The Fathers have eaten ſower grapes, and the childrens teeth are ſet on edge*; the innocent Lady muſt ſuffer for her Fathers fault; for if her Father the Duke of *Suffolke*, had not this ſecond time made ſhipwracke of his loyalty, his Daughter perhaps had never taſted the ſalt-waters of the Queens diſpleaſure: but now as a rocke of offence, ſhe is the firſt that muſt be removed; and thereupon is Doctor *Fecknam* ſent to acquaint her, that ſhe muſt prepare her ſelfe to dye the next day: which Meſſage was ſo little unpleaſing to her, that ſhe ſeemed rather to rejoyce at it, as wherby ſhe ſhould at laſt be ſet at liberty; and the Doctor being earneſt with her to leave her new Religion, and to embrace the old; ſhe anſwered, She had now no time to thinke of any thing, but of perparing her ſelfe to God by Prayer: *Fecknam* thinking ſhe had ſpoken this, to the end ſhe might have ſome longer time of life, obtained of the Queene three dayes longer, and then came and told ſo much to the Lady *Jane*; whereat ſhe ſmiling ſaid, You are much deceived if you thinke I had any deſire of longer life; for I aſſure you, ſince the time you went from me, my life hath beene ſo tedious to me, that I long for nothing ſo much as death, and ſince it is the Queenes pleaſure, am moſt willing to undergoe it. Before ſhe was brought to Execution, her husband the Lord *Guildford*, had made ſuit, and obtained to ſee her and have ſome conference with her; but ſhe refuſed it, ſaying, Theſe were rather augmenters of griefe, then comforts of death; ſhe made no doubt, but they ſhould ſhortly meet in a better place, and in a better condition of ſociety: ſo on the twelfth

of

of *February*, her husband the Lord *Guildford* first, and then she an houre or two after, was beheaded within the Tower; where she acknowledged her selfe to have deserved death, not for seeking the Crown, but for not refusing it, being offered; and after prayers to God, unclothing her selfe, and putting a Handcarchiffe before her eyes, she laid her head downe upon the blocke, and patiently suffered death, more grievous to the beholders, then to her selfe. This end had the Lady *Jane Gray*, a Lady of incomparable Pietie; and (for her yeers) of incomparable learning; for being not past seventeen yeeres of age, she understood perfectly the Greek and Latine tongues, and was so ready in all points of Divinity, as if she knew them by inspiration rather then by instruction; no lesse a miracle in this kinde then King *Edward*; and therefore no mervaile if he appointed her to succeed him in the Kingdome, who in the endowments of minde was so like unto him, that whilest she reigned, it might be thought he continued to reigne himselfe, at lest no more differing but onely the sex. It may not be forgotten, that Judge *Morgan*, who at her arraignement gave the sentence against her, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving, cried continually to have the Lady *Jane* taken away from him, and so ended his life.

Two dayes after the execution of the Lady *Jane*, namely the fourteenth and fifteenth of *February*, twenty paire of Gallowes were set up in divers places of the City, whereon were handed fifty of *Wyats* faction; on the eighteenth of *February Bret* was hanged at *Rochester* in chaines, Sir *Henry Isle*, who had beene taken in an old freeze coat and an old paire of hose, with his brother *Thomas Isle* and *Walter Mantell* were hanged at *Maidstone*, *Anthony Knevet* and his brother *William*, with another of the *Mantels* were executed at *Sevenocke*; but then on the twentieth of *February* a sprinkling of mercy came, for foure hundred of *Wyats* followers, being brought before the Queene with halters about their necks, were all pardoned and set at liberty. But then severity soone after began againe, for on the three and twentieth of *February* the Lord *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolke*, and Father to the Lady *Jane*, who the weeke before had been arraigned and condemned, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, and on the eleventh of *Aprill*, in the same place was beheaded (the Author of all this mischiefe) *Wyat* himselfe, whose quarters were set up in divers places of the City, his head upon the Gallowes at Hay-hill, besides Hide Parke. This man, in hope of life, having before accused the Lord *Courtney* and the Lady *Elizabeth* the Queenes sister, to be privie to his conspiracy, yet at his death he cleered them, and protested openly, that they were altogether innocent, and never had been acquainted with his proceedings. Yet was this matter so urged against them by *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellour, that both of them in *March* before had beene committed to the Tower, though in *May* following they were both againe released, but yet confined, the Lady *Elizabeth* to *Woodstocke*, under the custody of Sir *Henry Beningfield* of *Oxenborough* in the County of *Norfolke*; the Lord *Courtney* to *Foderingham*, under the custody of Sir *Thomas Tresham*, who after some time was set at liberty, and going into *Italie* there dyed. It is memorable, what malice this Bishop *Gardiner* bore to the Lady *Elizabeth*, by whose onely procurement, not onely she was kept in most hard durance, but a Warrant was at last framed under certaine Councellours hands, to put her to death, and had beene done, but that Master *Bridges* Lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her case, went to the Queene to know her pleasure, who utterly denied that she knew any thing of it; by which meanes here life was preserved. Indeed the Bishop would sometimes say, how they cut off boughes and branches, but as long as they let the root remaine, all was nothing. And it is not unworthy the remembring what traines were laid to ensnare her. The common net at that time for catching of Protestants, was the Reall Presence, and this net was used to catch her; for being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my Body*; whether she thought

it the true body of Christ, that was in the Sacrament. It is said, that after some pawsing, she thus answered:

Christ was the Word that spake it:
He tooke the Bread, and brake it:
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe, and take it.

Which though it may seeme but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidnesse then at first sight appears; at lest it served her turne at that time to escape the net, which by direct answering she could not have done.

On the seventeenth of *Aprill Thomas* Lord *Grey*, the Duke of *Suffolkes* brother was beheaded, the last, and indeed the lest in delinquency, that suffered, for having any hand in *Wyats* conspiracy. There remained yet a fagge end, and was indeed but a fagge end, as nothing worth; for on the same day Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, being accused to have beene a party in *Wyats* conspiracy, was at the *Guild-hall* arraigned before Sir *Thomas White* Lord Maior, the Earles of *Shrewsbury* and *Derby*, Sir *Thomas Bromley* Lord chiefe Justice of *England*, Sir *Nicholas Hare* Master of the Roles, Sir *Francis Englefield* Master of the Wards, Sir *Richard Southwell* and Sir *Edward Walgrave* Privie Councellours, Sir *Roger Chomley*, Sir *William Portman* one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sir *Edward Sanders* one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Master *Stanford* and Master *Dyer* Serjeants at Law, Master *Edward Griffin* Attorney generall, Master *Sendall* and *Peter Titchborne* Clarkes of the Crowne, where the said Master *Nicholas Throgmorton* so fully and discreetly answered all objections brought against him, that he was found by the Jurie, Not Guilty, and was cleerly acquitted, but the Jury notwithstanding was afterward troubled for acquitting him, and sent prisoners, some of them to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and afterward fined to pay a thousand markes a peece at lest, and some 2000. l. though these sums were afterward something mitigated.

More of *wyats* complices had beene taken, arraigned and adjudged to dye, but in judgement the Queene remembred mercy, and gave them their Pardons; of which number were Master *Rudston* of *Kent*, Sir *James a Crofts*, the Lord *John Gray* brother to the Duke of *Suffolke*, and some others.

About this time, a little before and after, were advancements in honour, the Lord *William Howard*, Lord Admirall of *England*, was created Baron *Howard* of *Effingham*, Sir *John Williams* was created Baron of *Thame*, Sir *Edward North* was created Baron of *Chartleigh*, Sir *John Bridges* was created Baron *Chandowes* of *Sudeley*, *Gerrard Fitz Garret* was created Earl of *Kildare* and Baron of *Ophelley*, and not long after Sir *Anthony Browne* Master of the Horse, was created Viscount *Mountague*.

It is scarce worth remembring, that in the end of this first yeer of the Queens reigne, one *Elizabeth Croft*, a wench of eighteen yeeres old, was by practice put into a Wall, and thereupon called the Spirit in the Wall, who with a whistle made for the purpose, whistled out many seditious words against the Queene, the Prince of *Spaine*, the Masse, Confession, and such other Points; for which she did Penance, standing upon a skaffold at *Pauls* Crosse all the Sermon time, where she made open confession of her fault.

There had beene good store of Laymens blood shed already, and now the times is comming to have Clergie mens shed, and for a preparative to it, on the tenth of *Aprill*, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* late Bishop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* late Bishop of *Worcester*, are conveyed from the Tower to *Oxford*, there to dispute with *Oxford* and *Cambridge* men in points of Religion, but specially of the Eucharist; the *Oxford* men were *Cole*, *Chadsey*, *Pye*, *Harpsefield*, *Smith* and Doctor *Weston* Prolocutour: the *Cambridge* men *Young*, *Seaton*, *Watson*, *Atkinson*, *Feckenham* and *Sedgewicke*: the Disputation ended, which (we may well thinke, as the matter was carried) went against the prisoners; on the twentieth of *Aprill* they were brought again

on the Stage; and then demanded, whether they would perſiſt in their opinion, or elſe recant; and affirming they would perſiſt, they were all three adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to the fire; but their execution we muſt not looke for till a yeere or two hence; but in the meane time we have *John Rogers*, the firſt Martyr of theſe time, burnt at *London* the fourth of *February*; after whom the ninth of *February*, *John Hooper* late Biſhop of *VVorceſter*, burnt at *Gloceſter*; after him, *Robert Ferrar* Biſhop of *Man*, burnt at *Carmarden*; after him *John Bradford*, with many others; and then the two famous men *Ridley* and *Latimer*, no leſſe famous for their conſtant deaths, then their religious lives, both burnt at *Oxford* the ſixteenth of *October*.

This riſing of *VVyat* had beene a Remora to the Queenes marriage, and now to avoid all ſuch obſtacles hereafter, the Queen in *Aprill* called a Parliament; wherein were propounded two things; one for confirmation of the Marriage, the other for reſtoration of the Popes Primacie. This latter was not aſſented to, but with great difficulty; for the ſix yeers reigne of King *Edward* had ſpred a plantation of the Proteſtant Religion, in the hearts of many; but the Propoſition for the marriage was aſſented to readily, but yet with the adding of ſome conditions, which had not beene thought of in the former Articles: Firſt, that King *Phillip* ſhould admit of no Stranger in any Office, but onely Natives: ſecondly, that he ſhould innovate nothing in the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Kingdome. Thirdly, that he ſhould not carry the Queen out of the Realme, without her conſent, nor any of her children without conſent of the Councell. Fourthly, that ſurviving the Queen, he ſhould challenge no right in the Kingdome, but ſuffer it to deſcend to the next heire. Fiftly, that he ſhould carry none of the Jewels of the Realme out of the Kingdome, nor ſuffer any Ships or Ordnance to be removed out of the Realme: and laſtly, that neither directly nor indirectly, he ſhould cauſe the Realme of *England* to be intangled with the warre betweene *Spaine* and *France*.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earle of *Bedford* Lord Privie Seale, the Lord *Fitzwaters*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are ſent into *Spaine* to fetch over Prince *Phillippe*, who arrived at *Southampton* the twentieth of *July* in the yeere 1554. and the three and twentieth came to *VVincheſter*, where the Queene met him, and the five and twentieth, the marriage betweene them there was openly ſolemnized: (the diſparity of yeeres, as in Princes, not much regarded, though he were then but ſeven and twenty yeeres of age, ſhee eight and thirty) at which time, the Emperours Embaſſadour being preſent, openly declared; that in conſideration of that mariage, the Emperour had given to Prince *Phillippe* his ſonne, the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Hieruſalem*; and thereupon (the ſolemnity of marriage being ended) *Garter* King of Heraulds openly in the Church, in the preſence of the King, the Queene, and the Lords both of *England* and *Spaine*, ſolemnly proclaimed, the title and ſtile of theſe two Princes, as followeth: *Phillip* and *Mary* by the grace of God King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Hieruſalem*, and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of *Spaine* and *Scicily*, Archdukes of *Auſtria*, Dukes of *Millany*, *Burgandy*, and *Brabant*, Counts of *Habſpurge*, *Flanders* and *Tyroll*. After this the King and Queene by eaſie journeys came to *Winſor* Caſtle, where the King was inſtal'd Knight of the Garter, and the Earle of *Suſſex* with him: The eleventh of *Auguſt* they removed to *Richmond*, the ſeven and twentieth to *Suffolk-place* in *Southwark*, and the next day to *London* (where the ſtately ſhews that were made, may well enough be conceived without relating) from hence after foure dayes they removed againe to *Richmond*, where all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries, and indeede ſo many departed, that there remained not an *Engliſh* Lord at the Court, but the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: from *Richmond* they removed to *Hampton-court*, where the Hall door within the Court was continually kept ſhut, ſo as no man might enter unleſſe his errand were firſt known, which might perhaps be the faſhion of *Spain*, but to *Engliſhmen* ſeemed very ſtrange.

About this time Cardinall *Poole*, ſent for by the King and Queene, came over into *England*; and had come ſooner, but that the Emperour fearing he might prove a corrivall with his ſonne *Phillip*, had uſed meanes to ſtop his paſſage, but now that his Sonnes marriage was paſt, he was content to let him paſſe, who though he came from *Rome* with the great authority of a Legat *a Latere*, yet he would not but come privately into *London*, becauſe his Attaindour was yet upon Record; an Act therefore was preſently paſſed to take it off, and to reſtore him in blood; for paſſing of which Act, the King and Queene in perſon came to the Parliament houſe; whither a few dayes after, the Cardinall came himſelfe, which was then kept in the great Chamber of *Whitehall*, becauſe the Queen by reaſon of ſickneſſe, was not well able to goe abroad; and here the King and Queene ſitting under the cloath of Eſtate, and the Cardinall on their right hand, all the Lords, Knights and Burgeſſes being preſent, the Biſhop of *VVincheſter* Lord Chancellour, made a ſhort ſpeech unto them; ſignifying the preſence of the Lord Cardinall, and that he was ſent from the Pope as his Legate *a Latere*, to doe a worke tending to the glory of God, and the benefit of them all; which (ſaith he) you may better heare from his own mouth. Then the Cardinall roſe up, and made a long ſolemne Oration, wherein he firſt thanked them for his reſtoring, by which he was enabled to be a member of their ſociety; then exhorting them to returne into the boſome of the Church, for which end he was come; not to condemne, but to reconcile; not to compell, but to call and require; and for their firſt worke of reconcilement, requiring them to repeale and abrogate all ſuch Lawes as had formerly beene made in derogation of the Catholicke Religion. After which Speech, the Parliament going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two dayes after they preſented to the King and Queene; wherein they ſhewed themſelves to be very penitent for their former errours, and humbly deſired their Majeſties to intercede for them to the Lord Cardinall and the See Apoſtolicke, that they might be Pardoned of all they had done amiſſe, and be received into the boſome of the Church; being themſelves moſt ready to abrogate all Lawes prejudiciall to the See of *Rome*. This Supplication being delivered to the Cardinall, he then gave them Abſolution, in theſe words; Wee, by the Apoſtolicke authority given unto us, by the moſt Holy Lord Pope *Julius* the third (Chriſts Vicegerent on Earth) doe Abſolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole Realme and Dominions thereof, from all Hereſie and Schiſme, and from all Judgements, Cenſures and Paines for that cauſe incurred, and alſo Wee doe reſtore you againe, to the unity of our Mother the holy Church, The report hereof comming to *Rome*, was cauſe that a ſolemne Proceſſion was made, for joy of the converſion of *England* to the Church of *Rome*. And now the Queene had a great deſire to have King *Phillip* crowned, but to this the Parliament would by no meanes aſſent.

In *October* this ſecond yeere of her reigne, a rumour was ſpread of the Queenes being with childe, and ſo forward that ſhe was quicke; and thereupon were Lettes ſent from the Lords of the Councell: to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, that Prayers of Thankſgiving ſhould be made in all Churches; and the Parliament it ſelfe was ſo credulous of it, that they entred into conſideration of the education of the childe, and made an Act; deſiring the King (out of the confidence they had in him) that if the Queene ſhould faile, he would be pleaſed to take upon him the Rule and Government of the childe; but after all this, in *June* following, it came to be knowne, that it was but a Tympany, or at leſt the Queene ſo miſcarried, that there came no childe, nor the Queene likely ever after to have any. But howſoever, in hope of the joy that was expected; in *January* of this yeere, divers of the Councell, as the Lord Chancellour, the Biſhop of *Elye*, the Lord Treaſurour, the Earle of *Shrewſbury*, the Controlour of the Queens houſe, Secretary *Bourne* and Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Ordinance, were ſent to the Tower, to diſcharge and ſet at

liberty

liberty a great part of the Priſoners in the Tower; as namely, the late Duke of *Northumberlands* ſonnes, *Ambroſe*, *Robert* and *Henry*, alſo Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *James Croſts*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Sentlow*, Sir *Gowen Carow*, *William Gybbs* Eſquire, *Cutbert Vaughan*, and ſome others.

About this time, one *William Fetherſtone*, a Millers ſonne, of the age of eighteene yeeres, named and bruted himſelfe to be King *Edward* the ſixth; for which being apprehended and examined, he anſwered as one lunaticke; and thereupon was whipped at a Carts tayle, and baniſhed into the North; but the yeere after, ſpreading abroad againe, that King *Edward* was alive, and that he had talked with him, he was arraigned and condemned of treaſon, and at Tyburn hanged and quartered.

In the moneth of *March*, the Queene was taken with a fit of Devotion, and thereupon called unto her foure of her Privie Councell, namely, *William* Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter* Lord Treaſurour, Sir *Robert Rocheſter* Comptrolour, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, and Sir *Francis Engleſield* Maſter of the Wards, and ſignified unto them, that it went againſt her conſcience, to hold the Lands and Poſſeſſions as well of Monaſteries and Abbeys as of other Churches, and therefore did freely relinquiſh them, and leave them to be diſpoſed, as the Pope and the Lord Cardinall ſhould thinke fit; and thereupon charged them to acquaint the Cardinall with this her purpoſe. And ſhortly after in performance hereof, *John Fecknam* late Deane of *Pauls*, was made Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and had poſſeſſion delivered him, and with him fourteen Monkes received the Habit at the ſame time: and on the twentieth of *November*, Sir *Thomas* was inſtituted Lord of Saint *Johns* of *Hieruſalem*, and was put in poſſeſſion of the Lands belonging unto it. And when it was told her, that this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crowne; ſhe anſwered, ſhe more valued the ſalvation of her ſoule, then a thouſand Crownes: a moſt religious ſpeech, and enough, if there were but this, to ſhew her to be a moſt pious Prince.

The fourth of *September* this yeer, King *Phillip* waited on with the Earle of *Arundell* Lord Steward, the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Earle of *Huntington* and others, went over to *Callice*, and from thence to *Bruſſels* in *Brabant*, to viſit the Emperour his Father; who delivering him poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, in *March* following he returned into *England*; but then, on the ſixth of *July* following, by reaſon of warswith *France*, he paſſed again over to *Callice* and ſo into *Flanders*, from whence he returned not till eighteene moneths after; which made great muttering amongſt the common people, as though hee tooke any little occaſion to be abſent, for the little love hee bore to the Queene.

In the third yeere of the Queene dyed *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at his houſe in *Southwarke*; of whoſe death it is memorable, that the ſame day in which Biſhop *Ridley* and Maſter *Latimer* ſuffered at *Oxford*, he would not goe to dinner till foure a clocke in the afternoone, thongh the old Duke of *Norfolke* was come to dine with him; the reaſon was, becauſe he would firſt heare of their being burnt, and as ſoon as word of that was brought him, he preſently ſaid, Now let us goe to Dinner; where ſitting downe and eating merrily, upon a ſudden he fell into ſuch extremity, that he was faine to be taken from the Table and carried to his bed, where he continued fifteen dayes, without voyding any thing either by urine or otherwiſe, which cauſed his tongu to ſwell in his mouth, and ſo dyed; after whoſe death, *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* was made Lord Chancelour.

And now comes the time of Archbiſhop *Cranmers* execution, who the yeere before had beene condemned and degraded by Commiſſion from the Pope; after which, being by the ſubtiltie of ſome, put in hope of life, out of frailty, he ſubſcribed to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were, that Cardinall *Poole* would no longer be kept from being Archbiſhop

(which he would not be as long as he lived) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forget, his being the chief instrument of her Mothers divorce; his execution was resolved to be the 14. of *Febr.* in the same place at *Oxford* where *Ridley* and *Latimer* five month before had bin: before the execution Doct. *Cole* preached, who to make use of *Cranmers* Recantation, told the people, they doe well to harken to this learned mans confession, who now at his death, and with his death wold testifie which was the true religion, never thinking that *Cranmer* wold have denied his former Recantation; but *Cranmer* being brought to the stake (contrary to expectation) acknowledged, that through frailty he had subscribed it, praying God hartily to forgive it; and now for a punishment, that hand which had done it should first suffer, and therewithall thrusting his right hand into the fire, he there held it, till it first and then his whole body was consumed; onely (which was no small miracle) his heart remained whole and not once touched with the fire. The same yeer also, no fewer then 84. of both sexes were burnt for Religion; and it was a cruelty very far extended, that the bones of *Bucer* and *Phagius* some time before dead and buried, were taken up and publikely burnt in *Cambridge*. No sooner was *Cranmer* dead, but the very same day was Cardinall *Poole* made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

In the fourth yeere of the Queene, exemplar Justice was done upon a great person; for the Lord *Sturton*, a man much in the Queens favour, as being an earnest Papist, was for a murther committed by him, arraigned and condemned, and he with foure of his servants, carried to *Salisbury*, was there in the Market-place hanged, having this favour to be hanged in a silken halter, his servants in places neere adjoyning to the place where the Murther was committed.

The foure and twentieth of *Aprill*, *Thomas Stafford* second son to the Lord *Stafford*, with other, to the number of two & thirty persons (set on by the *French* King) attempted to raise Sedition against the Queen, for marrying with King *Phillip*, and comming out of *France*, arrived at *Scarborough* in *Yorkeshire*, where they tooke the Castle, but within two dayes were driven out by the Earle of *Westmerland*, and then taken and arraigned: the eight and twentieth of *May* *Stafford* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, and the next day three of his associates *Strelley*, *Bradford* & *Proctor* were drawn from the Tower to Tyburne and there executed. The first of *May* *Thomas Percy* was first made Knight, after, Lord, and the next day was created Earle of *Northumberland*, to whom the Queene gave all the Lands that had bin his Ancestours.

At this time the Queene intangled her selfe (contrary to her promise) in her husbands quarrell, sent a defiance to the *French* King, by *Clarentius* king at Armes; and after on the Munday in Whitsonweeke, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed open warre against him in Cheapside, and other places of the Citie; and shortly after, caused an Army of a thousand Horse, and foure thousand foot, to be transported over, to the aid of her husband King *Phillip*, under the leading of the Earle of *Pembrooke* Captain Generall, Sir *Anthony Browne* Viscount *Mountague* Lievtenant Generall, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* Lord Marshall, the Earle of *Rutland* Generall of the Horse, the Earle of *Lincolne* Coronel of the Foot, the Lord *Robert Dudley* Master of the Ordnance, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Chandowes*, the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, with divers Knights and Gentlement; who joyning with King *Phillips* Forces, they altogether set down before Saint *Quintyns*, a town of the *French* Kings of great importance. To the resque whereof, the *French* King sent an Army, under the leading of the Constable of *France*, which consisted of nine hundred men at armes, with as many light horse, eight hundred Reystres, two and twenty Ensignes of Lancequenets, and sixteen Ensigns of *French* footmen; their purpose was not to give battell, but to put more succours into the Town; which the *Philippians* perceiving, encountred them, and in the fight slew *John* of *Burbon* Duk of *Anghien*, the Viscount of *Turain*, the Lo. of *Chadenier*, with many gentlemen of account; they took prisoners the Duk of *Memorancy* Constable of *France*, the Duk of *Montpensyer*, Duk *Longueuile*, the

the Marſhall of Saint *Andrewes*, the Lord *Lewis* brother to the Duke of *Mantova*, the Baron of *Curton*, the *Rhinegrave* Colonell of the *Almaynes*, *Monſieur d'Obigny*, *Monſieur de Biron*, and many others; and then purſuing the victory, under the government of the Earle of *Pembrooke*, on the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt* they tooke the towne of Saint *Quintyns*; in the aſſault whereof, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, yongeſt ſonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was with a peece of great Ordnance ſlaine, and ſome other of account. The ſaccage of the Town King *Phillip* gave to the *Engliſh*, as by whoſe valour chiefly it was won.

The joy was not ſo great for this winning of Saint *Quintyns*, but there will be greater ſorrow preſently for other loſſes. Many of the Garriſon of *Callice* had beene drawne from thence, for this ſervice of Saint *Quintyns*, and no new ſupply ſent, which being perceived by the *French* King, a Plot is laid how to ſurprize it, which yet was not ſo ſecretly carried, but that the Officers of *Callice* had intelligence thereof; who thereupon ſignified it to the Councell of *England*, requiring ſpeedy ſuccours, without which, againſt ſo great an Army as was raiſd againſt them, they ſhould not be able to hold out. But whether they gave no credit to their relations, or whether they apprehended not the danger ſo imminent as indeed it was, they neglected to ſend ſupplies till it was too late. For the Duke of *Guyſe*, with no leſſe ſpeed then Policie, tooke ſuch a courſe that at one and the ſame time, he ſet both upon *Newnambridge* and alſo *Ricebanke*, (the two maine *Skonces* for defence of the Towne,) and tooke them both, and then fell preſently to batter the Wals of the Caſtle it ſelfe, and that with ſuch violence of great Ordnance, that the noyſe was heard to *Antwerpe*, being a hundred miles of. But having made the wals aſſaultable, the *Engliſh* uſed this ſtratagem, they laid traines of Powder to blow them up, when they ſhould offer to enter, but this ſtratagem ſucceeded not; for the *French* in paſsing the Ditch, had ſo wet their cloathes, that dropping upon the traine, the Powder would take no fire, (ſo all things ſeemed to concurre againſt the *Engliſh*) and thereupon the Caſtle was taken alſo, and with it the Towne alſo had beene taken, but that Sir *Anthony Ager*, with the loſſe of his owne life and his eldeſt ſonnes, valiantly defended it, and for that time repelled the *French*, but their numbers increaſed ſo faſt upon the Towne, that the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, ſeeing no other way of ſafety, demanded Parlee, where a compoſition was made, that the Towne ſhould preſently be yeelded to the *French* King, the lives of the Inhabitants onely ſaved, with ſafe conduct to paſſe away, ſaving the Lord Deputy with fifty other, ſuch as the Duke ſhould name. And here to be quit with the *Engliſh* for their hard uſage at Saint *Quintins*, the Duke cauſed Proclamation to be made, that all and every perſon of the Towne, ſhould bring their money, jewels and plate, to the value of a groat, and lay it downe upon the high Altar of the Church; by which meanes an ineſtimable ſum of treaſure was there offered, enough to enrich an Army, which had before enriched a Towne: and now to make it appeare how unable the Towne was to hold out againſt ſo great an Army. It is ſaid, there were in it but onely five hundred ſouldiers of ordinary, and ſcarce two hundred more of able fighting men; but of other people, men, women and children foure thouſand and two hundred, all which were ſuffered to depart, ſaving the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlaine* Captaine of the Caſtle, *John Huriſton* Captaine of *Ricebrake*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captain of *Newnambridge*, *Edward Grimſton* the Controlour, *John Rogers* the Surveyour, with others to the number of fifty, who were all caried priſoners into *France*. And thus *Callice*, which had bin in poſſeſsion of the *Engliſh* above two hundred yeers, was won from the *Engliſh* in eight dayes, which King *Edward* the third had not won from the *French* in leſſe then a yeer. The Lord *Wentworth* was ſuſpected, and in Queen *Elizabeths* time arraigned for betraying it, was acquitted by his Peeres. *Callice* thus won, the Duke with his Army marched to *Guyſnes*, five miles

miles distant, whereof was Captaine the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, who held out the siedge and batteries five or six dayes with so great valour and resolution, that he appeared in nothing inferiour to the Enemy but in multitude, yet at last overlaid with their numbers, and importunde by his souldiers, much against his owne will, he made composition, that the Towne and Castle should be wholly rendered, himselfe and all Officers remaine prisoners, all other to depart with their Armour and Baggage. The Lord *Gray* afterward ransomed for foure and twenty thousand crownes. And now the Duke of *Guise* considering that *Guysnes* would be too costly a Castle to be kept, and too dangerous a neighbour to *Callice*, if it should be recovered, raced it with the Bulwarkes and Fortifications to the ground. *Guysnes* thus won, there remained nothing within the *English* pale, but the little Castle of *Hammes*, whereof was Captaine the Lord *Edward Dudley*, who considering that though it were naturally strongly scituate, as being invironed with Fens and Marshes, yet it had but little helpe by Art of Fortifications, and being assured that the Duke of *Guyse* would speedily come upon him, he secretly in the night with all his garrison, departed into *Flanders*, so as the Castle was not won, but taken by the Duke of *Guyse*, and with the losse of this Castle, the *English* lost all their footing in *Terra firma*, and the Kings of *England* all the reality of their Title in *France*, having nothing left but *nudum nomen*.

Presently after this, the *French* King caused the mariage between his eldest sonne *Francis* the Dolphin, and *Mary Steward* sole heire of *James* the fift King of *Scotland* to be solemnized: whereupon great wars insued soon after between *England* and *Scotland*.

Queen *Mary* being infinitely troubled in minde for the losse of *Callice*, sent presently forth her Admirall the Lord *Clinton*, with a Fleet of more then a hundred sayle, to recover, at lest reparation in honour, by doing some exploit upon *France*, who not finding opportunity to set upon *Brest*, as he was appointed, fell upon the towne of *Conquest*, which he tooke and burnt, and also divers Villages thereabouts, and then returned. In which meane time, many great conflicts having been between King *Phillip* and the King of *France*; at last, by mediation of the Dutchesse of *Lorraigne*, a treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things seemed to be well accorded, but onely that King *Phillip* by all meanes required restitution of *Callice*, to which by no means the *French* would assent; but whilst they stood upon these termes, it happened that first the Emperour *Charles* King *Phillips* father dyed, and shortly after Queene *Mary*, and the day after her Cardinall *Poole*, and shortly after Sir *John Baker* of *Sissingherst* in *Kent*, who had been a Privie Councellour to *Henry* the eight, *Edward* the sixth and Queen *Mary*. And so our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace, between the two Kings of *France* and *Spaine*.

Of her Taxations.

SHEE began with a rare Example; for in the first yeer of her Reign, was pardoned by Proclamation, the Subsidie of foure shillings the pound of Land, and two shillings the pound of goods, granted in the last Parliament of King *Edward* the sixth. In her second yeer in a Parliament then holden, was granted to the King and Queen, a Subsidie of the Layitie, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds upwards, sixteen pence in the pound; all Strangers double; and the Clergie six shillings in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in all her time, there came to new charge upon her people; for one Subsidie remitted and one received, made but even. In her last yeer she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the City of *London*, and paid twelve pounds a yeer, interest for every hundred pound.

Lawes

Lawes and Ordinances in her time.

IN her first yeere, on the fourth of *September*, were proclaimed certaine new Coynes of gold and silver, a Soveraigne of gold of thirty shillings; the halfe Soveraigne fifteene shillings; an Angell of ten shillings; the halfe Angell five shillings. Of silver, the groat, the halfe groat and penny; all these Coynes to be currant as before. In her second yeer, Proclamation was made, forbidding the shooting in Hand-guns and bearing of weapons. The yeer in which she was married to King *Phillip*, a straight charge was to all Victuallers, Taverners and Alehouse-keepers, that they should sell no Meat nor Drinke nor any kinde of Victuals, to any Serving-man whatsoever, unlesse he brought a testimoniall to shew whose servant he was. Also in a Parliament holden this yeere, amongst other Acts, the Statute *Ex Officio*, and other Lawes made for the punishment of Heresies, were revived; but chiefly the Popes Bull of Dispensation of Abbey Land was there confirmed. In her second yeere, on *Michaelmas* Eeven, the Prisoners that lay in the Counter in *Bredstreet*, were removed to a new Counter made in *Woodstreet*, of the Citie Purchase and building; the which removing was confirmed by the Common Councell of the City.

Affaires of the Church in her time.

IN the first yeere of this Queenes reigne, all Bishops which had beene deprived in the time of King *Edward* the sixth, were restored to their Bishopriks, and the new removed; also all Benefized men that were married, or would not forsake their opinion, were put out of their Livings; and other of a contrary opinion put in their roomes. Also this yeere, on the seven and twentieth of *August*, the Service begun to be sung in Latine in *Pauls* Church. Also this yeere the Popes authority was by Act of Parliament restored in *England*; and the Masse commanded in all Churches to be used. In her second yeer, the Realme is Absolved, and reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, by Cardinall *Poole*; and first Fruits and Tenths are restored to the Clergy: but this was soone revoked, the Councell finding the necessity of it for the Queenes support. In her fourth yeere, Monasteries were begun to be reedified; of which number were that of *Westminster*, that of *Sheene* and *Sion*, that of the *Black-fryers*, and the Fryers of *Greenwich*. Of the number of those that dyed for Religion in her time, there are recorded five Bishops, one and twenty Divines, and of all sorts of men and women, two hundred threescore and seventeene.

Workes of Pietie done by her or others in her time.

THis Queen restored a great part of Abbey-lands that were in her possession, and if she had lived longer, very likely she would have restored more. In her first yeer, Sir *Thomas White* then Major, erected a Colledge in *Oxford*, now called Saint *Johns* Colledge, before, *Bernard* Colledge; he also

erected Schooles at *Briſtow* and *Reading*, and gave two thouſand pounds to the City of *Briſtow* to purchaſe Lands, the profits whereof to be imployed for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten yeeres, and after that to be imployed in like manner, to the benefit of two and twenty other ſhires and Cities. In her third yeere dyed Sir *John Greſham*, late Major of *London*, who founded a free School at *Holt* in *Norfolke*, and gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds, to be diſtributed to the poore; alſo to Maids marriages two hundred pounds. *Cuthbert Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, erected a goodly Library in *Cambridge*, ſtoring it with many excellent both Printed and written Bookes: he alſo beſtowed much upon building at *Durham*, at *Alnewicke* and at *Tunbridge*.

Caſualties happening in her time.

IN her firſt yeere, on the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the goodlieſt Ship in *England*, called *The Great Harrye*, being of the burthen of a thouſand tun, was burnt at *Woolwich* by negligence of the Mariners. In her ſecond yeer on the fifteenth of *February*, appeared in the skie a Rainbow reverſed, the bowe turned downward, and the two ends ſtanding upward: alſo two Sunnes ſhined at one time, a good diſtance aſunder, which were taken for ill ſignes. This yeere alſo in the moneth of *Auguſt*, at a place in *Suffolke* by the Sea ſide, all of hard ſtone and pibble, lying betweene the Townes of *Oxford* and *Alborough*, where never graſſe grew, nor any earth was ever ſeene, there chanced ſuddenly to ſpring up without any tillage or ſowing, ſo great abundance of Peaſon, that the Poore gathered above an hundred quarters, yet there remained ſome ripe, and ſome bloſſoming, as many as were before. In her fourth yeer, hot burning Agues and other ſtrange diſeaſes, tooke away much people; ſo as betweene the twentieth of *October* and the laſt of *December*, there dyed ſeven Aldermen, namely, *Henry Heardſon*, Sir *Richard Dobbs* late Major, Sir *William Laxton* late Major, Sir *Henry Hobbleſterne* late Majors, Sir *John Champneys* late Major, Sir *John Aleph* late Sheriffe, and Sir *John Greſham* late Major. In her fourth yeer, before Harveſt, Wheat was ſold for foure Markes the quarter, Mault at foure and forty ſhillings the quarter, and Peaſe at ſix and forty ſhillings eight pence; where after harveſt, Wheat was ſold for five ſhillings the quarter, Malt at ſix ſhillings eight pence, Rye at three ſhillings foure pence the quarter. In the Countrey, Wheat was ſold for foure ſhillings the quarter, Mault at foure ſhillings eight pence, and in ſome places a buſhell of Rye for a pound of Candles, which was foure pence. In her fift yeer, within a mile of *Nottingham*, ſo mervailous a tempeſt of thunder happened, that it beat down all the Houſes and Churches in two Towns thereabouts, caſt the Bels to the out ſide of the Church-yard, and ſome webs of Lead foure hundred foot into the field, writhen as if it had been leather; the river of Trent running between the two Townes, the water with the mud in the bottome was carried a quarter of a mile, and caſt againſt trees; with the violence whereof the trees were pulled up by the the roots, and caſt twelve ſcore off; alſo a childe was taken forth of a mans hand and carried two ſpeares length high, and then let fall two hundred foot off, of which fall it dyed; five or ſix men thereabouts were ſlaine, and neither fleſh nor skin periſhed; alſo there fell ſome Hale-ſtones that were fifteen inches about. This yeer alſo in Harveſt-time was great mortality, and ſpecially of Prieſts, ſo as many Churches were unſerved, and much corne was loſt in the field for want of Workmen; whereupon enſued a great ſcarcity, ſo that corne was ſold for fourteen ſhillings a quarter, and Wood ſold in *London* for thirteen ſhillings a thouſand of Billets, and Coles ten pence a ſacke. Alſo this yeer on the laſt of *September*, fell ſo great ſtore rain, that *Weſtminſter* Hall was full of water, and Boats were rowed over *weſtminſter*-bridge into *Kings*-ſtreet.

Of her Perſonage and Conditions.

OF her Perſonage we can make no particular deſcription, only we may ſay, ſhe was none of the moſt amiable, but yet without deformity; but of her Conditions we may ſay, ſhe was not without deformity, and yet was very amiable. If we account her Religion a deformity, yet her conſtancy and devotion in it, we muſt needs count a beauty: if it were a deformity to promiſe the *Suffolke* men, not to alter the Religion which King *Edward* had eſtabliſhed, yet it was certainly a Pious diſſemhling, *Cretizare cum Cretenſibus*; and equivocation (will ſome ſay) was there a vertue, where ſhe deceived them into truth, and did them good againſt their wils. And as for her ſiſter *Elizabeth*, if ſhe did not love her, it was but a quality hereditary in her; for their Mothers did not love one another before; and indeed not without ſome cauſe in both; for as thoſe upbraided each others marriage, ſo theſe, each others birth. We ſhall not doe her right, if we deny her to be of a merciſull diſpoſition, ſeeing oftentimes ſhe pittied the perſon, where ſhe ſhed the blood; ſhe could have found in her heart to have ſpared the Lady *Janes* life, if *Ragion di ſtato* had not beene againſt it; and ſhe did ſpare her Father the Duke of *Suffolkes* life, till his ſecond offence gave her juſt provocation. The goodneſſe of her nature might be ſeene in the badneſſe of her fortune; who tooke nothing ſo much to heart, as unkindneſſe of friends; the revolt of *Callice*, and the abſence of King *Phillip*, being the two chiefe cauſes that brought her to her end.

Of her Death and Buriall.

THE conceit of her being with childe, had kept Phyſitians to looke into the ſtate of her body; ſo as her diſtemper at firſt neglected, brought her by degrees into a Dropſie, to which was added a burning Feavour, brought upon her by a double griefe; one for the long abſence of King *Phillip* (who had now beene away a yeer and a halfe;) the other, and perhaps the greater, for the loſſe of *Callice*; as ſhe forbore not to ſay to ſome about her, that if they looked into her Heart, being dead, they ſhould finde *Callice* there. She began to fall ſicke in *September*, and dyed at her Mannour of Saint *James* the ſeventeenth of *November*, in the yeer 1558. when ſhe had reigned five yeers four moneths and eleven dayes. Lived three and forty yeers. Her Body was interred in a Chappell in the Minſter of Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*, without any Monument or other Remembrance.

Men of note in her time.

OF Men of Valour in her time, there were many, as may be ſeen in the Story of her Reigne; but to name ſome for example, there was *William Herbert* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the chiefe aſſiſtant of King *Phillip* in the winning of Saint *Quintins*; there was *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Captain of *Guyſnes*, who though he yeelded the Town, yet more out of tenderneſſe to his Souldiers, then out of feare of his Enemies, which he would never elſe have yeelded up;

up; and to speake of one of a meaner ranke, there was Sir *Anthony Ager*, who in defence of the Town of *Callice* loſt his life, but not till he made the Enemie turne their backes and flye. Of learned men alſo there were many, as *John Rogers* borne in *Lancaſhire*, who Tranſlated the Bible into *Engliſh* with Notes, *Richard Moryſon* Knight, borne in *Oxfordſhire*, who wrote divers Treatiſes, *Robert Record* a Doctor of Phyſicke, who wrote a Booke of Arithmaticke, *Cuthbert Tunſtall*, of a worſhipfull Family in *Lancaſhire*, though baſe borne, whoſe Anceſtours came into *England* with the Conquerour, as his Barbour, and therefore hath three Combs his Armes; Biſhop firſt of *London*, and after of *Durham*, who wrote divers learned Workes: *Richard Sampſon*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who wrote certaine Treatiſes: *Lucas Shepheard* borne at *Colecheſter* in *Eſſex* an *Engliſh* Poet: *Jane Dudley*, daughter to *Henry* Gray Duke of *Suffolke*, wrote divers excellent Treatiſes: *William Thomas* a *Welſhman*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Italie*, and other things: *James Brooke* and *John Standiſh*, both of them writers in defence of the Popes Doctrine: *William Peryn* a black Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Maſſe, and alſo divers Sermons: *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, ſonne to *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, who amongſt other things which he wrote, Tranſlated a Booke out of Latine into Engliſh, intituled *Vtriuſque Poteſtatis Differentia*; which Booke (as ſome thinke) was firſt compiled by *Edward Foxe* Biſhop of *Hereford*: *John Hoplin* who tranſlated divers of *Davids* Pſalmes into *Engliſh* Meeter, which are to be found amongſt thoſe appointed to be ſung in the Church.

THE

THE RAIGNE OF Queen Elizabeth.

Queen *Mary* dying on Thurſday the ſeventeenth of *November*, in the Yeer 1558, her ſiſter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, of the age of five and twenty yeers, the onely ſurviving childe of King *Henry* the eighth, by undoubted Right, ſucceeded Her in the Crown; which happened in a time of Parliament: *Nicholas Heath*, Arch-biſhop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor, ſent to the Knights and Burgeſſes in the Lower Houſe, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper Houſe, to whom he ſignified, That Queen *Mary* was that morning dead, and therefore required their Aſſents to joyn with the Lords in proclayming Queen *Elizabeth*; which accordingly was done, by the ſound of Trumpet, firſt at *Weſtminſter*, and after in the City of *London*. The Queen was then at *Hatfield*; from whence, on Wedneſday the three and twentieth of *November*, ſhe removed to the Lord *North's* houſe in the Charterhouſe, where ſhe ſtayed till Monday the eight and twentieth of *November*, and then rode in her Chariot thorow *London* to the Tower; where ſhe continued till the fifth of *December*; and then removed by water to *Somerſet*-Houſe in the Strand; from whence ſhe went to her Pallace at *Weſtminſter*; and from thence, on the twelfth of *January*, to the Tower; and on the fourteenth of *January*, to *Weſtminſter*, to her Coronation; where it is incredible, what Pageants and Shews were made in the City, as ſhe paſſed: On Sunday the five and twentieth of *January*, ſhe was Crowned in the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*, by Doctor *Oglethorp*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in ſuch caſe accuſtomed. At this time, to honour her Coronation, ſhe conferred more Honour, then in all her life after: *William Parre*, degraded by Queen *Mary*, ſhe made Marqueſſe of *Northampton*; *Edward Seymor*, whoſe father had been Attaynted, ſhe made Earl of *Hertford*; *Thomas Howard*, ſecond ſon to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, ſhe made Viſcount *Bindon*; Sir *Henry Carie*, her Couſin Getman, ſhe made Baron of *Hunſdon*; and Sir *Oliver St. John*, ſhe made Baron of *Bletſho*.

And now the Queen, though ſhe were her ſelf very wiſe, yet would not

truſt (and it was a great point of wiſedome that ſhe would not truſt) to her own wiſedome; and therefore ſhe choſe Counſellors to aſſiſt her: In which number ſhe took *Nicholas Heath*, Arch-biſhop of *York*; *William Pawlet*, Marqueſſe of *Winchester*, L. High Treaſurer; *Henry Fitz Alan*, Earl of *Arundell*; *Francis Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*; *Edward Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*; *Wil. Herbert*, E. of *Pembroke*; *Edw.* L. *Clinton*, L. Admirall; and *William* L. *Howard* of *Effingham*; Sir *Thomas Cheyney*; Sir *William Peter*; Sir *Richard Sackvyle*; and *Nicholas Wootton*, Dean of *Canterbury*; all which had been Counſellors to Queen *Mary*, and were of her Religion: But then to make a counter-poyſe of Counſellors of her own Religion, ſhe joyned with them *William Parre*, Marqueſſe of *Northampton*; *Francis Ruſſell*, Earl of *Bedford*; Sir *Thomas Parry*; Sir *Edward Rogers*; Sir *Ambroſe Cave*; Sir *Francis Knolles*; and Sir *William Cecill*, late Secretary to King *Edw.* the ſixth; and a little after, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, whom ſhe made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for her State at home, ſhe ſeeks correſpondence with Princes abroad: To the Emperour *Ferdinand*, ſhe ſent in Embaſſage Sir *Tho. Chaloner*; to the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countreyes* the Lord *Cobham*; to the Princes of *Germany* Sir *Henry Killigrew*; Sir *Aemygill Wnad*; to the Duke of *Holſt*; and another Ambaſſadour to the King of *Denmark*. There were alſo Ambaſſadours ſent to the Pope, to the State of *Venice*, and to the French King; with whom at this time there was a Treaty of Peace holden at *Cambray*, between the Kingdoms of *France*, *England* and *Spain*; where for *England* was employed, the Earl of *Arundell*; *Thurſbey*, Biſhop of *Ely*; and Doctor *Wootton*, Dean of *Canterbury*; with whom, *William*, Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was joyned by a new Commiſſion.

As ſoon as King *Philip* heard of the death of his wife Queen *Mary*, partly out of conſiderations of State, and partly out of affection of love, he ſolicited Q. *Elizabeth* by his Ambaſſadour, the Earl of *Feria*, to joyn in Marriage with himſelf; which was no more for two ſiſters to have ſucceſſively one husband, then was done before, for two brothers to have ſucceſſively one wife; and for this he promiſed to procure a Diſpenſation from the Pope. To which motion the Queen, though ſhe well knew, That to allow a Diſpenſation in this caſe to be ſufficient, were to make her own Birth Illegitimate; yet to ſo great a Prince, and who in her ſiſters time had done her many favours, ſhe would not return ſo blunt an Anſwer; but putting the Ambaſſadour off for the preſent in modeſt tearms: She conceived there would be no better way to take him off clean from further ſute, then by bringing in an Alteration of Religion; which yet ſhe would not do all at once, and upon the ſudden (as knowing the great danger of ſudden changes) but by little and little, and by degrees: as at firſt, ſhe permitted onely Epiſtles and Goſpels, the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Creed to be read to the People in the Engliſh Tongue; in all other matters they were to follow the *Romane* Rite and Cuſtome, untill order could be taken for eſtabliſhing of Religion by Authority of Parliament; and a ſevere Proclamation was ſet forth, prohibiting all Points of Controverſie to be medled with: by which means, ſhe both put the Proteſtants in hope, and put not Papiſts out of hope. Yet privately ſhe committed the correcting of the Book of Common Prayer, ſet forth in the Engliſh Tongue under King *Edward* the ſixth, to the care and diligence of Doctor *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindall*, *Whitehead*, and *Pilkington*, Divines of great Learning; with whom ſhe joyned Sir *Thomas Smith*, a learned Knight: but the matter carryed ſo cloſely, that it was not communicated to any, but to the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir *William Cecile*. The two and twentieth of March, the uſe of the Lords Supper in both kinds was by Parliament allowed: The four and twentieth of *June*, the Sacrifice of the Maſſe was aboliſhed, and the Liturgy in the Engliſh Tongue

eſtabliſhed, though, as ſome ſay, but with the difference of ſix voyces. In *July* the Oath of Supremacy was propounded to the Biſhops and others: And in *Auguſt*, Images were removed out of Churches, and broken or burnt. By theſe degrees the Religion was changed; and yet the change, to the wonder of the world, bred no diſturbance: which if it had been done at once, and on the ſudden, would hardly; at leaſt not without dangerous oppoſition, have been admitted.

During this time, a Parliament had been ſummoned to begin at *Weſtminſter*, upon the fifteenth of *January*; and now the Queen, for ſatisfaction of the people, appointed a Conference to be held, between the Prelates of the Realm; and Proteſtant Divines now newly returned, who had fled the Realm, in the time of Queen *Mary*: for the Prelates were choſen *John White*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; *Ralph Bayne*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*; *Thomas Watſon*, Biſhop of *Lincolne*; Doctor *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*; Doctor *Langdell*, Arch-deacon of *Lewis*; Doctor *Harpſefield*, Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*; and Doctor *Chadſey*, Arch-deacon of *Middleſex*: For the Proteſtant ſide were appointed, Doctor *Scory*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Sands*, Doctor *Whitehead*, Doctor *Grindall*, Maſter *Horne*, Maſter *Gueſt*, Maſter *Elmer*, and Maſter *Fuell*. The place was prepared in *Weſtminſter* Church; where, beſides the Diſputants, were preſent the Lords of the Queens Council, with other of the Nobility; as alſo many of the Lower Houſe of Parliament. The Articles propounded againſt the Prelates, and their adherents, were theſe: Firſt, That it is againſt the Word of God, and the Cuſtome of the ancient Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the people, in common Prayer, and in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Secondly, That every Church hath authority to appoint and change Ceremonies, and Eccleſiaſticall Rites, ſo they be to edification: Thirdly, That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Maſſe a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed it ſhould be performed in writing; and that the Biſhops ſhould deliver their Reaſons in writing firſt. The laſt of *March* was the firſt day of their meeting; where, contrary to the Order, the Biſhops brought nothing in writing; but ſaid, They would deliver their mindes onely by Speech: This breaking of Order much diſpleaſed the Lords, yet they had it granted. Then roſe up Doctor *Cole*, and made a large Declaration concerning the firſt Poynt: when he had ended, the Lords demanded if any of them had more to ſay; who anſwered, No: Then the Proteſtant Party exhibited a written Book; which was diſtinctly read by Maſter *Horne*. This done, ſome of the Biſhops began to affirm, they had much more to ſay in the firſt Article: This again much diſpleaſed the Lords; yet this alſo was granted them, to do at their next meeting on *Munday* next: but when *Munday* came, ſo many other differences aroſe between them, that the Conference broke off, and nothing was determined. But in the Parliament there was better Agreement; for there it was enacted, That Queen *Elizabeth* was the lawfull and undoubted Queen of *England*; notwithſtanding a Law made by her Father King *Henry* the eighth, that excluded both her and her ſiſter *Mary* from the Crown, ſeeing, though the Law be not repealed, yet it is a Principle in Law, That the Crown once gained, taketh away all defects. Alſo in this Parliament, Firſt fruits and Tenths were reſtored to the Crown; and the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* was confirmed to the Queen, with ſo univerſall conſent, that in the Upper Houſe none oppoſed theſe Laws, but onely the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, Viſcount *Mountague*: and in the Lower Houſe, only ſome few of Papall inclination, murmured, ſaying, That the Parliament was packt; and that the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and Sir *William Cecill*, for their own ends, had cunningly begged voyces, to make up their Party.

The Supremacie thus confirmed to the Queen, the Oath was ſoon after tendred to the Biſhops and others; of whom, as many as refuſed to take it, were preſently deprived of their livings. And that we may ſee, how inclining the Kingdom at this time was to receive the Proteſtant Religion; It is ſaid, that in the whole Realm (wherein are reckoned above Nine thouſand Spirituall Promotions) there were no more that refuſed to take the Oath, but onely fourſcore Parſons, fifty Prebendaries, fifteen Maſters of Colledges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, ſix Abbots, and fourteen Biſhops, (indeed all that were at that time, except *Anthony* Biſhop of Landaff) as *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of York, *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of London, *Cuthert Tunſtall* Biſhop of Durham, *Thomas Thurſby* Biſhop of Ely, *Gilbert Bourn* Biſhop of Bath and Wells, *John Chriſtopherſon* Biſhop of Chicheſter, *John White* Biſhop of Wincheſter, *Thomas Watſon* Biſhop of Lincoln, *Ralph Bayne* Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, *Owen Oglethorp* Biſhop of Carlile, *James Turbervile* Biſhop of Exeter, and *David Pool* Biſhop of Peterborough: And with theſe Doctor *Fecknam* Abbot of Weſtminſter: All which were at firſt committed to priſon, but ſoon after delivered to the cuſtody of private friends, excepting thoſe two ſawcie Prelates, Lincoln and Wincheſter, who threatned to excommunicate the Queen. Three onely, namely, *Cuthert Scot* Biſhop of Cheſter, *Richard Pate* Biſhop of Worceſter, and *Thomas Goldwel* Biſhop of Saint Aſſaph, changed their Religion of their own accord; as alſo did certain Noble Perſonages, namely, *Henry* Lord *Morley*, Sir *Francis Engleſield*, and Sir *Robert Peckham*, (who had been Privie-Councellours to Q. *Mary*) Sir *Thomas Shelley*, and Sir *John Gage*.

In the ſeas of the Prelates removed, were placed Proteſtant Biſhops, as *Matthew Parker* was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (who was conſecrated by the Impoſition of the hands of three that formerly had been Biſhops; namely, *William Barlow* of Bath and Wells, *John Scory* of Chicheſter, and *Miles Coverdale* of Exeter) and being conſecrated himſelf, he afterward conſecrated *Edmund Grindall* Biſhop of London, *Richard Cox* Biſhop of Ely, *Edwyn Sands* Biſhop of Worceſter, *Rowland Merick* Biſhop of Bangor, *Thomas Young* Biſhop of Saint Davyes, *Nicholas Bullingham* Biſhop of Lincoln, *John Jewell* Biſhop of Salisbury, *Richard Davis* Biſhop of Saint Aſſaph, *Edward Gueſt* Biſhop of Rocheſter, *Gilbert Barkeley* Biſhop of Bath and Wells, *Thomas Bentham* Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, *William Alley* Biſhop of Exceter, *John Parkhurſt* Biſhop of Norwich, *Robert Horn* Biſhop of Wincheſter, *Richard Cheyney* Biſhop of Glouceſter, *Edmund Scambler* Biſhop of Peterbo ough, *William Barlow* Biſhop of Chicheſter, *John Scory* Biſhop of Hereford, *Young* Archbiſhop of York, *James Pilkington* Biſhop of Durham, *John Beſt* Biſhop of Carlile, and *William Downham* Biſhop of Cheſter.

Whileſt theſe things were done in England, the Treaty of peace at Cambray continued ſtill; Wherein King *Phillip* ſtood for the reſtitution of Calice to the Engliſh, as firmly as if it had been his own intereſt; and without it would agree to no peace with France: But when by Meſſages he underſtood, that his ſuit for marriage with Queen *Elizabeth* was rejected; and that the Proteſtant Religion was eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, he then left Queen *Elizabeth*, ſeeing ſhe would not be his, to her ſelf; and though he became not preſently a Foe, yet he became preſently leſſe then a Friend, and forbore to do any more good offices in that buſineſſe. Queen *Elizabeth* thus left to her ſelf, agreed with the French King, to conclude her own peace apart; and thereupon, Delegates on both ſides were appointed to meet at Cambray: For the Queen of England were, *Thurſby* Biſhop of Ely, the Lord *Williams*, the Lord *Howard* of Effingham, Chamberlain to the Queen, and Doctor *Wootton* Dean of Canterbury and York: For the King of France were, *Charls* Cardinall of Lorrain, the firſt Peer of France, *Annas*

Duke

Duke of Memorancy, *James Albon* Lord of Saint *Andrews*, *John Morvilliers* Biſhop of Orleance, and *Claude Aubeſpine* Secretary of the Privie Councel. The Commiſſioners meeting, the chief point in difference, was the reſtitution of Calice; for which, the Engliſh Commiſſioners, by the Queens appointment, offered to remit two Millions of Crowns, that by juſt accompt were due from France to England; but the Queen was not more deſirous to recover Calice, then the French King was to hold it: And thereupon at laſt, it was concluded, that Calice ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the French for the term of eight yeers; and thoſe expired, it ſhould be delivered to the Engliſh, upon forfeiture of five hundred thouſand Crowns; for which, hoſtages were given: But all this notwithſtanding, though the Conditions were ſealed and ſworn to, and though hoſtages were aſſigned to remain in England, till one or other were performed; yet all was fruſtate, and came to nothing.

About this time, *Henry* King of France married his daughter *Iſabell* to *Phillip* King of Spain, and his ſiſter *Margaret* to *Emmanuel Phylibert* Duke of Savoy; at the ſolemnity of which Marriages, he would needs be a Tiltor himſelf; and thereupon commended the Earl of Montgomery to run againſt him, who unfortunately breaking his Launce upon the Kings Cuyraſſe, a ſplinter thereof (his Beaver being ſomewhat open) ſtruck him ſo deep in the eye, that within few dayes he ended his life: After whoſe death, *Francis* his ſon at the age of ſixteen yeers, ſucceeded him in the Crown, having by the marriage of Queen *Mary* the Title of Scotland, and upon ground thereof laying claim to the Crown of England alſo, and giving the Arms of England, as properly belonging to him.

And now begins the game of Faction to be play'd, wherein the whole eſtate of Queen *Elizabeth* lyes at ſtake, a game that will hold playing the moſt part of her Reign, and if not play'd well, will put her in jeoparey of loſing all, ſeeing all about her are againſt her, *Phillip* King of Spain hath a quarrell to her, for being rejected in his ſuit; the King of France hath a quarrell to her in right of his wife, which is now his right. The Queen of Scots hath a quarrell to her for detaining her Inheritance: The Pope hath a quarrell to her, for excluding his Authority: The King of Sweden hath a quarrell to her, for ſlighting his ſon in the way of marriage: And all theſe being againſt her, whom hath ſhe of her ſide, but onely her own Subjects, Papiſts yeſterday, and to day Proteſtants, who being ſcarce ſetled in their Religion, how ſhould they be ſetled in their Loyalty? And not being Loyall, where can ſhe finde to caſt Anchor for her ſafety? But it is a true ſaying, *Nullum numen abeſt ſi ſit prudentia*; Wiſdom is a ſupply for all defects: And indeed, the Queen being very wiſe her ſelf, and having a wiſe Councell about her, ſhe paſſed all theſe difficulties, though not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

It happened (if at leaſt it happened, and were not rather plotted of purpoſe) that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in Scotland; but was indeed an incroachment upon the Princes Authority; for at the preaching of *John Knox*, and other headſtrong Miniſters, not onely Images and Altars were caſt down and burnt, the Monaſteries of Saint *Andrews*, of *Stone*, of *Stryveling*, and of *Lynlithew* were overthrown; but it was further put into the heads of the Nobility, that it pertained to them, of their own Authority, to take away Idolatry, and by force reduce the Prince to the preſcript of Laws: Whereupon there was preſently a bandying of the Lords of Scotland, againſt the Queen Dowager, Regent of the Country; and in this caſe each of them ſought for aid; The Queen Dowager had aid out of France, the Lords of Scotland ſent for aid to the Queen of England: But this was matter for conſultation; It ſeemed a bad Example, for a Prince to give aid to the rebellious Subjects of another Prince. On the other ſide, it

ſeemed

ſeemed no leſſe then impiety, not to give Ayd to the Proteſtants of the ſame Religion; but moſt of all it ſeemed plain madneſſe, to ſuffer adverſaries to be ſo neer neighbours, and to let the French neſtle in *Scotland*, who pretend Title to *England*: upon ſuch like conſiderations, it was reſolved to ſend them Ayd; and thereupon an Army of ſix thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe, was ſent under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* his Lievtenant Generall; Sir *James a Croſts*, Aſſiſtant to him; the Lord *Scroop*, L. Marſhall; Sir *George Howard*, Generall of the men at Arms; Sir *Henry Percy*, Generall of the Light-horſe; *Thomas Huggens*, Provoſt Marſhall; *Thomas Gower*, Maſter of the Ordnance; Maſter *William Pelham*, Captain of the Pyoners; and Maſter *Edward Randoll*, Serjeant Major, and divers others. Theſe coming into *Scotland*, joyned with the Scotiſh Lords, and ſet down before *Leith*, where paſſed many ſmall skirmiſhes, many Batteries, and ſometimes Aſſaults: to whom, after ſome time, a new ſupply came of above two thouſand Foot; whereof were Captains, Sir *Andrew Corbet*, Sir *Rowland Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Hesbith*, Sir *Arthur Mannaring*, Sir *Lawrence Smith*, and others: yet with this new ſupply there was little more done then before; many light skirmiſhes, many Batteries, and ſometimes Aſſaults; ſo long, till at laſt the young French King, finding theſe broyls of *Scotland* to be too furious for him to appeaſe, he ſent to the Queen of *England*, deſiring that Commiſſioners might be ſent, to reconcile theſe differences: whereupon were diſpatched into *Scotland*, Sir *William Cecill*, her principall Secretary, with Doctor *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*; who concluded a Peace between *England* and *France*, upon theſe Conditions, That neither the King of *France*, nor the Queen of *Scotland*, ſhould thenceforth uſe the Arms or Titles of *England* or *Ireland*; And that both the Engliſh and the French ſhould depart out of *Scotland*; And a generall pardon ſhould be enacted by Parliament, for all ſuch as had been actors in thoſe ſtirs. This Peace was ſcarce concluded, when *Francis* the young King of *France* died, leaving the Crown to his younger brother *Charles*, who was guided altogether by the Queen-Mother, and moleſted with the Civill diſſentions between the Princes of *Guiſe* and *Conde*; for whoſe reconcilement, the Queen ſent Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Preſident of *VVales*; and ſhortly after an Army, under the leading of the Lord *Ambroſe Dudley*, Earl of *VVarwick*; who arriving at *Newhaven*, was received into the Town; which having kept eleven months, he was then conſtrayned, by reaſon of a Peſtilence, to ſurrender again upon Compoſition, and ſo returned.

About this time when the Parliament was upon diſſolving; it was agreed upon by the Houſe of Commons, to move the Queen to marry, that ſhe might have Iſſue to ſucceed her; to which purpoſe, *Thomas Gargrave*, Speaker of the Houſe, with ſome few other choſen men, had acceſſe to the Queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the Kingdom infinitely deſired; ſeeing they could never hope to have a better Prince, then out of her loyns: Whereunto the Queen anſwered in effect thus; That ſhe was already marryed; namely, To the Kingdom of *England*: and behold (ſaith ſhe) the Pledge of the Covenant with my husband; and therewith ſhe held out her finger, and ſhewed the Ring, wherewith, at the time of her Coronation, ſhe gave her ſelf in Wedlock to the Kingdom: and if (ſaith ſhe) I keep my ſelf to this husband, and take no other; yet I doubt not but God will ſend you as good Kings, as if they were born of me; foraſmuch as we ſee by dayly experience, That the Iſſue of the beſt Princes do often degenerate: And for my ſelf, it ſhall be ſufficient that a Marble ſtone declare, That a Queen having Raigned ſuch a time, lived and dyed a Virgin. Indeed before this time, many Matches had been offered her: Firſt, King *Philip*: and when he was out of hope of matching with her himſelf, he then dealt with the Emperor *Ferdinand* his Unkle, to commend his younger

Son

Son *Charles*, Duke of *Austria*, to her for a husband. And when this succeeded not, then *John*, Duke of *Finland*, second Son to *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, was sent by his father, to solicite for his eldest Brother *Erricus*: who was honourably received, but the Match rejected. Then *Adolphus* Duke of *Holst*, Unkle to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, came into *England*, upon a great hope of speeding; but the Queen bestowed upon him the Honour of the Garter, and a yeerly Pension, but not her self. Then *James* Earl of *Arran*, was commended to her by the Protestants of *Scotland*; but neither the man nor the motion was accepted. Of meaner Fortunes there were some at home that pleased themselves with hope of her Marriage: First, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Estate; but that which most commended him, was his studiousnesse of good letters, and sweet demeanour. Then *Henry*, Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then *Robert Dudley*, youngest son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, of an excellent feature of face, and now in the flower of his age: but these might please themselves with their own conceit; but were not considerable in her apprehension: they might receive from her good Testimonies of her Princely favour; but never Pledges of Nuptiall love.

About this time the Earl of *Feria* (who had married the daughter of Sir *William Dormer*) being denyed leave of the Queen for some of his wives friends to live out of *England*, grew so incensed, that he made means to *Pius* the fourth, then Pope, to have her excommunicate, as an Heretick and Usurper: but the Pope inclining rather to save then to destroy; and knowing that gentle courses prevail more with generous mindes, then roughnesse and violence; in most loving manner wrote unto her, exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholike Church; and as it is said, made her great offers, if she would hearken to his counsell; Particularly, That he would recall the Sentence pronounced against her mothers Marriage; confirm the Book of Common Prayer in English; and permit to her people the use of the Sacrament in both Kindes. But Queen *Elizabeth* neither terrified with the Earl of *Feria*'s practises, nor allured with the Popes great offers, according to her Motto, *Semper Eadem*, persisted constant in her resolution, To maintain that Religion, which in her conscience she was perswaded, to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.

Whilst these grounds of Troubles are sowing in *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*, it is not likely that *Ireland* will lie fallow; though indeed it be a Countrey that will bring forth Troubles of it self, without sowing: but howsoever, to make the more plentifull Harvest of troubles at this time, *John Oneal* (whose father King *Henry* the eighth made Earl of *Tyrone*) to prevent the punishment of a private Out-rage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince: and though his attempts were maturely made frustrate by timely opposition; yet this was he that in the beginning of the Queens Raign, sowed the seeds of that trouble in *Ireland*; which afterward took so deep root, that till the ending of her Raign, it could never thorowly be rooted out: though this man a yeer or two after came into *England*, and casting himself at the Queens feet, acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon.

The Treaty of *Edinburgh* should by promise have been confirmed by *Francis* the French King while he lived: he not having done it, Queen *Elizabeth* requires his Dowager the Queen of Scots to confirm it: but she solicited often to it by *Throgmorton* the Queens Ligier in *France*, made alwayes answer, She could not do it without the counsell of her Nobility in *Scotland*: whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* suspecting that this answer was but to hold her in amuzement, while some mischief was practising against her,

her, sent Sir *Thomas Randoll* into *Scotland*, to perswade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutuall amity with her, and other Protestant Princes; and further, by no means to permit their Queen, now a widow, to marry again to any forraign Prince; for which she alleadged many great reasons. In the mean while, the Queen of Scots, purposing to return into *Scotland*, sent before-hand *D'Oyssette* a French Lord, to intreat Queen *Elizabeth*, that with her leave, she her self might passe by Sea into *Scotland*, and *D'Oyssette* might passe by Land. But Queen *Elizabeth* openly denyed both the one and the other, unlesse she would confirm the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of Scots courtesie, if the Queen of Scots would not do her right. The Queen of Scots much troubled with this answer, expostulates the matter with her Ligier *Throgmorton*, and much complains of the unkindenesse: but in the mean time providing Shipping, she loosed from *Calice*; and under covert of a mist, notwithstanding that Ships were laid to intercept her, she arrived safe in *Scotland*; where she intreated her subjects in so loving a manner, that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdom; as well to the Protestant Party, as the other: and then sent Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, proferring all observance and readinesse to enter League with her; so she might by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor; which was but her Right. To this Queen *Elizabeth* answered, That though she would no way derogate from her Right: yet she should be loth to endanger her own security, and as it were to cover her own eyes with a Grave-cloth while she was alive; but fell again to her old Admonition, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of *Edinburgh*: And now to shew the respect she bore her, when her Unkles the Dukes *D'Aumale*, *D'Albeuse*, and other Lords of *France* that had brought her home, returned thorow *England*, she gave them most bountifull and loving entertainment.

These two Queens indeed were both of great Spirits, and both very wise; but there grew such Jealousies of State between them; (the Queen of Scots doubting lest Queen *Elizabeth* meant to frustrate her Succession; Queen *Elizabeth* doubting lest the Queen of Scots meant to prevent her succession) that it kept them more asunder in love, then they were neer in blood, and was cause of many unkinde passages between them: in all which, though the Queen of Scots were a very neer Match to the Queen of *England* in the abilities of her minde; yet in the favours of Fortune she was much her inferiour.

But now for all the courtesie which Q. *Elizabeth* shewed to the Queen of Scots Unkles at their returning thorow *England*, yet new practises were again set on foot against her at *Rome*; the Duke of *Guise* especially labouring to have her be Excommunicate; but Pope *Pius* still averse from such roughnesse, meant now to try the Queen another way; and thereupon sent the Abbot *Martinengi*; and when he might not be admitted to enter *England*, then caused the Bishop of *Viterbo* his Nuntio in *France*, to deal earnestly with the Queens Ligier *Throgmorton*, that she (as other Princes had done) would send her Orators to the Councell of *Trent*, which he before had called. But the Queen nothing tender in this point, made peremptory answer, That a Popish Assembly she did not acknowledge to be a Generall Councell; nor did think the Pope to have any more Right or Power to call it, then any other Bishop. This Answer not only exasperated the Pope, but so alienated also the King of *Spain*'s minde from her, that he was never after so kinde a friend to her as he had been; and none of her Embassadours ever after had any great liking to be employed to him. And now at this time, as the Abbot *Martinengi* was the last Nuntio that ever was sent from the Pope into *England*, so Sir *Edward Carne*, now dying at *Rome*, was the last Ligier that was ever sent to the Pope from the Kings of *England*.

And

And now Queen *Elizabeth* knowing well that ſhe had drawn many ill willers againſt her State, ſhe endeavoured to ſtrengthen it by all the means ſhe could deviſe: She cauſed many great Ordnance of Braſſe and Iron to be caſt; She repaired Fortifications in the Borders of *Scotland*; She encreaſed the number of her Ships, ſo as *England* never had ſuch a Navy before; She provided great ſtore of Armour and Weapons out of *Germany*; ſhe cauſed Muſters to be held, and youth to be trayned in exerciſes of Artillery; and to pleaſe the people (whoſe love is the greateſt ſtrength of all) ſhe gave leave to have Corn and Grayn tranſported; and called in all baſe Coyns and Braſſe Money.

It was now the Fifth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raine: when diverſe great perſons were called in queſtion: *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Lenox*, Neece to to King *Henry* the eight, by his eldeſt ſiſter, and her husband the Earle of *Lenox*, for having had ſecret conference, by letters with the Queen of *Scots*, were delivered priſoners to Sir Richard *Sackvile*, Maſter of the Rolles, and with him kept a while in cuſtody. Alſo *Arthur Poole* and his brother, whoſe great grand-father, was *George* Duke of *Clarnce*, brother to King *Edward* the fourth: *Antony Forteſcue*, who had married their ſiſter, and other, were arraigned, for conſpiring to withdraw themſelves to the Duke of *Guiſe* in France; and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*; to Declare the Queen of *Scots*, Queen of *England*; and *Arthur Poole* Duke of *Clearnce*; which particulars they confeſſed at the Barre, and were thereupon condemned to die; but had their lives ſpared, in regard they were of the Blood Royall. Alſo the Ladie *Katherine Grey*, daughter to *Henry Grey* Duke of *Suffolke*, by the eldeſt daughter of *Charles Brandon*; having formerly been married to the Earle *Pembrookes* eldeſt ſonne; and from him ſoone after lawfull divorced, was ſome yeers after found to be with childe by *Edward Seymoure* Earl of *Hertford*: who being at that time in France, was preſently ſent for; and being examined before the Archbiſhp of *Canterbury*: and affirming they were lawfully married; but not being able within a limited time to produce witneſſes of their marriage; they were both committed to the Tower: where ſhe was brought to Bed: and after by the Connivence or Corruption of their Keepers, being ſuffered ſometimes to come together: Shee was with childe by him again, which made the Queen more angry then before; ſo as Sir *Edward Warner* Lieutenent of the Tower was put out of his place, and the Earle was fined in the ſtar-chamber, five thouſand pounds, and kept in priſon nine yeers after. Though in pleading of his Caſe; One *John Hales* argued; They were lawfull man and wife, by virtue of their owne bare Conſent, without any Eccleſicſticall Ceremonie. The Lady a few yeers after, falling through grief into a mortall Sickneſſe, humbly deſired the Queens Pardon, for having married without her knowledge, and commending her children to her clemency, dyed in the Tower.

At this time (the King being under Age) diſſentions amongſt the Peeres grew hot in *Erance*; of which there were two Factions; Both pretending the cauſe of Religion: of the One the Duke *Guiſe*, a Paipſt, was Head; of the other the Prince of *Conde* a Proteſtant: but while *Delirant Reges Plectuntur Achiui*: while theſe Princes are at variance, the people ſuffer for it: and chiefly, as being under the weaker protection, the Proteſtant Party: where upon Queene *Elizabeth*, having well learned the Leſſon: *Tum tua res agitur, partis cum proximus ardet*: and fearing leaſt the flaim of their diſſention, might kindle a fire within her owne Kingdome; ſent over Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Preſiden of *Wales* into *France*, to endeavour by all poſſible means their reconcilement, which when hee could not effect,

(and perhaps it was never meant he ſhould effect it, but onely to ſee what invitations would be made to the Queen for her aſſiſtance) ſhe thereupon, at the moan of the afflicted Proteſtants, ſent over an Army of ſix thouſand Souldiers, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Warwick*, in aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Conde*, and other Proteſtant Lords, who delivered to him the Town of *Newhaven*, to hold in the King of *France* his name, untill ſuch time as *Calice* were reſtored: But the Prince of *Conde* marching to joyn with the Engliſh Forces, was by the Duke of *Guiſe* interrupted and taken priſoner; which had been a great diſappointment to the Engliſh, but that the Duke of *Colin* joyned with him, beſieged *Caen* in *Normandy*, and took it; together with *Bayeux*, *Faleiſe*, and Saint *Lo*. The French Hoſtages that were pledges for the payment of five hundred thouſand Cowns, if *Calice* were not reſtored, were remaining ſtill in *England*; who perceiving there was like to be War with *France*, prepared ſecretly to get away; but being ready to take Shipping, were diſcovered, and brought back again.

In the mean while, the Prince of *Conde* drawn on with a hope, to marry the Queen of Scots, and to have the chief Government in *France*, during the Kings Minority, concluded a Peace with the King, and with the *Guiſes*; ſo as now, all French, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, required to have *Newhaven* delivered up: But the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving the fickleneſſe of the French Proteſtants, Firſt to make ſute to draw him into *France*, and now upon ſo ſlight occaſion to require him to be gone, he ſhutteth all French, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, out of the Town, and layes hold of their Ships; the French on the other ſide make ready to ſet upon the Town, ſaying, They fought not now for Religion, but for their Countrey; wherefore it was meet that both Proteſtants and Papiſts ſhould joyn their Forces, ſeeing they had already concluded a Peace betwixt themſelves. And hereupon the Duke of *Memorancy* ſent a Trumpetter to the Earl of *Warwick*, commanding him yeeld the Town; who making anſwer by Sir *Hugh Pawlet*, That he would never yeeld it without the Queens leave: he thereupon beſieged the Town, and with great violence of Battery, ſought to get it by force: Which Queen *Elizabeth* hearing, ſhe ſent a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Warwick* to yeeld it up, if upon honourable Conditions; which ſoon after was accordingly done, after the Engliſh had held it eleven months; and then the Earl, without any diſhonour for yeelding up a Town, which the Peſtilence made him no leſſe unwilling then unable to hold, he returned into *England*: but that which was more dolefull then the loſſe of *Newhaven*, he brought the Peſtilence with him into *England*. The recovery of this Town not onely made the French to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellor of *France* pronounced openly, That by this Warre, the Engliſh had loſt all their Right to *Calice*, and were not to require it any more, ſeeing it was one of the Conditions, That neither of the Nations ſhould make Warre upon the other; which was the Point ſtood upon by the King of *France* and his mother, when Queen *Elizabeth* ſent Sir *Thomas Smith* to demand *Calice* to be reſtored.

At this time there were ſuch croſſe deſignes amongſt the Princes of Chriſtendome, that a very good Polititian could hardly underſtand their Ayms. The Duke of *Guiſe* being ſlain in the Civill Warre, the Queen of Scots Dowry was not paid her in *France*, and the Scots were put off from being the Kings Guard: This exceedingly diſpleaſed the Queen of Scots: but then to pleaſe her again, and for fear leſt hereupon ſhe ſhould apply her ſelf to the friendſhip of the Engliſh, her Unkle the Cardinall of *Lorrain* ſolicites her afreſh, to marry *Charls* Duke of

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Austria, offering her for her Dowry the County of *Tyroll*. The Queen of Scots, to make use of her Unkles fear, and perhaps to bring Queen *Elizabeth* into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion, and therein requires her advice. Queen *Elizabeth* not willing she should marry with any forraign Prince, perswades her to take a husband out of *England*, and particularly commended to her the Lord *Robert Dudley* (whose wife a little before had with a fall broke her neck) promising withall, that if she would marry him, she should then by Authority of Parliament, be declared her successour, in case she dyed without issue. But when her Unkles and the Queen-Mother were informed of this motion, they so much disdained the Marriage with *Dudley*, that so she would refuse that Match, and perseverein the friendship of the French, they offered to pay her the Dowry money that was behinde, and to restore the Scots to all their former liberties in *France*. And as for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Ligier Embassadour here in *England*; but rather by way of complement, and to watch advantages, then for any sincere love; which he began now to withdraw from the English, as suspecting them to intend a Trade to the West Indies.

And now the French Protestants may see what they brought upon themselves, by leaving the English at *Newhaven*, and by trusting to their Country-men the French Papists; for their peace was but a snare, and the Marriage of *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Navarre*, with *Margaret* of *Valois*, the French Kings sister, was but a bait to entrap them; for upon the confidence of this Marriage, being drawn together into *Paris*, they were the readier for the slaughter; and a few dayes after the Marriage, which were all spent in Feasts and Masks, to make them the more secure, upon a Watch-word given, the bloody faction fell upon the Protestants, and neither spared age, nor sex, nor condition, but without mercy, and sense of humanity, slaughtered as many as they could meet with, to the number of many thousands.

It was now the sixth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign, a yeer fatall for the death of many great Personages: First died *William*, Lord *Grey* of *Wellen*, Governour of *Berwick*, a man famous for his great Services in War: then *William*, Lord *Paget*, a man of as great Services in Peace; who by his great deservings, had wrought his advancement to sundry dignities, and honourable places: and though zealous in the Roman Religion, yet held by Queen *Elizabeth* in great estimation to his dying day: Then *Henry Mannors*, Earl of *Rutland*, descended by his mother from King *Edward* the fourth: And lastly, *Francis* the Dutchesse of *Suffolk*, daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and mother to Queen *Jane*.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* finding how fickle the French Protestants had carryed themselves towards her, intended to make a Peace, and to that end sent Sir *Thomas Smith* into *France*, joyning *Throgmorton* in Commission with him; and in conclusion a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongst other Articles, this was one, That the Hostages in *England* should be freed, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Crowns: and this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France*.

About this time the English Merchants were hardly used both in *Spain*, and in the *Netherlands*, upon pretence of Civill differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Protestant Religion; whereupon the English removed the seat of their Trading to *Embden* in *Freezland*: but *Gusman* the Spanish Liegier, newly come into *England*, finding the great dammages that the *Netherlands* sustained by these differences, endeavoured by all means to compose them; and thereupon Viscount *Mountague*, *Nicholas Wootton*, and *Walter Haddon*, Master of the Requests,

were sent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who, after many interruptions, brought the matter at last to some indifferent agreement.

It was now the seventh yeer of Queen *Elizabeth*; when making a Progresse, she went to see *Cambridge*; where after she had viewed the Colledges, and been entertained with Comedies, and Scholasticall Disputations, she made her self a Latine Oration, to the great encouragement of the Schollars, and then returned. Presently after her return, she made the Lord *Robert Dudley* Master of her Horse, first Baron of *Denbigh* (giving him *Denbigh* and all the Lands belonging to it) and then Earl of *Leicester*, to him, and the heirs males of his body lawfully begotten: which Honour was conferred upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that was ever known. And now *Leicester*, to endear himself to the Queen of Scots, accused Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, for being privy to the libell of *Hales*, who affirmed the Right of the Crown to belong to the Family of *Suffolk*, in case the Queen should die without Issue; and thereupon was *Bacon* cast into prison; till afterward, upon his purgation, and the mediation of Sir *William Cecill*, he was set at liberty, and restored to his place.

And now for a while we must cast our eyes upon *Scotland*, for that was now the Stage where all the great businesses of State were acted: *Mathew Steward*, Earl of *Lenox*, who had marryed *Margaret Dowglas*, King *Henry* the eighth's Neece by his eldest sister, had been kept as an Exile in *England* now twenty yeers; him the Queen of Scots invites to come into *Scotland*, under pretence of restoring to him his ancient Patrimony; but indeed to conferre with him about a Marriage with his son the Lord *Darlie*, for being reputed heir to the Crown of *England*, next after her self; she thought by matching with his son, to strengthen her own title, and to prevent the hope of any other. Queen *Elizabeth*, upon sute made by his wife, gave the Earl leave to go; but soon after, suspecting what the Queen of Scots intent was in sending for him, she, to hinder the proceeding, sent Sir *Thomas Randoll* to her, to let her know, That if she proceeded in this Match, she would exceedingly wrong her self; for that it was a Match so much disliked by all the English, that she was fain to prorogue the Parliament, lest upon dislike thereof, there should something be enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of *Leicester*, she should then by Parliament be declared her next Heir. Hereupon, in the month of *November*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir *Thomas Randoll* for Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Murray* and *Lidington* for the Queen of Scots at *Barwick*, entred into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*. The English Commissioners urged the great benefits that by this Match would accrew both to the Queen of Scots her self, and to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*: The Scotish on the other side, urged the great disparagement it would be to the Queen of Scots, if refusing the offers made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with so mean a person as the Earl of *Leicester*. This matter held long debate, partly for that the English Commissioners were so appointed by Queen *Elizabeth*; and partly for that the Scotish Commissioners had a good minde to hinder her from marrying at all; and perhaps not the least; for that the Earl of *Leicester*, being verily perswaded he should at last obtain Queen *Elizabeth* her self, by secret Letters warned the Earl of *Bedford* not to urge the Marriage with the Queen of Scots too far; and was thought for this cause to favour *Darly* under hand. The matter being in this manner protracted for two whole yeers together, the Queen of Scots impatient of longer delay, and being resolved in her minde what she would do, used means that the Lord *Darly* got leave of Queen *Elizabeth* to go into *Scotland* for three months onely, under colour to be put in possession of his fathers Lands (though it be strange, the Queen upon any tearms would let him go, if she really intended to hinder the

Marriage: but such was the destiny, if there were not a plot in it) and so in *February* he came to *Edinburgh*; who being a young man, of not above nineteen yeers of age, of a comely countenance, and most Princely Presence, the Queen of Scots as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him, yet in modesty dissembling it for the present, she sought to get a Dispensation from *Rome*, because of their neerness in Consanguinity. And now, her inclination being grown so apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent *Lydington* to Queen *Elizabeth*, desiring her consent. But she, through the suggestions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induced to believe that the Queen of Scots intention was, by this Marriage, to get the Crown of *England*, and to bring in Popery, entred into consultation with her Privy Councell, what was fit to be done to hinder the Marriage; who all concluded, that these were the best wayes: First, To have a Company of Souldiers levyed for terrour sake, about the Borders towards *Scotland*; then to commit to prison the Countesse of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darlies* Mother; and to recall from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox* and his son *Darly*, upon pain of the losse of all their goods in *England*: then that the Scots, who were known to be averse from the Marriage, should be relieved and assisted: and lastly, That *Katherine Grey*, with the Earl of *Hertford*, should be received into some grace; about whom onely (it was thought) the Queen of Scots was most solicitous, as being her Rivall to the English Crown. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to counsell her in the Queens name, not to proceed in this Marriage; and to shew her the many inconveniences that would accrew unto her by it. But she returned answer, That the matter was too far passed to be recalled; and that Queen *Elizabeth* had no cause to be displeased with it; seeing herein she followed her advice, Not to match with a stranger, but with an English man born. Queen *Elizabeth* being informed of her answer, calleth home the Earl of *Lenox*, and the Lord *Darly* his son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return: The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself; the son humbly intreateth her not to be a hinderance to his preferment, which he vows to employ in her Majesties Service to the uttermost of his power. And now, to make him the fitter match for her, the Queen of Scots honoured him first with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armenaik*, Earl of *Ross*, and Duke of *Rothsay*; which Dukedom by Birth, pertaineth to the eldest sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, when he had not been above five months in *Scotland*, she matryed him, and with the consent of most of the Peers, declared him King. At this, the Earl of *Murray*, and other whom he drew to his party extremely fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent questions, Whether it were lawfull to admit a Papist King? Whether the Queen of Scots might choose a husband at her own pleasure? and whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not out of their Authority, impose one upon her? But howsoever, they raised Arms, and had disturbed the Nupcialls, but that the Queen levyed an Army to encounter them; with which she pursued them so closely, that they were fain to fly into *England* for protection; where Queen *Elizabeth* made no scruple to receive them, seeing the Queen of Scots had received *Tarely*, *Standon*, and *Walsh*, that were fled out of *England*; but the Earl of *Murray* especially, who had alwayes been found addicted to the English. Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps was not much troubled at this Marriage, partly as knowing the milde disposition of the Lord *Darly*, and how little accesse of strength it brought to the Queen of Scots; but most of all, as plainly seeing there would troubles arise in *Scotland* upon it, and the troubles of *Scotland* would be the quietnesse of *England*; which, as a good Mother of her Country, was the mark she aymed at: yet she made a shew of being offended with it, but rather to conceal her aym, then that she was offended with it indeed.

At

At this time the Emperour *Maximilian* sent to Queen *Elizabeth* his Embassadour, *Adam Smiricote*, renewing the former sute for his brother *Charles* of *Austria*; for which Marriage the Earl of *Sussex* was very earnest; the Earl of *Leicester* as much against it; so as it grew to a quarrell between them, and the Court was divided into factions about it: but the Queen, who never liked the dissentions of her Peers (though it be a Rule with some, *Divide, and Raign*) made them friends, at least in countenance.

We may now leave *Scotland* a while, and see the Honour done at this time to Queen *Elizabeth*, not much inferiour to the Honour done to *Solomon* by the Queen of *Saba*; for now *Cecile*, the sister of *Errick* King of *Sweden*, and wife of *Christopher* Marquesse of *Baden*, being great with childe, came from the farthest part of the North (a long Journey) thorow *Germany*, of purpose to see her, for the great fame she had heard of her Wisedom: At her being here, she was delivered of a childe, to whom, in requitall of her kindeness, Queen *Elizabeth* was God-mother, and named him *Edwardus Fortunatus*; giving to her and her husband, besides Royall Entertainment, a yeerly Pension. At this time also, for the great Fame of her wisedome, *Donald mac Carty More*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and delivered up into her hands all his most ample Territories; and then receiving them again from her, to hold them to him and his Heirs males lawfully begotten; and for want of such Issue, to remain to the Crown of *England*. The Queen in requitall, invested him with the honour of Earl of *Glenkarne*, and Baron of *Valence*; and besides many Presents given him, paid the charges of his Journey.

It was now the eighth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign; when Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, a Knight of *Glocestershire*, Governing *Ireland* under the title of a Justice, was called home, and Sir *Henry Sidney* placed in his room. And here by the way it is to be noted, That the Governours of *Ireland*, after it came under the English, were at first called Justices of *Ireland*; afterwards, Lievtenants; and their Vice-gerents were called Deputies. Afterwards at the Princes pleasure, sometimes Deputies, sometimes Justices, and sometimes Lievtenants; which last Title, though it be of greatest honour, yet in power is in a manner but the same. Sir *Henry Sidney* at his coming into *Ireland*, found the Province of *Munster* in much disorder, by reason of strife between *Gyrald* Earl of *Desmond*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*: whereupon the Queen sending for the Earl of *Desmond* into *England*, ordained a new Government in that Province, appointing a President to administer Justice, together with an Assistant on the Bench, two Lawyers and a Notary: and the first President she made in this place, was Sir *William Sent-leger*.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* in a Progresse went to *Oxford*; where she took pleasure in viewing the Colledges, in hearing Orations, in seeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of *Palemon* and *Arcite* turned to a Tragedy, for by the fall of a wall, through the multitude of people that pressed in to see it; three men were slain. At her coming away, she made an Oration in Latine to the Schollars, a sufficient recompence for all the Orations they had made to her. And this yeer, was a call of seven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at Grayes Inne in Holborn.

Upon the Queens return from *Oxford*, the Parliament began, where they presently fell upon the matter of succession, and moving the Queen to marry; in which points some went so far, that they spared not to accuse the Queen, as one careless of Posterity; to defame *Cecill* with libells and reproaches, as if he were her Counsellour in this matter; but above all, to curse Doctor *Huic* her Physician, who was thought to dissuade her from Marriage, by reason of I know not what, womanish insufficiency. At last in the Upper House it was agreed, That Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, their Orator, should in all their names beseech the Queen to marry; and withall,

withall, to declare a Succeſſor in the Crown, if ſhe ſhould happen to die without Iſſue; for which he gave many reaſons, declaring what miſchiefs were likely to befall the Kingdom, if ſhe ſhould die before a Succeſſor were deſigned. But in the Lower Houſe there were ſome, amongſt whom, were *Bell* and *Mounſon* (two Lawyers of great account) *Dutton*, Sir *Paul Wentworth*, and other, who grew to far higher tearms, diſparaging the Queens Authority, and ſaying, That Princes were bound to deſigne a Succeſſor; and that in not doing it, the Queen ſhould ſhew her ſelf no better then a parricide of her Countrey. The Queen was contented to bear with words ſpoken in Parliament; which ſpoken out of Parliament, ſhe would never have endured: but not willing to expoſtulate the matter with the whole number, ſhe commanded that thirty of the Higher Houſe, and as many of the Lower, ſhould appear before her, to whom ſhe delivered her minde to this effect; That ſhe knew what danger hangeth over a Princes head, when a Succeſſor is once declared; ſhe knew that even children themſelves, out of a haſtie deſire of bearing Rule, had taken up Armes againſt their own fathers; and how could better conditions be expected from kindred? She had by reading obſerved, That Succeſſors in a collaterall Line, have ſeldom been declared; and that *Lewis* of *Orleance*, and *Francis* of *Angouleſme* were never declared Succeſſors, and yet obtained the Crown without any noyſe. Laſtly, ſhe ſaid, Though I have been content to let you debate the matter of Succeſſion, yet I adviſe you to beware, that you be not injurious to your Princes patience. With theſe and the like reaſons ſhe gave ſo good ſatisfaction, that they never after troubled her with making any more ſuch motion. And though ſhe conſented not in plain tearms to declare a Succeſſor, yet ſoon after ſhe gave ſome intimation of it; for one *Thornton*, a Reader of the Civill Law in *London*, who in his Lectures, called the Queen of Scots Right in queſtion, was clapped up in priſon for his labour.

In the beginning of her ninth yeer, *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, ſent his Ambaſſadour *Ramboulet* into *England* to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of S. *Michael*, to beſtow upon which two of her Nobility ſhe pleaſed; and ſhe making choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, they were by *Ramboulet* inveſted with them; an Honour that had never been conferred upon any Engliſh, but only K. *Henry* the eighth, King *Edward* the ſixth, and *Charls Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, though afterward proſtituted almoſt to any, without difference.

And now to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*: The nineteenth of *June* laſt paſt, the Queen of Scots, in a happy hour, was at *Edinborough* Caſtle dilivered of a Son, that was afterward *James* the ſixth of *Scotland*, and the firſt Monarch of *Great Britain*; whereof ſhe preſently ſent word to Queen *Elizabeth* by *James Melvyne*; who thereupon ſent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to congratulate her ſafe deliverance; and her young ſon, with all demonſtration of love and amity. But now the love of the Queen of Scots to her husband the Lord *Darly*, was not ſo hot at firſt, but it was now grown to be as cold; and ſhe had not heaped honour on him ſo faſt before, but now as faſt ſhe taketh them off: for where before in all publike Acts, ſhe had uſed to place her husbands name firſt, now ſhe cauſed it to be placed laſt, and in the coyning of money began to leave it quite out.

This unkindeneſſe between them was fomented by one *David Rizie* an Italian, whom the Queen had taken into her ſervice, firſt, as a Muſician, and then taking a liking to him, made him here Secretary for the French Tongue; by means whereof, he had oftentimes ſecret conference with her, when the King her Husband might not be admitted. This indignity the King himſelf, being given to his pleaſures of Hunt-

Hunting and Hawking, reſented not ſo much, as ſome Lords that were his friends; who told him plainly, That it ſtood not with his Honour to ſuffer this fellow to live. By whoſe inſtigation the King drawn to plot his death; One day, taking with him the Earl of *Ruven*, and other, he ruſhed into the Queens Chamber at her Supper time, where finding *David Rizie* at a Cupboord, taſting ſome meat that had been taken from the Table, he ſeized upon him, dragged him forth into an outer Chamber, and there murthered him; the Queen at that time being great with childe; and like by that affright to have miſcarryed: But the Fact being done, the King came in to her again, aſſuring her there was no hurt at all intended to her Perſon. The man that had animated the King to do this fact, was eſpecially the Earl *Murray*, of whom it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething, becauſe his part will be the greateſt of all the Scottiſh Actions of this time. He was the baſe ſonne of King *James* the fifth, and ſo the baſe brother of the Queen; made at firſt, Prior of Saint *Andrewes*: But not liking that Religious Title, he affected rather ſome Temporall Honour; which when the Queen, being then in *France*, denyed him, then in an angry mood returned into *Scotland*, where, by the advice of *Knox*, whom he held for a great Patriark, brought the matter ſo to paſſe, that in an Aſſembly of the States, the Religion was altered, and the French were baniſhed out of *Scotland*. Yet afterward, as ſoon as the Queen was a Widow, he poſted into *France*, and ſo inſinuated with her, that ſhe created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an Honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he returned into *Scotland*; where, for the further growth of his ambitious deſignes, he ſowed ſeeds of Sedition, affirming often, what a miſery it was to be under the Command of a woman; and that Royalty was not to be tyed to any Stock or Kindred, but to Vertue onely, whether the parties were legitimate or no; by this courſe making way to the Kingdom for himſelf. To this end, he uſed all the means he could to keep the Queen from marrying again; which when he could not effect, he then ſought wayes how to make diſcord between her and her Husband; for which cauſe he had cauſed the King to murther *Rizie*. Of the foulneſſe of which Fact, when the King had a while grew ſenſible, he meant to be revenged of *Murray*, who had counſelled him to do it: which *Murray* underſtanding, prevented it with cauſing the like to be done to him, as will preſently be ſeen. For the Queen having been delivered of a Son, and the day appointed for the Chriſtning being come; where the God-fathers were *Charles* King of *France*, and *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*; Queen *Elizabeth* being requeſted to be God-mother, ſent thither the Earl of *Bedford* as her Deputy, and a Font of Maſſie Gold for a Preſent, in value 1043 *l.* but gave him expreſſe Command, That he ſhould not honour *Darly* with the Title of King. But before a month or two, after the Chriſtning were paſſed, The King in a ſtormy and tempeſtuous night, was ſtrangled in his Bed, and then caſt forth into the Garden, and the houſe immediately blown up with Gun-powder.

The rumour of this murther being ſpread abroad, the common Fame laid it upon *Murray* and *Morton*, and their Confederates; *Murray* and *Morton* upon the Queen: But we muſt not here give ear to that which BUCHANAN writes; who to curry favour with the Earl MURRAY, layes moſt impudent ſcandalls upon the Queene; whereof, before his death, he repented himſelf extremely. The King thus murthered, and the QUEEN left alone to her ſelf, ſhe is counſelled to marry with ſome, that might be able to aſſiſt her againſt all her oppoſites: JAMES

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Hepburn Earl of Bothwell being then greatly in her favour, and of great eminencie for his valour: And though he were the man that had acted the murther, yet is he by *Murray* and his confederates, commended to the Queen; to which motion, as being destitute of friends, and not knowing whom to trust; she at last consents, but upon these conditions, That above all things, respect might be had to her yong Sonne; and that *Bothwell* might be legally quitted, both from the bond of his former marriage, and also of the Kings murther. Hereupon a course is plotted, by which, *Bothwell* is called to the Barre; and *Morton* being his Advocate, by the Sentence of Judges he is cleerly acquitted. Upon this, he is created Duke of Orkeney, and by consent of many of the Nobility, is marryed to the Queen; which bred a suspition in many, that the Queen was conscious of the murther, which was the thing that by the marriage they intended: And the suspition once raised, they seek by all means to increase, that they may have the better colour against her; and so, the very same man who had absolved *Bothwell*, and consented to the marriage, now takes Arms against her, as a Delinquent in both; force him to flee, and then seize upon the Queen, whom, clad in a very homely garment, they thrust into prison in Loch-levyn, under the custody of *Murray's* mother, who had been the Harlot of King *James* the fifth; but boasting her self to have been his lawfull wife, and her son, his lawfull Issue. Queen *Elisabeth* having at length notice hereof, sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into Scotland, to expostulate with the Confederates, touching this insolent usage of the Queen; and to consult, by what means shee might be restored to her liberty. But *Throgmorton* coming into Scotland, found the Confederates in more insolent terms then had been reported; being divided in opinion, what to do with the Queen, some would have her banished perpetually, into England or France; some would have her questioned before the Judges, committed to perpetuall custody, and her son proclaimed King: others, more inhumane, would have her at once deprived of Princely Authority, of life and all; and this, *Knox* and some other Ministers thundred out of the Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the other side, alleaged many passages out of the holy Scriptures, touching Obedience to the higher Powers; maintaining, That the Queen was subject to no Tribunall, but that in Heaven; That no Judge upon Earth might call her in question; That there was no Office nor Jurisdiction in Scotland, which was not derived from her Authority, and revokeable at her pleasure. They again opposed the peculiar Right of the Kingdom of Scotland; and that in extraordinary cases, they were to proceed besides order, taking up *Buchanans* Arguments; who in those dayes, by instigation of *Murray*, wrote that damned Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; wherein, against the verity of the Scottish History, he indeavours to prove, That the People have power, both to create, and to depose their King. After all their debating, all that *Throgmorton* could get of them, was a Writing without any Subscription, wherein they protested, They had shut up the Queen for no other intent, but to keep her apart from *Bothwell*, whom she loved so desperately, that to injoy him, she regarded not all their ruines; willing him to rest satisfied with this Answer, till such time as the rest of the Peers met together. And notwithstanding all he could say, they shut up the Queen daily, in more straight custody, though with tears she besought them to deal more mildly with her, and to let her but once have a sight of her son, which would not be granted her. At last when fair perswasions would not serve to make her freely give over the Kingdom, they threatned to question her openly for incontinent living, for the Kings murder, and for Tyranny, so as through feare of death, they compelled Her, unheard, to set her

hand to three Instruments; In the first whereof, she gave over the Kingdom to her young son, at that time scarce thirteen Months old: In the second, she constituted *Murray* Vice-Roy during the minority of her son: In the third, in case he refused the charge, these Governours were nominated; *James* Duke of Chasteau, Herald, *Giles Spike* Earl of Argile, *Mathew* Earl of Lenox, *John* Earl of Atholl, *James* Earl of Morton, *Alexander* Earl of Glencarn, and *John* Earl of Mar. And presently she signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by *Throgmorton*, that she had made these grants by compulsion through the counsell of *Throgmorton*, telling her that a grant extorted from one in prison (which is a just fear) is actually void and of no effect.

Five dayes after the Queen had made this Resignation, *James* the sixth, the Queens Son, was Anointed and Crown'd King, *John Knox* preaching at the same time; but a Protestation was then put in by the *Hamiltons*, that all this ought to be no prejudice to the Duke of Chasteau Herald in his Right of succession against the Family of *Lenox*; but Queen *Elisabeth* had forbidden *Throgmorton* to be at the Action, that she might not seem by the presence of her Embassador, to approve their proceeding in displacing of the Queen.

Fifteen dayes after this transaction, *Murray* himself returned out of France into Scotland, and within three dayes went to the Queen with some other of the confederates, who charged her with many crimes, and wished her if she tendered her Life and Honor, to observe these prescriptions: Not to disturb the peace of the Kingdom, nor desire to be at Liberty, not to stir up the Queen of England, or the King of France to molest Scotland with any War, not to think any more of *Bothwells* love, or meditate revenge upon *Bothwells* adversaries.

Murray being now proclaimed Regent of Scotland, he bindeth himself under his Hand and Seal to do nothing which shall concerne War or Peace, the Kings Person or his marriage, or the Liberty of the Queen, without the consent of the confederates; and then gives *Throgmorton* warning by *Lidington*, not to make any further intercession for the Queens Liberty, for that he and the rest had rather run any hazard then to suffer it. Soon after he puts to death *John Hepburn*, *Dagliſh*, and others that were *Bothwells* servants, for having a hand in the murther of the King: But they (which he little expected) when they were at the Gallows, ready to dye, protested before God and his holy Angells, that *Bothwell* had told them, that *Morton* and *Murray* were the first authors of the murther. They freed the Queen from all suspition, like as *Bothwell* himself being prisoner in Denmark, both living and dying, often protested with deep asseverations, that the Queen was innocent. And fourteen yeers after, *Morton* going to execution, confessed that *Bothwell* dealt with him to consent to the murther of the King, which, when he refused utterly unlesse the Queen under her hand writing would allow of it, *Bothwell* made answer, that could not be, but the fact must be done without her knowledge.

A little before this time, upon one and the same day, dyed two of the Privy Councell, Sir *John Mason* Treasurer of the Queens Chamber, a grave and learned man, but a great Usurper and Encroacher upon Ecclesiasticall Livings; and Sir *Richard Sackvile* Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer, a man both prudent and provident, and allyed to the Queen by her mother *Anne Bolen*. In his room succeeded *Walter Mildmay*, a man of wisdom and integrity; In *Masons* Office came Sir *Francis Knowles*, who married *Katherine Carie*, the daughter of *Mary Bolen*, the Queens Mothers Sister.

It was now the yeer 1567. And the tenth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign, when the Earl of Stolberg came into England from the Emperour *Maximilian*, to treat of the marriage of the Queen with the Archduke *Charls* upon which very occasion the Queen a little before had sent the E. of *Sussex*

to

to the Emperor, with the Order of the Garter: But in the Treaty of marriage, there fell out so many difficulties, about Religion, maintenance of the Duke, about the Royall Title, and concerning succession, that after it had been treated of seven whole yeers together, it came at last to nothing, and the Duke not long after marryed *Mary* daughter to *Albert* the fifth Duke of Bavaria; yet both he and the Emperour continued ever after a good correspondence with the Queen.

About this time, there came from *John Basil* Emperour of Russia and Muscovia, *Stephen Twerdico*, and *Theodore Pogorella*, with a Present of rich Furs of Otter, Miniver, and the like, tendering all service and obsequiousnesse to the Queen and the English. The Merchants by vertue of a Grant from Queen *Mary*, had combined themselves into a Society, which they called the Muscovie Company, and having large Priviledges granted them from the Emperour, went thither with a Navie yeerly, making a very gainfull Voyage; but then it proved most gainfull, when for the Queens sake they obtained at the Emperours hands, in the yeer 1569. That none but the English of that Company, should Traffique in the North-parts of Russia. With these Russian Embassadours there returned into England, *Anthony Jenkinson*, who in his Travels had made curious Observation of Russia, set forth a Geographicall Description of it, and was the first of the English that sailed through the Caspian Sea. And this yeer, the 8. of June, Sir *Thomas Sackvile* was created Baron of Buckhurst, at Whitehall.

We have seen before, the first Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy: Now comes in the second, having been 11 Moneths kept a prisoner; at last, by the help of *George Dowglas*, to whose Brother she was committed, she made escape from Loch-levyn, to Hamiltons castle; where upon the testimonies of *Robert Melvyn*, and others, in a meeting of a great part of the Nobility, there was drawn a sentence declaratory, That the Grant extorted from the Queen in prison, (which is *Fustus metus*) was actually void from the beginning. Upon which Declaration, great multitudes flocked to her, so as within a day or two she had gotten an Army of at least six thousand; but when they joyned battell with *Murray*, being but raw and unexpert Souldiers, they were soon defeated. In this case, the Queen sought to save her self by flight, journeying in one day threescore miles, and coming at night to the house of *Maxwell* Lord *Heris*, from thence she sent *John Beton* to Queen *Elisabeth* with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of mutuall Amity, intimating, that she would come into England, and implore her aid, if her Subjects offered to prosecute her any further. Queen *Elisabeth* returned answer, that she should expect from her, in abundant manner, all loving and friendly offices. But before the Messenger was returned, she, contrary to the advice of her friends, entred into a small Bark, & with the Lords, *Heris*, and *Flemming*, and a few others, landed at Wickinton in Cumberland, neer the mouth of the River of Decwent, the seventeenth day of May; and the same day wrote Letters to the Queen in French with her own hand, the effect whereof was, That having made an escape from the the hands of her insolent and rebellious Subjects, she was now come into England, upon certain hope of her approved clemencie; and therefore humbly desiring, she might forthwith be conducted to her presence. Queen *Elisabeth* sending Letters by Sir *Francis Knolles*, comforted her, and promised her aid and defence, according to the equity of her cause; but denyed her accesse, for that she was held guilty of many crimes, giving command to have her brought to Carlile, as a place of better safety. The Queen of Scots receiving this answer, and finding accesse to the Queen denyed her, maketh request again by Letter, that she might have leave, both to unfold the injuries she had received, and to answer the crimes objected, in her own presence; humbly

humbly intreating her, that either she might be admitted to have conference and assistance, or else have free leave to depart out of England, to gain supply elsewhere, and not be held a prisoner in the Castle at Carlile; for as much as she came voluntarily into England, relying upon her love so often professed. Upon these Letters, Queen *Elisabeth* exceedingly commiserated her case, and could have found in her heart to admit her to her presence, but that her Councellours conceived it to be matter for consultation, what to do in this case. To detain her in England, had many mischiefs attending on it; to send her into France, as many; to send her back into Scotland, many more; so as in conclusion, the most were of opinion, to have her detained, as one taken by right of War, and not to be dismissed, till she had made satisfaction for assuming the Title of England, and for the death of *Darly* her husband, who was born one of the Queens Subjects. In this diversity of opinions, Queen *Elisabeth* out of her own judgement, sent word by *Middemore*, to the Regent of Scotland, that he should come himself in person, or else depute some fit persons to answer the complaints of the Queen of Scots against him and his confederates, and render sufficient reasons wherefore they had deprived her; otherwise, she would forthwith dismisse her, and with all the forces she could, settle her in her Kingdom. To this Summons, *Murray* obeys, and comes to York, the place appointed for this Treaty, accompanied with seven more of his intimate friends, who stood Delegates for the Infant King, namely, *James* Earl of Morton, *Adam* Bishop of the Orkeneys, *Robert* of Dunferm, *Patrick* Lord of Lyndsey, *James Mac-gylly*, and *Henry Badinary*; and with these, *Lydington* the Secretary, and *George Buchanan*. And the very same day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolk, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of Sussex, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* a Privie-Counsellour, appointed Commissioners for Queen *Elisabeth*. For the Queen of Scots, (who took it hainously, that Queen *Elisabeth* would not hear the cause her self, but refer her to Subjects, being an absolute Prince, and not tyed to their proceedings) there appeared *John Lesley* Bishop of Ross, *William* Lord Levyngston, *Robert* Lord Boyde, *Gawen* of Kilwynnin, *John Gourdon*, and *James Cockburn*. Being met, *Lydington* turning himself to the Scots, in a wondrous liberty of Speech, gave them this advice, Maturely to consider, what prejudice they should draw upon themselves, by accusing the Queen of Scots, and calling her Reputation in question publikely before the English, professed enemies of the Scottish Nation. Likewise, what account they shall be able to give hereof to the King, when he shall grow to riper yeers, and shall see what an injury this was to the Kingdom, his Mother, and his own person. Wherefore (said he) it seemeth requisite to forbear this businesse altogether, unlesse the Queen of England will enter into a mutuall league of Offence and Defence, against all those, which under this pretence, shall go about to molest us. Upon this Speech of his, the Delegates of the Queen of Scots made Protestation, That although it pleased the Queen of Scots, to have the cause between her and her disloyall Subjects, debated before the English, yet she being a free Prince, and obnoxious to no earthly Prince whatsoever, did not thereby yeeld her self subject to the Jurisdiction and command of any person. On the contrary, the English protested, That they did in no wise admit that Protestation, in prejudice to the right which the Kings of England have anciently challenged as superious Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland. The day after, the Queen of Scots Delegates set forth at large the injurious dealing of *Morton*, *Murray*, *Marre*, *Glencarn*, *Hames*, and others, against the Queen, and how they had compelled her, for fear of death, to resign her Crown, which therefore (they said) was of no force. *Murray* and his confederates make answer, That they had done nothing, but by consent of the Peers in Parliament, and that in prosecuting of *Bothwell*, the author of the Kings murther,

ther, whom the Queen protected; and as for her resignation, that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of Scots Delegates answered and confuted, affirming in particular, That where there are 100 Earls, Bishops and Barons, (more or lesse) that have voices in the Parliament of Scotland, there were not in that tumultous assembly they speak of, above four Earls, one Bishop, an Abbot or two, and six Barons; wherefore their earnest request was, that the Queen of England would be sensible of these indignities offered her, and take some course for a speedy redresse. After this, some new Commissioners from Queen *Elizabeth* were added to the former, to some of whom, the Queen of Scots took exception, unlesse the French and Spanish Embassadors might be taken in, and her self admitted into the presence of the Queen and them, publickly to defend her own innocency; and that *Murray* might be detained and tried, whom she affirmed, she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the murther of her husband *Darley*. This was held to be a just demand by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, and the Lord *Clinton*: But Queen *Elizabeth* waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of Scots should never want an Advocate as long as *Norfolk* lived: It was seen here, which is said, that the heart of the King is inscrutable; for how Queen *Elizabeth* stood affected in this case of the Queen of Scots, no man could well discern; she detested the insolency of her Subjects in deposing her, and yet gave no assistance to restore her. After long agitation of this businesse, and nothing concluded, *Murray* a little before his return into Scotland, slyly propounded the mariage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of *Norfolk*, which he with a modest answer rejected as a thing full of danger. But withall, *Murray* the more to alienate Queen *Elizabeths* mind from the Queen of Scots, gave out, that she had passed away to the Duke of *Anjou* her Right to the Crown of England, and that the transaction was confirm'd at Rome, he shewd Letters also which the Queen of Scots had written to some friends whom she trusted; wherein she accused the Queen for not dealing with her according to promise, and boasted of succours she expected from some others. This last clause something troubled Queen *Elizabeth*, neither could she conjecture from whence any such succour should come; seeing both France with the Civill Wars, and the King of *Spain* in the Low-countries had enough to do at home. But at last it brake out, that one *Robert Ridolph* a Florentine under the habit of a Merchant in London, was suborned by Pope *Pius* the fifth, to make a secret commotion of the Papists in England against the Queen, which he performed indeed with a great deal of secrecy and much cunning; whereupon the Queen of Scots was removed from Bolton (a Castle of the Lord *Scroops*) where all the neighbouring people were Papists, to Tutbury more toward the heart of the Country, under the custody of *George* Earl of Shrewsbury.

About this time the *Guises* in France, and the Duke *D'Alva* in the Low-countries, began to endeavour the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion. In France the Ministers of the Gospell are commanded within a limitted time to depart the Kingdom; when Queen *Elizabeth* forgetting the fickleness of the Protestants at New-haven, once again takes upon her their protection; supplyes them with two hundred thousand Crowns in money, besides Munition in abundance, and with all humanity receives the French that fled into England; the rather, for that they made solemn protestation they took not up Arms against their Prince; but only stood upon their own defence. In the Low-countries likewise, the Duke *D'Alva*, breathing nothing but slaughter and blood; made the Dutch come flocking into England as into a Sanctuary, where with all courtesie they were received.

And

And here it will be fit to ſhew how the War in the Low-countries began firſt, which was thus: At which time the King of Spain brought in the Spaniſh Inquiſition; a ſmall number of the meaner ſort of people, in tumultuous manner, caſt the Images out of Churches and brake them in pieces, and although that tumult was ſoon quieted, yet the King of Spain taking advantage at the raſhneſſe of a few, to charge the whole Nation with Rebellion: ſent amongſt them *Ferdinando Alvarez*, Duke *D' Alva*, a bloody and fierce man, (who contrary to the Ordinances and cuſtomes of the Country) took away all authority from the ordinary Courts of Juſtice; Erected new conſiſtories; condemned and put to death the Peers, without tryall by their lawfull Judges; Placed Garriſons of Spaniards throughout all their Cities and Villages, and by force exacted the twentieth part of the fruits of the Earth, and the tenth of moveables upon every Alienation. At that time, a mighty maſſe of money borrowed from the *Genowayes*, and other Italian Merchants was ſent out of Spain into the Low-countries, there to be imployed to intereſt, which being brought by ſhipping, was purſued by the French; and forced to fly for ſuccour into the Havens of England, whom the Queen commanded to be ſuccour'd; as conceiving the money to be the King of Spains as it was given out: But at the ſame time, Cardinall *Odette* coming out of France into England, and giving notice to the Queen that the money was not the King of Spains, but belonged to certain merchants of Geneva; from whence the Duke *D' Alva* had taken it againſt their will, with a purpoſe to imploy it to the ruine of the Proteſtants; and information alſo being given her by one that had a propertie in the money that it was ſo; ſhe determined to put in ſecurity, and to borrow the money of the merchants her ſelf, which is an uſuall thing with Princes when goods are taken in their Ports; and the King of Spain himſelf had lately done the like. The Duke *D' Alva* being informed of this dealing of the Queens; by *Gerard de Speſe* the King of Spains Embaſſador in England; ſeizeth preſently upon all the goods of the Engliſh in the Low-conntries, and kept the men priſoners; The Queen did the like with the Dutch merchants in England, Letters of Mart were granted on both ſides, and this grew to ſuch a quarrell between the Nations, that being nouriſhed with other differences afterward, it brought forth in Eighty Eight, that Spaniſh Invaſion, which is, and will be memorable in all future Ages.

Upon occaſion of this Money detained, certain Peers of England, amongſt whom, were the Duke of Norfolk, the Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, the Earls of Arundell, Northumberland, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and others, Accuſed Sir *William Cecill*, for ſending away money into France, making this their colour, but done indeed out of envying his great favour with the Queen, and ſuſpecting him to incline to the houſe of Suffolk in the matter of ſucceſſion. Hereupon they conſult ſecretly how to get him be impriſon'd; and *Throgmorton* (who envyed him as much as they) ſuggeſting that if he were once clapp'd up, they might ſoon find out a way to cruſh him; But the Queen (by what means it is uncertain) coming to have notice hereof, gave a check to their purpoſe, and protected *Cecill* againſt their combined practiſes.

The Earl *Murray* being returned into Scotland, makes the Lords believe that he deſires a meeting at *Edinbourgh*, to conſult about reſtoring the Queen to her Liberty; but as *Hamilton* Duke of Chaſteau Herald (appointed Vicegerent of the Kingdome by the Queen) and the Lord *Herii* were coming thither, he circumvented them, and before any of the reſt came caſt them into priſon; and forthwith in an open War, oppreſſeth all her Favourers. It may be thought, the Earl *Murray* could have been content, the Queen ſhould have been ſet at liberty; but that he knew,

her

her liberty could not be without his ſervitude; and Queen *Eliſabeth* perhaps would willingly have had her reſtored to her Kingdom, but that ſhe doubted, her reſtoring would indanger her own ſecurity: And thus, while they regarded their own ends in the firſt place, and hers but in the ſecond, ſhe had the fortune to be pitied, but not the happineſſe to be relieved; and all ſhe could do her ſelf, was but to tye the knot of her bonds the faſter; if ſhe could have ſate ſtill, they would perhaps have looſened of themſelves; but now, the more ſhe ſtirred, the more ſhe was intangled.

And how the Deſtiny of the Duke of Norfolk began to work: It was in every ones mouth, that the Duke ſhould marry the Queen of Scots; and it is true, there had been motions made; but the matter not ſo forward, as the Voice of the People, which commonly preſageth what will follow. It had been motioned to the Duke at York, by the Biſhop of Roſſe; and afterward (in pretence at leaſt) by *Murray* himſelf at Hampton-Court; but the Duke, before he would reſolve in the matter, deliberated with the Earls of Arundell, Northumberland, Weſtmerland, Suſſex, Pembroke, Southampton, and Leiceſter himſelf, who all judged it fit, he ſhould acquaint the Queen with it firſt, and then leave the matter to her liking. Within a few dayes, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* meeting the Duke in the Pallace at Weſtminſter, adviſed him, to move the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf to embrace the match, ſeeing he had formerly ſued for it; but if he refuſed it, then at leaſt to take him along with him, for that himſelf alone would hereby be able to procure the Queens conſent. A day or two after, the Earl of Leiceſter propounded the matter to the Duke, and then communicateth it to the Earls of Arundell and Pembroke; who thereupon, together with *Throgmorton*, wrote Letters to the Queen of Scots, commending the Duke of Norfolk to her for a Husband; the Duke himſelf likewiſe writeth to her, tendering his ſingular Love and reſpect unto her. Upon this, Articles are drawn, written with Leiceſters own hand, and ſent to the Queen of Scots; to which if ſhe conſented, they then promiſed to procure, that Queen *Eliſabeth* ſhould give her aſſent, and that forthwith ſhe ſhould be reinveſted in her Kingdom, and the Succeſſion of England ſhould be confirmed upon her. Wee may eaſily believe, the Queen of Scots was not hardly drawn to give conſent to her own deſire; but in the mean time, the Duke had imparted to the Lord *Lumley* the whole proceeding, and had much ado to get the Earl of Leiceſters conſent, that he might adviſe of it with ſome other of his Friends; yet a little after, he opened the matter to *Cecill* alſo. The rumour of this Marriage was ſoon come to the Queens ears; which the Duke underſtanding, hee dealt earneſtly with the Earl of Leiceſter, to have the matter propounded to the Queen out of hand. Leiceſter makes delayes, and pretends cauſes to put it off, which *Cecill* ſeeing, he adviſeth the Duke, to go and acquaint the Queen with it himſelf. This councell Leiceſter oppoſed, promiſing to open it to the Queen as ſhe went in Progreſſe. At length, at Farnham, the Duke ſtanding by as the Queen ſate at Table, ſhe gave him a tart Admonition, That he were beſt take heed, upon what pillow he reſted his head. After this, at Tichfield, Leiceſter fell ſick, or at leaſt counterfeited, to whom the Queen coming, and bidding him be of good cheer; hee with ſighs and tears craved pardon for his fault, and unfolded to her the whole ſtory from the very beginning. Whereupon, the Queen called the Duke into the Gallery, reproving him ſharply, for going about the Marriage, without acquainting her, and commanding him, upon his Allegiance, to deſiſt. The Duke made her

her a free and hearty promiſe of obedience, and ſpared not to ſay (as if he little regarded the Qu. of Scots) that his Revenues in England were not much leſſe then hers in Scotland; and that when he was at his houſe in Norwich, he thought himſelf in a ſort not inferior to ſome kings: but notwithſtanding, finding the Queens anger by her countenance, and perceiving Leiceſter to be in a manner quite alienated, & moſt of the Nobility alſo, as ſcarcely ſaluting him when they met him, he grew extremely dejected, and prepared preſently to leave the Court, meaning to ſtay at Norfolk, till by his friends interceſſion, and his own ſubmiſſive Letters, the Queens heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while, the Court was ſuſpitouſly fearfull, leſt he ſhould raiſe Rebellion, and (they ſay) it was concluded, that if he did ſo, the Qu. of Scots ſhould preſently be made away. And now the Duke, who held ſecret commerce by Letters with the Biſhop of Roſs, *Throgmorton* and *Leiceſter* (for they were ſent to and fro in bottles) being examined touching the marriage of the Qu. of Scots, and certain ſecret conferences with the Biſhop of Roſſe, confeſſed moſt of the Objections, and was thereupon committed to the Tower, under the cuſtody of Sir *Henry Nevill*; within two dayes after the Biſhop of Roſſe likewiſe is examined, and together with the Florentine *Robert Ridolph*, is delivered to the cuſtody of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, the Earl of Pembroke is confined to his houſe, and examined privately; but his confeſſion was not committed to writing; It being his requeſt becauſe he could not write himſelf. At this time, the rumor of Inſurrection in the North, begun in Autumne before, grew very ſtrong, by reaſon of ſome frequent meetings of the Earls of Northumberland, Weſtmerland, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance ſent for to repaire preſently to the Queen, they make delayes (for they ſtayed waiting for ſupplies, both from the Scots, and from the Duke *D'Alva*) when the Earl of Northumberland, doubtfull what to do, was frighted of purpoſe by his ſervants, telling him, that men in Arms were neer at hand to apprehend him, Who thereupon in a tempeſtuous night, riſeth out of his bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at Topcliffe, and the night following to Branſpith to the Earl of Weſtmerlands houſe, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterpriſe: Here they brake forth into an open Rebellion, being preſſed forward, by one *Nicholas Morton* a Romiſh Prieſt, ſent by the Pope to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick, and therefore to have utterly loſt all Right of Soveraignty: By and by they ſend forth a writting, wherein they declare that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their fore-fathers might be reſtored, wicked Counſellors removed from the Queen, the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the loyall Nobility relieved, who were now in diſgrace; but towards the Queen, profeſſing themſelves moſt dutifull Subjects; withall they ſend Letters to the Papiſts all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their aſſiſtance; but they were ſo far from joyning with them, that many ſent both the Letters and the bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their aides and purpoſes againſt them; no leſſe then the beſt Proteſtants, even the Duke of *Norfolk* himſelf was not backward in it. Theſe Rebells go firſt to Durham, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common Prayer they could finde in Churches of the Engliſh tongue: when they had been twelve dayes in Rebellion, they numbered their Army, and could not reckon above 600 horſe, and 4000 foot, whereupon being certainly informed, that the E: of Suſſex with 7000, and the E: of Warwick with 12, were ſetting out againſt them, they betook themſelves to Rabie, the chief houſe of the E: of Weſtmerland, going from thence they beſieged Bernards caſtle, which for lack of proviſion, was yeelded to them. At which time, being proclaimed Traitors and hearing afreſh of the great forces that were coming againſt them, the two Earls with a ſmall company, get preſently into Scotland hard by,

where the Earl of *Northumberland* hid himself at *Harclow*, in a poor Cottage, amongst the *Grayhams* (famous Robbers) who afterwards betrayed him to the Earl *Murray*: *Westmerland* made a shift to get into the *Low-Countryes*, where he had a slender Pension from the King of *Spain*, and there lived even to old age. Of the rest, for terrour and examples sake, there were hanged at *Durham*, threescore and six of the chief; amongst whom, *Plomtree*, a noted Priest. At *York* were executed, *Simon Digby*, *John Fulthrop*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Robert Penyman*; and at *London* a few months after, *Christopher* and *Thomas*; and some other in other places. After this, the heads of the Rebels being convict of High Treason, were proscribed; namely, *Charles*, Earl of *Westmerland*; *Thomas*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Anne*, Countesse of *Northumberland*; *Edward Dacres* of *Morton*; *John Nevill* of *Leversege*; *John Swinborn*, *Thomas Markensield*, *Egremond Ratcliffe*, brother to the Earl of *Sussex*; *Christopher Nevill*, *Richard Norton*, *Christopher Marmaduke*, *Robert* and *Michael Tempest*, *George Stafford*, and forty others of good account. Out of the ashes of this Rebellion, a new fire was kindled at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, by *Leonard Dacres*, second son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gylliland*; He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth sooner then he expected, and he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kisse the Queens hand, tendered his service to go against them; and to that purpose, was sent home: but in his Journey (branding himself with a double disloyalty) he consulted with the Rebels, and encouraged them to go on; and by vertue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surprised the Castle of *Greystock*, and other houses of the *Dacres*, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountred by the Baron of *Hunsdon*, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backt, he behaved himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into *Scotland*, from whence soon after, he passed over into the *Low-Countryes*, and in great misery and poverty died at *Louvayn*.

But though the Queen were thus entangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not careless of the afflicted Protestants in *France*; for she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause, supplyed them with money, taking in pawn the Queen of *Navar's* Jewells; and gave leave to *Henry Champernoon* to lead into *France* a Troop of a hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries; amongst whom were *Philip Butshed*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Raleigh*, a very young man, who now began to look into the world. But as the Queen of *England* assisted the French, so in revenge thereof, the King of *France* meant to assist the Scots, but that he was taken away by death; being slain by a shot, at the Siege of S. *John D'Angelo*.

There was at this time a Rebellion in *Ireland* also, raised by *Edmund* and *Peter*, brothers to *Boteler* Earl of *Ormond*; but after many out-rages by them committed: the Earl of *Ormond* first by perswasions, obtained of them to submit themselves; and when notwithstanding they were committed to prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Barre, being exceedingly grieved that any of his Blood should be attaynted of Rebellion. The rest of the Rebells were pursued by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, and soon dispersed.

And now the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, when he had wrought all things to his hearts desire, and thought himself secure, at *Lithqu*, riding along the streets, was shot into the belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navill, and there fell down dead. The actor was a *Hamilton*, who did it upon a private revenge, for that *Murray* had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his wife, who thereupon falling Lunatick, he in a great rage committed this slaughter.

After *Murrayes* death, the Countrey being without a Regent, was cause of many disorders. *Tho. Carre*, and *Walter Scot*, two principall men amongst

the Scottish Borders, and devoted to the Queen of Scots, made Inrodes into *England*, wasting all places with fire and sword, till by Forces sent out of *England*, under the command of the Earle of *Sussex*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*, they were defeated. In whose pursuit, three hundred villages were fired, and above fifty Holds were over-turned. For which service the Earl made many Knights, as Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Thomas Manners*, Sir *George Carie*, Sir *Robert Constable* and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to assemble about the election of a new Regent, they asked counsell of Queen *Elizabeth* in the matter, but she making answer she would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudiciall to the Queen of Scots, whose cause was not yet tried; they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* Regent; which Queen *Elizabeth* did the better like, as conceiving he could not chuse out of naturall affection, but have a speciall care of the young King being his Grand-childe.

But while Queen *Elizabeth* favoured the Kings Party in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and the Earle of *Argyle*, (the Queen of Scots Lieutenants) imploy the Lord *Seton* to the Duke *D'Alva*, Requiring him for many great reasons, to vindicate the Queen of Scots liberty alleadging how acceptable a work it would be to all Christian Princes and to the whole Catholike Church: whereunto the Duke made answer, They should finde him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfie their Request. At which time also the *French* King dealt earnestly with Queen *Elizabeth* to the same purpose, and the *Spanish* Embassadour in his masters name urged it no lesse extremely; but Queen *Elizabeth* assaulted with all these Importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of Scots and her subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her subjects safety; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honor requires at her hands. And now when these Princes prevailed not with Queen *Elizabeth* to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, out comes Pope *Pius Quintus* with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastened in the night time upon the gate of the Bishop of Londons Palace, wherein all her subjects are absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other dutie, and all that obey her, accursed with *Anathema*. He that fastned up the Bull was one *John Felton*, who never fled for the matter, but as affecting Martyrdome, suffered himself to be apprehended, confessed and justified the Fact, and thereupon arraigned, was condemned and hanged neer the place where he had fastened the writing.

The same day that *Felton* was Arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* seeming now extremely pentitent for his fault, and utterly to abhorre the marriage, was delivered out of the Tower, and suffered to goe to his owne house, but yet to be in the custodie of Sir *Henry Neuill* still. Indeed *Cecill* being a good friend of the Dukes, had told the Queen, That the Law of 25 of *Edward* the third could not take hold upon him: And now being in a kinde of liberty, *Cecill* deales earnestly with him to marry speedily some other; thereby to take away all suspition in that behalf: yet some again thought that this liberty of the Dukes was granted him of purpose to bring him into greater danger.

At this time died *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembrook* the grand-child of an Earl of *Pembrook*, yet the son but of an Esquire, and grand-father to *Philip* Earl of *Pembrook* and *Mountgomery* now living, who lieth buried in *Pauls*, under a faire Monument of Marble, with an Inscription testifying his great deservings while he lived.

Many conspiracies were at this time to set the Queen of Scots at liberty; amongst others, there conspired *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley* younger sonnes

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of the Earl of *Derby*, with others; but the matter discovered, they were soon suppressed, and some of them executed. And now the Lords of the Queen of Scots Party continuing to protect the English Rebells, the Earl of *Sussex* once again, accompanied with the Lord *Scroop*, entereth *Scotland*, burneth the Villages all along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compasseth the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing signed with their own Hands and Seals, to forsake the English Rebells. Whereupon the Earl of *Sussex* returned home, he made these Knights; *Edward Hastings*, *Francis Russell*, *Valentine Browne*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henry Carwen*, and *Simon Musgrave*.

Queen *Elizabeths* minde being now in great suspension, by reason of that Bull from *Rome*, and the late conspiracy in *Norfolk*, sent Sir *William Cecill*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of Scots, who was then at *Chatteſworth* in *Derby-shire*, to consult with her by what means the breach in *Scotland* might best be made up, She re-invested in her former Dignity, and her son and Queen *Elizabeth* might be secured. The Queen of Scots did little deplore her own afflicted condition, putting her self wholly upon the Queens clemency; when the Commissioners made unto her certain Propositions of Agreement: First, That the Treaty of *Edinborough* should be confirmed: then, That she should renounce her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeths* life, or any children of her body lawfully begotten: then, That she should send her sonne for a Hostage into *England*, with other six Hostages, such as the Queen should nominate: then, That the Castles of *Humes* and *Fast-castle* should be held by the English for three yeers; with some other. To which Propositions the Queen of Scots for the present gave a provident answer; but referred the fuller Answer to the Bishop of *Rosse* her Ambassadour in ENGLAND, and some other Delegates; who afterwards allowing some of the Propositions, and not allowing others, the Treaty came to nothing, but the matter rested in the state it was before.

At this time *Philip* King of *Spain* had contracted Marriage with *Anne* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, his own Neece by his Sister, who was now setting Sayl from *Zealand* towards *Spain*; when Queen *Elizabeth*, to testifie her love and respect to the House of *Austria*, sent Sir *Charls Howard* with the Navy Royall, to conduct her thorow the British Sea.

And now was the twelfth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign finished, which certain Wizards had made Papists believe should be her last: but contrary, as if it were but her first, a new Custome began, of celebrating the seventeenth day of *November* (the Anniversary day of her Raign) with ringing of Bells, Tiltings, and Bon-fires: which Custome, as it now began, so it was never given over as long as she lived, and is not yet forborn so long after her death.

At this time in *Ireland*, *Connagher ô Brien* Earl of *Towmond*, not brooking the severe Government of *Edward Fitton*, President of *Connaght*, entred into Consultation with some few to raise a new Rebellion; which, being at the point ready to break forth, was strangely discovered: for the day before they meant to take up Arms, *Fitton* knowing not at all of the matter, sent the Earl word in friendly manner, That the next day he and a few friends with him, would be his Guests. The Earl convinced by his own conscience, imagined that his Intendments were revealed, that *Fitton* would come as an enemy, rather then a Guest. Out of which feare, he presently set Sayle into FRANCE; where repenting himself seriously of his fault, he confessed the whole busi-

neſſe to *Norris*, the Queenes Embaſſadour in France; and by his intercession, was afterward pardoned and reſtored.

In *January*, the thirteenth yeer of her Raigne, Queen *Elizabeth* in royall pompe, entring the City of *London*, went to ſee the Burſe which Sir *Thomas Greſham* had lately built, for the uſe of the Marchants; and with ſound of trumpets, and the voice of a Herald, ſolemnly named it the Royall Exchange. A few dayes after, for his many great ſervices, ſhe made Sir *William Cecill* Baron *Burgley*.

There were now about the Scottiſh affaires, in the name of the King of of Scots, the Earle *Morton*; *Peruare* Abbot of *Dumformelin*; and *James Mac-Gray*; whom when Queen *Elizabeth* required to ſhew more clearely, for what cauſes they had depoſed the Queen; they exhibited a long and tedious Commentary; wherein with a certain inſolent liberty, they endeavoured to prove, by the ancient Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that the people of *Scotland* were above the King: and urged *Calvins* Authority alſo, That Popular Magiſtrates are conſtituted for the moderation of the Licentiouſnes of Princes: and that it is lawfull for them, both to impriſon Kings; and upon juſt cauſes, to depoſe them. This writing the Queen could not reade without indignation; but to the Delegates ſhe gave this Anſwer; She ſaw no juſt cauſe yet, why they ſhould handle the Queen in ſuch manner; and therefore willed them to think upon ſome courſe out of hand, how to allay the diſſentions in *Scotland*. Hereupon in Sir *Nich. Bacons* houſe, Keeper of the Great Seal, a Propoſition was made to the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and Baron *Levingſton*, delegates for the Queen of Scots, that for the ſecurity of the Kingdom, and the Qu. of *England*, it were requiſite, that before the Queen of Scots ſhould be let at libertie: The Duke of *Caſtle-Herald* the Earle of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lord *Humes*, *Herie*, and another of the Barons ſhould be delivered for Hoſtages, and the caſtle of *Dumbriton* and *Hames* yeelded up into the hands of the Engliſh, for three yeers. But they made Anſwer, that to yeeld up great perſonages, and ſuch fortifications as were demanded, were nothing elſe; but to leave the miſerable Queen utterly deſtitute of faithfull friends, and naked of all places, fit for guard and defence: yet they offered, to give two Earls and two Barons for Hoſtages, till two yeers were expired: which not being accepted, they ſtraightway gathered, and ſpoke it openly; That now they plainly perceived the Engliſh meant to keepe the Queen of Scots perpetually priſoner, and likewiſe to break off the Treaty; ſeeing they rigorouſly demanded ſuch ſecuritie as *Scotland* was not able to make good. And now Queen *Elizabeth* ſeeing that nothing could be done, for her owne, the King and Queen of Scots ſafety, unleſſe Both Factions in *Scotland* conſented; ſhe held it fit that the Lords of *Scotland* ſhould themſelves appoint ſome choſen perſons to compound the matter.

While matters in England, proceeded in this ſort; the Queenes partie in *Scotland* was hardly uſed: *Dumbrtion Fryth*; the ſtrongeſt caſtle in *Scotland* was taken: and *J. Hamilton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, the Duke of *Caſtle-Heralds* brother, as an acceſſary to the murder of *Darlye*, was hanged without being arraigned according to Law. In *England*, the Queen of Scots had all her ſervants taken from her, except Tenne only, and a Prieſt to ſay maſſe: with which indignities the Queen of Scots provoked, cauſeth a large Commentary of her Counſels, with certain love-letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be carried to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Ridolphus*; which being brought firſt to the Duke, *Higford* (one that waited on the Duke in his bed chamber) had copyed out: but being commanded to burne them, he hid them under a Matt in the Dukes Bed-chamber; and that (it ſhould ſeeme) purpoſely. *Ridolphus* to draw on the Duke to be Head of the diſcontented Partie in *England*, aggravated to him the wrongs he had ſuffered:

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how againſt all law he had been kept a long time in priſon: and now, to his great diſgrace, was not Summoned to the Parliament: he exhibited to him a Catalogue of ſuch of the Nobilitie, who had vowed to Aſſiſt him: he ſhewed how the Pope, (ſo the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would himſelf undergo all the charge of the Warre, and had already layd down an hundred thouſand Crownes; whereof himſelf had diſtributed twelve thouſand amongſt the Engliſh that were fled: he promiſed, that the King of *Spain* would ſend four thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot to his Aſſiſtance; to theſe reaſons the Biſhop of *Roſſe* added, That it was an eaſie matter for him to ſurprize the Queen; whom, when he had in his hands, he might then ſet the Queen of Scots at liberty, and might eaſily obtain of Queen *Elizabeth*, a toleration of Religion. The former Reaſons tooke ſomewhat with the Duke, but this point of ſurprizing the Queen, he abhorred, as an impious fact and therefore rejected as pernitious and Dangerous.

In *France* a little before this, was the mariage ſolemnized between *Charles* the ninth King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria* daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*; in gratulation whereof, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent into *France*, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurſt*, who with great magnificence was received, and perhaps the more, in regard of a motion now intended to be made: for the Lord *Buckhurſt*, having in his retinue, one *Guydo Cavalcantius* a noble man of *Florence*, the Queen Mother of *France*, as being a *Florentine* her ſelf, had often conference with him, when ſhe would many times ſay, what a happines it would be to both the Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of *England* and her ſonne *Henry* Duke of *Angiou*; and at laſt deſired him to commend the motion to the Queen of *England*, both from her, and from her ſon the King of *France*, as a thing they both exceedingly deſired. The Lord *Buckhurſt* returned, having for a preſent from the King of *France* a chayn weighing a thouſand *French* crowns; and *Cavalcantius* at his return made the motion to the Queen, who ſeemed not unwilling to hearken to it; for by this Match, there ſhould be added to the Kingdome of *England*, the wealthy Dukedoms of *Angiou*, *Bourbon*, *Auverne*, and in poſſibility, the Kingdome of *France* it ſelf. Hereupon a Treaty was held, in which the *French* propounded three Articles, one concerning the Coronation of the Duke; another, concerning the Joynt Adminiſtration of the Kingdom; a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion: to which it was anſwered, that the two firſt Articles might in ſome ſort be compoſed; but the third, ſcarce poſſibly: for though a contrary Religion might be tolerated, between Subjects of the ſame Kingdome; yet between a wife and her husband, it ſeemed very Incongruous and inconvenient; yet the matter at laſt came to this concluſion, That if the Duke would afford his preſence with the Queen at divine Service, and not refuſe to hear and learn the doctrine of the Church of *England*; he ſhould not be compelled to uſe the Engliſh Rites, but at his pleaſure uſe the Romane; not being expreſly againſt the word of God. But upon theſe *Punctilios* they could not accord: and ſo the Treaty, after it had continued almoſt a yeer, brake utterly off. It was indeed generally thought, that the Match was never really intended of either ſide, but that they both pretended it, for onely their owne ends: for the Earle of *Leiceſter* (who knew more of the Queenes minde then any man) wrote at this time to Sir *Francis Walſingham*, the Queens Embaſſador in *France*, That he found the Queens inclination ſo cold in the matter, that though the Point of Religion were fully accorded, yet ſhe would finde one point or other to breake it off.

At this time the continuance of the Duke of *Norfolkes* affection towards the Queen of Scots, came to be diſcovered by a packet of Letters, ſent by *Ridolphus* to the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and by *Bayliffs* confeſſion (who brought the letters) being ſet upon the Rack; ſo as the Biſhop of *Roſſe* was confined to the Iſle of *Ely*: *Thomas Stanlie*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, and *Rolſton* were caſt into the Tower:

Tower: and *Henry Howard*, who had an aſpiring minde to be Arch-biſhop, was committed to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*'s keeping. At the ſame time the Queen of Scots ſent money to her confederates in *Scotland*; which being by *Higford* delivered to one *Browne* to carry, and told it was Silver, when he found by the weight that it was Gold, he began to ſuſpect ſomething; and thereupon went and delivered both the money and Letters to the Lords of the Councell. Upon this, *Higford* being examined, confeſſed the whole matter; and withall gave notice of that Commentary alſo of the Queen of Scots which is mentioned before. Two dayes after, the Duke himſelf being examined, and knowing nothing what his ſervants had confeſſed, denyed every particular; and thereupon, was brought again to the Tower, by *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Smith*, *Henry Nevill*, and Doctor *Wilſon*: And after him *Bannester*, who was the Dukes Counſell at Law: The Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*; the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *Cobham*; *Henry Percy*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, *Goodyer*, and others, are committed to priſon; who upon hope of pardon, confeſſed all they knew concerning the matter. When theſe things, and eſpecially the Commentary, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were ſhewed him, he then cryed out, I am betrayed by my own ſervants; not having learned to be diſtruſtfull, which is the very ſinew of Wiſedom. And then with all ſubmiſſion, he beſought the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he proteſted he never had the leaſt thought of doing any hurt.

And now ſeeing it appeared that the Biſhop of *Roſſe* had been the whole contriver of the buſineſſe, it was deliberated what to do with him, becauſe he was an Ambaſſadour. Hereupon divers Civilians are called; as *David Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubny*, and *Henry Jones*; of whom theſe queſtions were asked:

First, *Whether an Ambaſſadour who raiſeth Rebellion againſt that Prince to whom he is an Ambaſſadour, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, and is not lyable to puniſhment?*

They anſwered, *That ſuch an Ambaſſadour hath forfeited the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, and is liable to puniſhment.*

Secondly, *Whether the Miniſter or Procter of a Prince, who is depoſed by publike Authority, and in whoſe room another is Inaugurated, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour?*

They anſwered, *That if ſuch Prince be lawfully depoſed, his Procter cannot challenge the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, foraſmuch as none but abſolute Princes, and ſuch as have Right of Majeſty, can appoint Ambaſſadours.*

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince who is come into another Princes Countrey, and held in Cuſtody, may have his Proctor; and if he ſhall be held an Ambaſſadour.*

They anſwered, *If ſuch a Prince have not loſt his Soveraignty, he may have his Proctor; but whether that Proctor ſhall be reputed as an Ambaſſadour or no, this dependeth upon the Authority of his Delegation.*

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince give warning to ſuch a Proctor, and to his Prince who is under cuſtody, that this Proctor ſhall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambaſſadour; Whether that Proctor may by Law challenge the Priviledge of an Ambaſſadour?*

They anſwered, *A Prince may forbid an Ambaſſadour to enter into his Kingdome, and may command him to depart the Kingdome, if he contain not himſelf within his due limits; yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour.*

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Upon these Answers, the Bishop of *Rosse* is warned by the Lords of the Councell, that he shall no longer be esteemed an Ambassadour, but be punished as his fault shall deserve. The Bishop alledged for himself, That he had not violated the Right of an Ambassadour *Vis Juris*, but *Vis Facti*, (to use his own words) and therefore adviseth them, not to use harder measure to him, then was used to the English Ambassadours, *Throgmorton* in *France*, *Randoll* and *Tamworth* in *Scotland*; who had raised Rebellions there, and were open Abettors of the same; and yet had no greater punishment, then to be gone at a time limitted. When they began to urge him what the English had testified against him, he lovingly requested them to give no credit to it, forasmuch as by a received Custome, which hath the force of a Law, The Testimony of an English man against a Scot, or of a Scot against an English man, is not to be admitted: but after some other altercations, the Bishop is led away to the Tower, and kept close prisoner.

At this very season, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, Regent of *Scotland*, the Kings Grand-father, was by the adverse party set upon at unawares; who having yeelded himself to *David Spense* of *Wormester*, (that was then very carefull to defend him) together with him, was slain by *Bell* and *Calder*; when with great industry he had governed the Kingdom for his Grand-childe about fourteen months. In whose room, *John Arethin*, Earl of *Marre*, by common consent of the Kings Faction, was chosen Regent of *Scotland*, who being a man of a quiet disposition, through extreme grief of the many troubles he sustained in the place, departed this life when he had governed thirteen months.

And now a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein, besides a Law for preventing of the treacherous endeavours of seditious subjects, another Law was made, That if any one, during the Queens life, by Books written or printed, shall expressely affirm, That any is, or ought to be the Heir or Successor of the Queen (besides the naturall Off-spring of her Body) or shall to that purpose publish, print, or disperse any Book or Schedules, he, and his favourers, shall for the first offence suffer 2 years imprisonment, and the losse of one half of his goods: and if they offend again, they shall be in a *Præmunire*. A Law also was made, by which to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*, was made Treason: and it was pronounced against the Queen of Scots, That if she offended again against the Laws of *England*, it might be lawfull to question her, as the wife of a Peer of the Kingdom of *England*. But here the Queen interposed her Authority, and would not suffer it to be enacted. About this time, in *May*, a solemn Tilting was performed at *Westminster*, where the Challengers were *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henry Lee*, and *Christopher Hatton* Esquire; who all did valiantly, but the Earl of *Oxford* best.

Assoon as the Parliament was dissolved, a Consultation was held, Whether *John Story*, Doctor of the Laws, the Duke *D'Alva*'s Searcher (who somtime before, was by a wile brought into *England*) being an Englishman born, and having in *Brabant* consulted with a forraign Prince, about the invading of *England*, were to be held guilty of high Treason? It was resolved affirmatively: whereupon he is called to the Bar, and indicted of Treason, That he had consulted with one *Prosbal* a Conjurer, to make away the Queen; That he cursed her dayly, when he said Grace at Table; That he shewed a way to the Secretary of Duke *D'Alva* how to invade *England*, &c. where he affirming, That the Judges had no power to meddle with him, for that he belonged not to the Queen of *England*, but was the King of *Spain*'s sworn subject, is nevertheless condemned by the Form of *Nihil dicit* (forasmuch as no man can renounce the Country wherin he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleasure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytors.

Ireland

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet; for Sir *John Perot*, President of *Munster* had brought *James Fitz Morris* to submit himself, and crave pardon. *Sidney* the Lord Deputy returned into *England*, and Sir *William Fitz Williams*, who had marryed his sister, succeeded in his room.

It was now the fifteenth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign; when *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, on the sixteenth day of *January*, was brought to his Tryall at *Westminster*-Hall; where sate as Commissioners, *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury* (made High Steward of *England* for that day) *Reynold Grey*, Earl of *Kent*; *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Sussex*; *Henry Hastings*, Earl of *Huntington*; *Francis Russell*, Earl of *Bedford*; *Henry Herbert*, Earl of *Pembrook*; *Edward Seymor*, Earl of *Hertford*; *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*; *Walter Devereux*, Viscount of *Hereford*; *Edward*, Lord *Clinton*, Admirall; *William*, Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Chamberlain; *William Cecill*, Lord *Burley*, Secretary; *Arthur*, Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*; *James Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy*; *William*, Lord *Sands*; *Thomas*, Lord *Wentworth*; *William*, Lord *Borough*; *Lewis*, Lord *Mordant*; *John Paulet*, Lord *St. John* of *Basing*; *Robert*, Lord *Rich*; *Roger* Lord *North*; *Edmund Bruges*, Lord *Chandois*; *Oliver*, Lord *St. John* of *Bletsho*; *Thomas Sackvile*, Lord *Buckhurst*; and *William West*, Lord *de la Ware*. After silence bidden, Sir *Owen Hopton*, Lievtenant of the Tower, is commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar; and then the Clerk of the Crown said, *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, late of *Keningale*, in the County of *Norfolk*, Hold up thy hand; which done, the Clerk with a loud voyce readeth the crimes laid to his charge: That in the eleventh yeer of the Queens Raign, he had trayterously consulted to make her away, and to bring in forraign Forces for invading the Kingdom: Also, That he dealt with the Queen of Scots concerning Marriage, contrary to his promise made to the Queen under his hand writing: Also, That he relieved with money the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, that had stirred up Rebellion against the Queen: Also, That in the thirteenth yeer of the Queens Raign, he implored Auxiliary Forces of Pope *Pius* the fifth, the Queens professed enemy, of the King of *Spain*, and the Duke *D'Alva*, for the freeing of the Queen of Scots; and restoring of the Popish Religion: And lastly, That he sent supply to the Lord *Heris*, and other the Queens enemies in *Scotland*. These Indictments being read, the Clerk demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of these crimes, or not? Here the Duke requested he might be allowed to have Counsell. But *Catiline*, chief Justice, made answer, That it was not lawfull. Yet (saith the Duke) I have heard that *Humphrey Stafford*, in the Raign of K. *Henry* the seventh, in a Cause of Treason, had one assigned to plead for him. To which *Dyer* chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, made answer, That *Stafford* had Counsell assigned him concerning the Right of Sanctuary, from whence he was taken by force; but in the Inditement of Treason he pleaded his own cause. After this, the Duke yeelding to be tryed by the Peers; first *Barham*, Serjeant at Law; then *Gerard* the Queens Atturney; and lastly, *Bromley*, the Queens Solicitor, enforced the crimes objected against him: to all which the Duke made colourable answers; but most of them being proved by sufficient testimony, he asked upon occasion, Whether the subjects of another Prince, who is confederate, and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted the Queens enemies? to which *Catiline* answered, They were; and that the Q. of *England* might wage War with any Duke of *France*, & yet hold firm Peace with the French King. When it grew towards night, the L. high Steward demanded of the Duke if he had any more to say for himself? who answered, I rely upon the equity of the Laws. After this, the Lords withdrawing a while, and then returning, the Lord Steward beginning at the lowermost, asked them, My Lord *de la Ware*, Is *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* guilty of these crimes of High Treason, for which he is called in question? He rising up, and laying his hand upon his

breſt,

breaſt, anſwered guilty, in like manner they anſwered all. After this, the Lord *Steward* with teares in his eyes, pronounced ſentence in forme as is uſed. A few dayes after were *Barnes* and *Mather* executed, who conſpired with one *Herle*, to make away certaine of the Councellors, and to free the Duke; but *Herle* revealed the buſineſſe preſently, to whom *Barnes* (when hee ſaw his Accuſer brought forth) ſmilingly ſaid, *Herle* thou wert but one houre before mee; elſe I had beene in thy place for the accuſer, and thou in my roome to be hanged: at the ſame time with them was hanged alſo *Henry Rolfe*, for counterfeiting the Queens hand. But though the Duke were now condemned, yet the Queen was ſo tender of his caſe, that it was foure Moneths after before he was executed, at laſt on the ſecond of June at eight of the clock in the morning, he was brought to the Scaffold upon the Tower-Hill, and there beheaded.

At this time and upon this occaſion, a Parliament was Aſſembled, wherein amongſt other Lawes, it were Enacted, that if any man ſhall go about to free any perſon impriſoned by the Queens expreſſe Commandement, for Treaſon or ſuſpition of Treaſon, and not yet Arraigned, he ſhall loſe all his goods for his life time, and be impriſoned during the Queens pleaſure, if the ſaid perſon have beene Arraigned, the Reſcuer ſhall forfeit his life; if condemned, he ſhall be guilty of Rebellion.

In the time of this Parliament, the Queen created *Walter Devereux* Earl of Eſſex, being before but Viſcount *Hereford*; becauſe he was deſcended by his Great-grand-mothers from the *Bourchiers*, and made the Lord *Clinton* (who had large Revenues in Lincolnſhire) Earl of Lincoln; Alſo ſhe called forth *John Paulet* of Baſing, the Marqueſſe of Wincheſter's ſon, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheyney*, and *Henry Morris* for Barons by Summons.

Within ten dayes after the Dukes death, *William* Lord *De-la-ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Wilſon* Doctor of the Laws, and *Thomas Brumley* the Queens Solicitour, were ſent to the Queen of Scots, to expoſtulate with her; That ſhee had uſurped the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of England, and had not renounced the ſame, according to the agreement of the Treaty at Edinburgh, That ſhee had endeavoured the marriage of the Duke of Norfolke, without acquainting the Queene, and had uſed all forcible meanes to free him out of priſon; had raiſed the Rebellion in the North, had relieved the Rebels both in Scotland and in the Low-Countries; had implored Aids from the Pope, the King of Spaine and others; had conſpired with certaine of the Engliſh, to free her out of Priſon, and Declare her Queen of England; Laſtly, that ſhe had procured the Popes Bull againſt the Queen, and ſuffered herſelf to be publikely named the Queen of England in Forreigne Countries: All which accuſations ſhe either abſolutely denyed, or elſe fairly extenuated, and though (as ſhe ſaid) ſhe were a free Queen, and not ſubject to any creature; yet ſhe was content, and requeſted, that ſhe might make her perſonall anſwer at the next Parliament.

About this time, the King of Spain by his Embaſſadour here, complained to the Queen, that the Rebels of the Netherlands were harboured and entertained in England, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen ſet forth a ſevere Proclamation, That all the Dutch, who could any wayes be ſuſpected of Rebellion, ſhould preſently depart the Realm; which yet turned little to *D'Alva's*, or the King of Spains benefit: For hereupon, *Count Vander-Mark*, and other Dutch going out of England ſurprized the Brill firſt, then Fluſhing, and afterwards drew other Towns to Revolt, and in a ſhort time excluded

the Duke *D'Alva* in a manner from the Sea. And this errour, to ſuffer the Proteſtant party to get poſſeſſion of the Sea-towns, hath been the cauſe they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, againſt the King of Spain. And now many military men having little to do at home, got them into the Netherlands, ſome to Duke *D'Alva*, but the far greater number to the Prince of Orenge: The firſt of whom, was *Thomas Morgan*, who carryed three hundred Engliſh to Fluſhing; then followed by his procurement nine Companies more under the conduct of *Humphry Gilbert*; and afterward it became the Nurſery of all our Engliſh Souldiers.

At this time, *Charls* the French King ſetting his mind wholly (at leaſt ſeeming ſo) upon the Low-Country War; concluded a peace and entred into a league with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not only during their two lives, but between their ſucceſſors alſo, if the ſucceſſor ſignifie to the ſurviver within a yeer that he accepteth it, otherwiſe to be at liberty. It was likewiſe agreed, what aid by Sea or Land, they ſhould each of them afford to other upon occaſion; and for ratification of this League, *Edward Clinton* Earl of Lincoln and Admirall of England was ſent into France, with whom went the Lord *Dacres*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The French King likewiſe ſent the Duke of Memorancy, and *Paul Foix* into England with a great train; that the Queen in the preſence of them, and the Embaſſador in Ordinary might ſweare to the league, which ſhe did at Weſtminſter, the ſeaventeenth of May, in the yeer 1572. The day after ſhe made *Memorancye* Knight of the Garter.

Memorancye whilſt he tarryed in England, made interceſſion in his Kings name, that what favour could be without danger, might be ſhewed to the Queen of Scots; and then made much a do again about the marriage with the Duke of Angiou; but being hopeleſſe to make concluſion thereof, by reaſon of the diverſity of Religion he returned into France; for now was great proviſion making ready for the mariage, between *Henry* King of Navarre, and the Lady *Margeret* the French Kings Siſter; to which ſolemnity with notable diſſimulation, the Queen of Navarre and the chief of all the Proteſtants were allured, being born in hand that there ſhould be a renovation of love, and a perpetuall peace eſtabliſhed: The Earl of Leiceſter likewiſe and the Lord *Burleigh* were invited out of England, and out of Germany, the ſons of the Prince Elector Palatine under colour of honour: but indeed, that they might be intrapped, and they, and together with them the Proteſtant Religion at one blow, if not clean cutt off, yet receive a deadly wound: For the marriage being celebrated, there preſently followed that cruell Maſſacre at Paris, and the terrible ſlaughter of the Proteſtants throughout all the Cities of France; but to ſet a ſhew of equity upon the fact, Edicts and Proclamations were preſently ſet forth, that the Proteſtants had plotted a wicked conſpiracy againſt the King, the Queen Mother, the Brethren, the King of Navarre, and the Princes of the blood Royall; and to keep the thing in memory, Coyne was preſently ſtamped, upon the one ſide whereof was the Kings picture with this Inſcription, *Virtus in Rebelles*, on the other ſide; *Pietas excitavit juſtitiam*; But the King of France, notwithſtanding all the ſhew hee made of Piety, eſcaped not the Divine revenge, for before the yeer came about, hee fell ſick of a bloody Flixe, and afterwards with long and grievous torments ended his life.

A little before this, *Mota Fenell* Embaſſador to the King of France, being in England, by vertue of an order from the Queen Mother of France, propoundeth to Queen *Elizabeth* at Kenelworth (two dayes before the Maſſacre in that Kingdome) the marriage of her youngeſt ſonne *Francis* Duke of Alenſon (for the Queen Mother had been told by ſome cunning men, that all her ſons ſhould be Kings, and ſhe knew no

no way for it but this) But Queen *Elizabeth*, by reaſon of the diſparity of age, modeſtly excuſed her ſelf, (For he was ſcarce ſeventeen yeers old, and ſhe was now paſt eight and thirty) yet ſhe promiſed to conſider of it, and *Alenſon* did not leave to proſecute the ſuit.

At this time, *Thomas Percy* Earl of Northumberland, who firſt Rebelled, and afterwards fled into Scotland, was for a ſum of money delivered by the Earl of Morton, to the Lord *Hunſdon* Governour of Barwick; and a while after was beheaded at York. And now as theſe two great Perſonages, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Northumberland were taken away by a violent death; ſo three other great Perſonages were at this time taken away by a naturall death: Firſt *William Paulet*, who from a private man came by degrees to be Marqueſſe of Wincheſter: lived to the age of within three yeers of a hundred, and could reckon a hundred and three of his children, and his childrens iſſue, after he had held the place of Lord Treaſurer of England above twenty yeers; in whoſe roome ſucceeded Sir *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh*, then dyed *Edmund* Earle of Darby, famous as well for his hoſpitality and good houſe-keeping, as for his skill in Surgery and Bone-ſetting; then dyed Sir *William Peter*, who being deſcended from an honeſt ſtock at Exceter in Devonſhire, was Privy Counſellor and Secretary to King *Henry* the Eight, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*; who planted himſelf in Eſſex, where he purchaſed great poſſeſſions; whoſe ſon *John* was by King *James* made Baron of Writle in that Country.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* having formerly borrowed money of her Subjects, ſhe thankfully repayd it, which wonne her no leſſe love, then if ſhe had given it, and more love ſhe gained alſo at this time by two Proclamations; by one of which, ſhe commanded Noble men to obſerve the Law of keeping Retainers; by the other, ſhe reſtrained Informers, who, under colour of ſpying out Crown Land concealed by private perſons, ſacralegiouſly ſeized upon the Lands of Pariſh-Churches, and Alms-Houſes piouſly endowed by the Queens Anceſtors. And more Love and Honour alſo ſhe gained at this time by two acts of Juſtice; the one, that ſhe ſatisfied the Engliſh Merchants out of the goods which were detained belonging to the Dutch, and reſtored the reſt to the Duke *D'Alva*, and made a full tranſaction with the Merchants of Geneva for the money intercepted; the other, that ſhe freed England at this time of the debts which her Father and her Brother had run into in forraign parts, and were increaſed by yeerly intereſt, and cauſed the obligations of the City of London, which had ſo often been renued to be given in, to the great rejoycing of the Citizens.

The Spaniſh affairs growing now very turbulent in the Netherlands, Fluſhing loſt, the towns of Holland revolted, and the Spaniſh Navy vanquiſhed by the Zelanders, Duke *D'Alva* againſt his will, began to ſhew more kindneſſe towards the Engliſh, ſo as in the month of *January*, the trade which in *Anno* 1568. had been forbidden, was now allowed again between the Dutch and the Engliſh for two yeers; but thoſe two yeers expired, the Engliſh removed their trading to the confederates States.

The laſt yeer in the month of November, a daughter was born to the French King, to whom he requeſted Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-mother, who thereupon ſent *William Somerſet* Earl of Worceſter into France with a Font of maſſy Gold to ſtand as her Deputy at the Chriſtning. Hereupon, and for that the Queen promiſed to obſerve the League ſtrictly, the French King and the Queen mother began to affect her more and more, and the Duke *D'Alenſon* wrote ſundry love-letters to her, the French King and His Mother interceding for the mariage with all earneſtneſſe.

It is true, the Queen conceived divers reaſons, why it was fit for her to marry; but the Courtiers for their own ends diſſwaded her as much from it: at laſt the Queen Mother of France was wonderfull importunate, that her ſonne *Alenſon* might have leave to come and ſee her: whereunto, being wearyed with continuall Letters and Meſſages, ſhe gave her conſent; but upon condition, that hee ſhould not take it for any diſgrace to him, if hee returned without obtaining his ſuit: But as ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* had notice, that his brother *Henry* was elected King of Poland, and that the King of France was very ſick, ſhee gave intimation to *Alenſon*, by *Edward Horſey* Governour of the Iſle of Wight, that hee ſhould not make too much haſte into England; but ſhould firſt procure a peace by ſome meanes or other in France, and declare by ſome notable Argument, his good will towards the Proteſtants, thereby to be the more welcome Gheſt into England. Hereupon a peace was concluded in France, and in certain places the Proteſtants were allowed to exerciſe their Religion: and then again the French King and the Queen Mother, uſed all their endeavour to have the marriage go forward (for they were very deſirous th t *Alenſon*, who was of a crooked and perverſe diſpoſition, and prone to raiſe tumults) might bee removed out of France; and withall, they requeſted of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of Angiou took his voyage into Poland by Sea; hee might have publike caution to ſail through the Britiſh Ocean. To this laſt requeſt, ſhe not only conſented with all alacrity, but alſo made offer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while, *Alenſon* fell ſick of the Meazles, which his mother ſignified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Rhets*, excuſing him thereupon for not coming into England as he had determined: The *Count* found the Queen at Canterbury, where ſhe gave him Royall intertainment: and *Matthew Parker* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Royall intertainment to them both.

All this while ſince the death of the Earl of Marre, there had been no Regent in Scotland, but now by the procurement of Queen *Elizabeth* chiefly; *James Dowglas* Earl of Morton, is made Regent; who, when his Authority in a Parliamentary Aſſembly was eſtabliſhed, Enacted many profitable Laws for the defence of Religion againſt Papiſts and Hereticks, in the name of the King: But the protection and keeping of the Kings Perſon, hee confirmed to *Alexander Areskin* Earl of Marre (to whom the cuſtody of the Kings in their tender yeers, by ſpeciall priviledge belongeth) though hee were himſelf in his Minority: Upon theſe conditions, That no Papiſts, nor factious perſons ſhould be admitted to his preſence: An Earl ſhould come with onely two ſervants attending him: A Baron, with onely one: All other, ſingle: and every one unarmed. The French King in the mean time, ſent his Embaſſadour *Mounſier Vyriar*, to corrupt the Earls of Atholl and Huntley with large promiſes, to oppoſe the Regent; Queen ELISABETH as much laboured to defend him: but though by the miniſtery of Killigrew, ſhee had drawn *James Hamilton* Duke of Caſtle-Herald, and *George Gourdon* Earl of Huntley, and the moſt eminent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions, to acknowledge the Regent, yet *William Kircald* Lord *Grange*, (whom *Murray* when hee was Regent, had made Governour of Edingborough Caſtle) The Lord *Humes*, *Lydington*, the Biſhop of Dunkeld and others, would by no meanes admit of the Regents Government, but held that Caſtle, and fortified it in the Queen of Scots name, having *Lydington* for their Counſellor herein, and truſting to the naturall ſtrength of the place, and to the Duke *D'Alva's* and the French Kings promiſes, to ſend them ſupplies both of men and money. Now when theſe perſons, could by no meanes

be

drawne to accept of conditions of peace, and to deliver up the Caſtle to the Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* (who could in no caſe endure the French in Scotland) ſuffered her ſelf at length to be intreated by the Regent, to ſend Forces, Gunnes and Ammunition, for aſſaulting of the Caſtle upon certain conditions, whereof one was, that ten Hoſtages ſhould be ſent into England, to be ſecurity for returning the men and Munition, unleſſe by the common hazard of War they ſhonld chance to miſcarry. The conditions being argued on; *William Drury* Marſhall of the Garriſon at Barwick, with ſome great Ordnance and Fifteen hundred Souldiers, (amongſt whom were ſome noble Voluntiers, *George Carie*, *Henry Carie*, *Thomas Cecill*, *Henry Lee*, *William Knolles*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, *VVilliam Killigrew*, and others, entred into Scotland, and beſieged the Caſtle, which after three and thirty dayes ſiege, was delivered up to the Regent for the Kings uſe, with all the perſons that were in it; amongſt whom *Kircald* Lord *Grange*, and *James* his brother *Muſman*, and *Cook* gold-ſmiths (who had counterfeited Coyne in the Caſtle) were hanged; although to redeem *Granges* life, a hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds*, offered themſelves to be in perpetuall ſervitude to the Regent, beſides an annuall Penſion of three thouſand Marks; and twenty thouſand pounds of Scottiſh money in preſent; and to put in caution, that from thence forth he ſhould continue in duty & homage to the King; but it would not bee accepted. *Humes* and the reſt were ſpared, through Queen *Elizabeths* mercifull interceſſion; *Lydington* was ſent to Leith, where hee dyed, and was ſuſpected to bee poyſoned: A man of the greateſt underſtanding in the Scottiſh Nation, and of an excellent wit, but very variable; for which, *George Buchanan* called him the Camelion.

And now from this time Scotland began to take breath, after long Civill Warres, and as well the Captaines of both parties, as the Souldiers, betook themſelves into Swedeland, France and the Low-Countries, where they valorouſly behaved themſelves, and wonne great commendation. As for *John Leſle* Biſhop of Roſſe he was now ſet at liberty, but commanded to depart preſently out of England, and being beyond the Sea, he continued ſtill to ſollicite his Miſtreſſe the Queen of Scots cauſe, with the Emperour, the Pope, the French King, and the German Princes of the Popiſh Religion; who all led him on with faire promiſes, but performed nothing: For indeed he in whom he had greateſt confidence, which was the Duke *D' Alva*, was at that time called away, partly out of Jealouſie of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion, that by his cruelty he made the people to revolt; and therefore in his place was ſent *Ludovicus Zuinga*, a man of great Nobility in Spain, but of a more Peaceable diſpoſition then *D' Alva*; & now this man did all good Offices to win Queen *Elizabeth* to him, and minding his owne Affairs only, would not intermeddle with the Scottiſh or Engliſh matters.

About this a frentick Opinion was held by one *Peter Bourchet* a Gentleman of the Middle-Temple, that it was lawfull to kill them that oppoſed the truth of the Goſpell; and ſo far was he poſſeſt with this opinion; that he aſſaulted the famous Seaman Captain *Hawkins*, and wounded him with a dagger, taking him for *Hutton*, who at that time was in great favour with the Queen, and of her privy Counſell, whom he had been informed to be a great Adverſary to Innovations. The Queen grew ſo angry hereat, that ſhe commanded Marſhiall Law ſhould be executed upon him preſently, till her Counſell adviſed her that Marſhiall Law was not to be uſed, but in the Field, and in turbulent times, but at home and in time of Peace, there muſt be Legall proceedings: Hereupon

upon *Bourchet* was ſent to the Tower, where taking a brand out of the fire, he ſtrook it into the brains of one of his keepers named *Hugh Longwroth* and killed him, for which fact, he was condemned of murther, had his right hand cutt off, and nayled to the Gallows, and then himſelfe hanged.

After the violent death of this Varlet, we may ſpeake of the naturall death of two great perſons; Firſt, *William* Lord *Howard* of Effingham, Son of that warlike *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolk, by his ſecond wife *Agnes Tilney*. This *William* was made a Baron by Queen *Mary*, and Lord High Admirall of England, and by Queen *Elizabeth* Lord Chamberlain, till ſuch time that being taken with age, he yeelded up that place to the Earl of Suſſex, and was then made Keeper of the Privy Seal, which is the fourth degree of honour in England. His Son *Charles* ſucceeded him in the Dignity of his Barony, who was after made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and then Lord High Admirall of England. A while after him, dyed *Reginold Grey* Earl of Kent, whom the Queen a yeer before of a private man had made Earl of Kent, when as that Title, from the death of *Richard Grey* Earl of Kent, who had waſted his Patrimony, and was elder brother to this mans Grand-father; had lyen aſleep for fifty yeers together.

At this time many particular Rebellions were in Ireland; The *O Conors*, and *O Moors* took Arms, and committed many outrages: In Munſter, *James Fitzmorris*, and *Fitz Edmund* did the like; but by the induſtry of Sir *John Perrot*, Preſident of Munſter, were ſuppreſſed. In Ulſter, *Bryan Mac Phelym* burnt Knockfergus, and many other joyned in Rebellion with him. Againſt theſe, *Walter Devereux*, (whom the Queen had lately created Earl of Eſſex) deſired leave to go; which Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Deputy of Ireland oppoſed, as fearing, that the glory of ſo great an Earl would eclipſe his light. But for this, the Queen findes a remedy, by appointing Eſſex, to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governour of Ulſter. But this remedy for *Fitz-Williams*, might have made a ſore in the minde of Eſſex, (to receive his Authority from his inferiour) but that the nobleneſſe of his minde, made him more to regard the vertue, then the glory. And ſo, in the end of Auguſt, hee landed at Knockfergus, having with him the Lords, *Darcy* and *Rich*, and Sir *Henry Knowles* and his four Brothers, *Michael* and *John Carves*, *Henry*, *William*, and *John Norreſes*: At his landing, *Bryan Mac Phelim* welcomed him, tendring unto him all manner of dutifulneſſe and ſervice; but preſently after, falls from him, and joyns with *Turlogh Leynigh*. After this revolt, the Earl of Eſſex, finding many difficulties in the buſineſſe, and himſelf not well provided of skilfull Souldiers, makes ſuit to the Queen for leave to come home, which the Earl of Leiceſter, (who liked his room better then his company) oppoſed; till after expence of a yeers time, and much treaſure, hee at laſt obtained leave, and returned home.

The next yeer, being 1574. and the ſeventeenth yeer of Queen *Eliſabeths* Raign, the Duke of Alenſon grew more importunate in his ſuit, then at any time before, ſo as hee obtained of the Queen, to come into England, any time before the twentieth of May; and this ſhe the rather did, becauſe ſhee perceived him now to bee really bent againſt the *Guyſes* her ſworn Enemies. But before this Anſwer was brought him, *Valentine Dale* Doctor of the Civil Law, the Queens Embaſſadour in France, gave intimation to the Queen, That *Alenſon* and *Navarre* were in reſtraint, and committed to Keepers; For the *Guyſes* had

ſuggeſted,

ſuggeſted, that *Alenſon* held intimate friendſhip with Admirall *Colin*, the chief Leader of the Proteſtants in France; and indeed, *Alenſon* being examined, freely confeſſed, that hee had now for a good while deſired the marriage of the Queen of England: and conceiving, that good correſpondence with *Colin* might be uſefull to him to that end, hee had thereupon had conference with him thereabout, and concerning the Low-Country Warre. In the mean time, *Thomas Wilks*, *Dales* Secretary, got cunningly to *Alenſon*, and in the Queens name, made promiſe both to him, and to *Navarre*, that ſhe would omit no opportunity of procuring their inlargement. For which, the ſubtle Queen-Mother ſo complained of him to Queen *Eliſabeth*, that hee was fain to go into France, and there to crave pardon for his fault. But *Navarre*, not unmindfull of this kindneſſe in *Wilks*, when about five and twenty yeers after, being King of France, hee ſaw him in Normandy, hee Knighted him. Hereupon the Queen ſent *Thomas Randoll* into France, to the Queen-Mother, that if it were poſſible, hee might gain Reconciliation for *Alenſon* her ſonne, and for the King of Navarre. But before hee was landed in France, *Charles* the then French King dyed, whoſe Funerall Rites were ſolemnly performed in Saint *Pauls* Church in London.

Aſſoon as *Henry* the third, King of France, was come from Poland, *Roger* Lord *North* was ſent into France, to congratulate his return, and his happy Inauguration into the Kingdom; who thereupon, together with the Queen-Mother, did forthwith ſend their joynt Letters into England, ſtrongly ſoliciting the buſineſſe of marriage, between *Alenſon* and the Queen. In the mean time notwithſtanding, they uſed all poſſible devices, (and left no means unſought) to get the yong King of Scotland to bee ſent into France, and to deprive *Morton* who was the Regent, of his Authority, whereof the Queen of Scots alſo was very deſirous; ſhee being perſwaded, that if her ſonne were once gotten ſafely into France, ſhee and the Catholicks in England ſhould bee more mildly uſed. At which time, an aſperſion was caſt upon the Queen of Scots, as if ſhe had made the match between *Charles* Unckle to the Queen of Scots (who had lately the Earldom of Lenox confirmed to him by Parliament) and *Elizabeth Cavendiſh* the Counteſſe of Shrewsburie's daughter by a former husband; upon which ground, both their mothers and ſome others alſo were kept in Priſon for a time; and being doubted whereunto this marriage ſhould tend: *Henry* Earle of Huntington, Preſident of the Councell in the North, is authorized with ſecret Inſtructions to examine it. It will be fit here to ſay ſomething of this place of Government in the North, which from ſmall beginnings, is now become ſo eminent as it is at this day, whereof this was the Originall. When as in the Raigne of *Henry* the Eight, after that the Rebellion in the Northerne parts, about the ſubverſion of Abbyes was quieted, the Duke of Norfolke tarryed in thoſe quarters, and many complaints of injuries done were tendered unto him, whereof ſome he compoſed himſelf, and others hee commended under his Seale to men of wiſdome to determine: Hereof when King *Henry* heard, he ſent down a peculiar Seal to be uſed in theſe caſes, and calling home the Duke, committed the ſame to *Tunſtall* Biſhop of Durham, and Conſtituted Aſſiſtants with Authority to heare and determine the complaints of the poor, and he was the firſt that was called Preſident; and from that time, the authority of his ſucceſſours grew in credit.

It was now the yeer One thouſand five hundred ſeventy five, and the Eighteenth yeer of Queen *Eliſabeths* Raign, vvhen *Henry* the third King

King of France being returned from Poland, and Crowned at Rheims, was carefull to have the League of Blois confirmed; which, in the Yeer 1572. had beene concluded betweene his Brother *Charles* and that moſt Illuſtrious Queen ELIZABETH; Now therefore hee confirmed it with His owne Subſcription, and delivered it to *Dale* the Queen's Legier, as the Queen likewiſe ratified it at Saint-James neere Weſtminſter: But a little after he demanded by Letters, whether the mutuall defence againſt all perſons mentioned in the League, was intended to comprehend the caſe of Religion alſo? Whereunto ſhe anſwering, that it did comprehend it; hee thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began preſently to prepare Warre againſt the Proteſtants, and *Alenſon* being drawne to the Adverſe party, there was no ſpeech of the marriage for a long time.

In the Netherlands at this time, *Lodovicke Zuinga* who was ſucceſſor unto Duke *D'Alva*, was wholly bent to recover the Command of the Seas, which *D'Alva* had neglected; but not being ſufficiently provided of a Navy, he ſent *Boiſchott* into England, that with the Queens leave, he might take up Ships and Marriners to goe againſt the Hollanders and Zelanders, but this ſhe would not grant: Then hee made ſuite, that the Queen would pleaſe not to take it in evill part, if the baniſhed perſons of the Engliſh in the Low-Countries ſerved the King of Spaine in a Sea-Fight againſt the Hollanders; and that they might have free acceſſe to the Ports of England, to buy proviſion for ready money; But this ſhee would not grant neither: Then he made requeſt, that the Dutch, who were Rebels againſt the King of Spaine, might be put out of England; but neither would ſhee grant this, as being an Action voide of Humanity; and againſt the Lawes of Hoſpitality; yet becauſe ſhee would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian* Law, ſhee Commanded by Proclamation, that the Shipps of the Dutch which were made ready, ſhould not go forth of the Haven; nor yet the Dutch, who had taken up Armes againſt the King of Spaine, enter into the Ports of England, and by name, the Prince of Orenge, and Fifty other the prime of that Faction; and this ſhee did the more willingly, becauſe *Zuinga* at the interceſſion of *Wilſon* the Engliſh Embaſſador, had removed the Earle of Weſtmerland, and other Engliſh Fugitives out of the Dominions of the King of Spaine, and had alſo diſſolved the Engliſh Seminary at Doway; though in ſtead thereof, the *Guiſes* through the procurement of Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, ſet up another Seminary at Rhemes.

And at this time the Prince of Orenge, perceiving his Forces but ſmall, and thinking himſelf too weake for the King of SPAINE, and little hope of ayde from England, he entered into Conſultation with the Confederate States, to whoſe protection, they were beſt and in the moſt ſecurity to betake themſelves: The Princes of Germany they knew were not all of one minde, parted from money very hardly, and did not every way, nor would not by no meanes poſſible accord and concurre with them in their Religion; and therefore they were not ſo fit. Then, the French they ſaw, were intangled in a Civill War, and ſo had enough of their owne to do; beſides the old grudges and heart-burnings that vvere between the French and Dutch; and therefore neither were they ſo fit. There remained then the Engliſh, as the fitteſt of any (if it might be obtained) ſeeing they were Neighbouss, of the ſame Religion, and of a Language not much different, ſtrong in ſhipping, and rich in Merchandize. Hereupon (conſidering the commodiouſneſſe of the Engliſh Nation) they ſend into England,

England, *Philip Marnizie* of *S. Aldegond*, *Janus Dowsa*, *William Nyvell*, and Doctor *Melsen*; who in an honourable Ambassage, offer the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be possessed or protected by the Queen; forasmuch as she was descended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philip* wife of *Edward* the third, daughter of *William* of *Bavaria*, Count of *Hanonia* and *Holland*; by whose other sister, the hereditary Right of those Provinces came to the King of *Spain*. To this offer, the Queen takes time to answer; and at last, having maturely advised of the matter, her Answer was this, That as yet she conceived not how with safety of her honour, and an upright conscience, she could receive those Provinces into her protection, much lesse assume them into her possession; but promised, She would deal earnestly with the King of *Spain*, that a well conditioned Peace might be concluded. Presently upon this, *Zuinga*, Governour of the Low-Countries died; after whose death, the States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, took upon them the ancient Administration, and Authority in the Commonwealth; which the King of *Spain* was fain to confirm to them, till such time as *John* of *Austria* were come, whom he determined to make Governour there. In the mean time, Queen *Elizabeth* in behalf of the King of *Spain*, sent *William Davyson* in Ambassage to those Provinces, to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet, which yet, by reason the Spanish Souldiers, were so outragious, little prevailed.

In *England* all was calm and quiet for all this yeer; onely a difference fell out between Sir *John Forster*, Governour of *Berwick*, and *John Cormichill*, Keeper of *Liddesdale* in *Scotland*: In composing whereof, the Regent of *Scotland*, having given Queen *Elizabeth* some discontentment, was fain to come unarmed before the Earl of *Huntington*, appointed the Legate for *England*, at *Bonderod*, and so the matter was taken up, and the Regent ever after continued constant in observing the Queen, and to his great commendation, restrayned the Freebooters of the Borders, to the great good of both Kingdomes.

This yeer there died in *Scotland*, *James Hamilton*, Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and Earl of *Arran*, who was great Grand-childe to *James* the second, King of Scots, by his daughter, appointed Tutor to *Mary*, Queen of Scots, and designed Heir and Governour of the Kingdom, during her minority.

At this time the Earl of *Essex* is come into *Ireland* again, where having done good services, and being in the midst of Victory, he was on a sudden commanded to resigne his Authority in *Ulster*; and as though he were an ordinary Commander, is set over three hundred Souldiers; which disgrace was wrought by his adversaries in Court, to the continuall perplexing of his milde spirit. And now is Sir *Henry Sidney* the third time sent Deputy into *Ireland*; who going into *Ulster*, there came to him and submitted themselves *Mac Mahon*, *Mac Guyre*, *Turlogh Leynigh*, the *O Conors* and *O Moors*, the Earl of *Desmond*, and the rebellious sons of the Earl of *Clanricard*, all whom he received into favour, and with great commendation administred the Province.

At this time the Spaniard in the *Low-Countries* began to deal roughly with the people, and harved the Inhabitants with all manner of spoyl and injury; *Antwerp*, the most famous Town of Traffick in all *Europe*, was miserably pillaged, the English Merchants houses rifled, insomuch that the States were enforced to take up Arms, and Messengers were sent to all neighbouring Princes; and to Q. *Elizabeth* was sent *Monsieur Aubigny*, both to shew her upon how necessary and just causes they had taken up Arms, and also to borrow of her a great sum of money, the better to enable them to resist

the *Spaniard*. But she being certainly informed, That they first sued to the *French* King for help, denieth the requeſt, yet promiſeth to intercede earneſtly with the King of *Spaine* for peace. And in that imployment, ſhe addreſſed into *Spaine*, *John Smith*, coſen German to King *Edward* the ſixth, a man of *Spainſh* behaviour: and well knowne to the King of *Spaine*, who was liberally received by the King; and with ſuch wiſdome retorted the contumelious ſpeech, of *Gaſper Quiroga* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors, who would not admit in the Queenes Title, the Attribute of *Defendor of the Faith*; that he had gained great thankes from the King of *Spaine* himſelf, who requeſted him, not to ſpeake of it to the Queen; and gave ſevere command, That the Title ſhould be admitted.

And now by this time was *John* of *Auſtria* come into the Low-countries, with a large Commiſſion: for he was the Naturall ſonne of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth; to whom the Queen ſent *Edward Horſey*, Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, to Congratulate his coming thither, and to offer help, if the States called the *French* into the *Netherlands*; yet at the ſame time, *Sneving-him* being exceeding importunate on the States behalfe, ſhe ſent them twenty thouſand pounds of Engliſh mony, (ſo well ſhe could play her game of both hands) upon condition, they ſhould neither change their Prince nor there Religion, nor take the *French* into the Low-countries, nor refuſe a Peace, if *John* of *Auſtria* ſhould condiſcend to indifferent Conditions, but if he embraced a Peace, then the money ſhould be paid back to the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers, who were ready to mutiny for lack of pay. So carefull ſhe was to retaine theſe declining Provinces in obedience to the King of *Spaine*.

At this time a Voyage was undertaken, to trie if there could be found any ſea upon the North part of *America*, leading to the wealthy coaſt of *Cathaia*, whereby in one Comerce, might be joyned the riches of both the Eaſt and Weſt parts of the worlde, in which voyage was imployed *Martyn Frobiſher*, who ſet ſaile from *Harwich* the eighteenth of *June*, and the ninth of *Auguſt*, entred into that Bay, or ſea, but could paſſe no further for Snow and Ice. The like expedition was taken in hand, two yeers after, with no better ſucceſſe.

About this time died the Emperour *Maximilian*, a Prince that Deſerved well of Queen *Elizabeth* and the Engliſh, who thereupon ſent Sir *Philip Sidney* to his ſonne *Ridolphus* King of the Romanes, to condole his Fathers death, and congratulate his ſucceſſion: as likewiſe to doe the like, for the deceaſe of the Count Electour Palatine, named *Frederick* the third, with her ſurviving ſonne.

And now *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, who out of *Leiceſters* envie, had bin recalled out of *Ireland*, was out of *Leiceſters* feare, (as being threatned by him) ſent back again into *Ireland*, but with the empty title of Earl *Marſhall* of *Ireland*; with the grief whereof, he fell into a bloody Flux, and in moſt grievous torments ended his life. When he had firſt deſired the ſtanders by to admoniſh his ſonne (ſcarce tenne yeers old at that time) to have alwayes before his eyes, the ſix and thirtieth yeer of his age, as the utmoſt terme of his life, which neither himſelf, nor his father before him could out-go, and the ſonne indeed attained not to it, as ſhall hereafter be declared. He was ſuſpected to be poiſoned, but Sir *Henry Sidney*, Deputie of *Ireland*, after diligent ſearch made, wrote to the Lords of the Counſell, That the Earl often ſaid, It was familiar to him upon any great diſcontentment to fall into a Flux, and for his part, he had no ſuſpition of his being poiſoned, yet was this ſuſpition encreaſed; for that preſently after his death, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with a great ſum of money and large promiſes, putting away *Dowglaſſe Sheffield*, by whom he had a ſon openly married *Eſſex* his widdow. For although it was given out, That he was privately married

to

to her; yet Sir *Francis Knolles* his father, who was well acquainted with *Leiceſter*'s roving loves, would not believe it, unleſſe he himſelf were preſent at the Marriage, and had it teſtified by a publike Notary. At this time alſo, died Sir *Anthony Cook* of *Gyddy-Hall* in *Eſſex*, who had been School-maſter to King *Edward* the ſixth, and was no leſſe School-maſter to his own daughters, whom he made skilfull in the Greek and Latine Tongues; marryed all to men of great Honour; one to Sir *William Cecill*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*; a ſecond, to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; a third, to Sir *Thomas Hobby*, who died Ambaſſador in *France*; a fourth, to Sir *Ralph Lowlet*; and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killigrew*.

At this time, the ſons of the Earl of *Clanricard*, who ſcarce two months before had obtained pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again; but were by the Deputy ſoon ſuppreſt; and *William Drury* newly made Preſident of *Munſter*, reduced the whole Provice to good Order, except only the County of *Kerry*, whither a number of Vagabonds were gotten, truſting to the Immunities of the place. For King *Edward* the third made *Kerry* a County Palatine, and granted to the Earls of *Deſmond* all the Royall Liberties which the King of *England* had in that County, excepting *Wreckby Fyre*, *Foreſtall*, and Treaſure *Trouue*. The Governour notwithſtanding, who wiſely judged that theſe Liberties were granted for the better preſervation of Juſtice, and not for maintenance of outragious malefactors, entred into it, and violently put to flight and vanquiſhed the miſchievous crew, which the Earl of *Deſmond* had placed there in ambuſh. The Earl in the mean while made great complaints of *Drury* to the Deputy; and particularly, of the Tax which they call *Ceaſſe*, which is an exaction of proviſion of Victualls at a certain rate, for the Deputies Family, and the Souldiers in Garriſon. This Tax, not he onely, but in *Leinſter* alſo many Lords refuſed to pay, alleadging that it was not to be exacted but by Parliament; but the matter being examined in *England*, it appeared by the Records of the Kingdome, That this Tax was anciently impoſed; and that, as a certain Right of Majeſtie, a Prerogative Royall, which is not ſubjected to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wiſe Civilians have obſerved. Yet the Queen commanded to uſe a moderation in exactions of this nature, ſaying, She would have her ſubjects ſhorn, but not devoured.

It was now the yeer 1577, and the twentieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign, when *John* of *Auſtria*, pretending to Queen *Elizabeth* nothing but Peace, yet is found to deal ſecretly with the Pope, to peprive her of her Kingdome, and himſelf to marry the Queen of Scots, and invade *England*: of which his practices the Prince of *Orange* gives Queen *Elizabeth* the firſt intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep diſſembling) ſhe enters into a League with the States, for mutuall defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it (becauſe ſhe would not have it wrongfully interpreted, as though ſhe meant to foſter a Rebellion in the *Netherlands*) ſhe ſent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with theſe Informations; That ſhe had alwayes endeavoured to keep the *Low-Countryes* in obedience to the King of *Spain*; had perſwaded (even with threatnings) the Prince of *Orange* to accept of Peace, but withall, if the King of *Spain* would have his Subjects obedient to him, ſhe then requeſts him to reſtore their Priviledges, and to remove *John* of *Auſtria* from the Government, who not onely was her deadly enemy, but laboured by all means to bring the *Netherlands* into utter ſervitude. If this be granted by the King of SPAIN, ſhe then faithfully promiſeth, That if the States perform not their Allegiance to him, as by their Promiſe to her they are engaged to doe, ſhe will

utterly forsake them, and bend her self with all her Forces to compell them. While *Wilkes* in *Spain* unfoldeth these matters, *John* of *Austria* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, in most grievous manner accusing the States for disobedience, and making a large declaration of the causes for which he had taken up Armes again. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* (like a fortunate Princesse) sate as an Honourable Arbitresse between the *Spanish*, the *French*, and the States; insomuch that it was not untrue which one wrote, That *France* and *Spaine* were Ballances in the Scale of *Europe*; and *England* the Beame to turne them either way; for they still got the better, to whome she adhered.

About this time, when the Judges sate at the Assizes in *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Ienkes* a Book-seller was questioned for speaking approbrious words against the Queen, suddenly they were surprised with a pestilent savour; whether rising from the noysome smell of the prisoners, or from the dampe of the ground, is uncertaine, but all that were there present, almost every one, within forty hours died, except Women and children; and the Contagion went no further. There died *Robert Bell* Lord chief Baron, *Robert D'Oylie*; Sir *William Babington*: *D'Olye* Sheriffe of *Oxford*-shire, *Harcourt*, *Weynman*, *Phetiplace*, the most noted men in this Tract; *Barham* the famous Lawyer; almost all the Jurours, and three hundred other, more or lesse.

This yeer the title of the Lord *Latimer*, (which had flourished in the Familie of the *Nevills*, ever since the dayes of King *Henry* the sixth) was extinct in *John Nevill*, who died without issue male, and left a faire estate to four daughters, whereof the eldest marryed *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, the second, *Thomas Cecill*, who was afterward Earl of *Exceter*, the third, Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth Sir *John Daverse*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moores* and *O-Conors*, and others, whose Ancestours the Earl of *Sussex* in Queen *Maries* dayes, had for their rebellion, deprived of their Patrimonie in *Leyse* and *Ophalie*, did now break forth into a new Rebellion, under the conduct of *Rorie Oge*, that is, *Roderick* the younger: set on fire the village of Naasse, assault *Lechlin*, from whence being driven back by the valour of *George Carew* the Governour, he was afterward slain.

Out of *England* at this time there went into the Low-countries, *John North*, the Lord *Norths* eldest sonne, *John Norris*, second son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendish*, and *Thomas Morgan* Colonells, with many voluntaries, to learn Militarie experience. Thither also came *Casimire* the Elector Palatines sonne, with an Army of German Horse and foot, at the Queenes charges: upon these *Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of victorie, flyeth furiously, before they expected him, yet after a long fight, was forced to retreat; but then turning again, and thinking to breake through the Hedges, and Brakes where the English and Scottish volunturyes had placed themselves, was again repulsed; for the English and Scottish were so hot upon the matter, that casting away their garments, by reason of the hot weather, they fought in their shirts, which they made fast about them. In this battell *North* fought most valiantly, and had three horses slain under him, as also *Stuard* the Scot, *Bingham*, and *William Marham*.

Now for comfort to the afflicted Provinces, there came at that time into the *Netherlands*, the Count *Swartzenberg* from the Emperour, *Monsieur Rollieure* from the *French* King, and from the Queen of *England*, the Lord *Cobham* and *Walsingham*, with Commission to procure conditions of Peace, but returned without doing any thing, for that *Don John* refused to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refused to return into *Holland*.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, son to *Henry* Earl of *Sussex*, by his second wife, who had been a prime man in the rebellion of the North, and

served

ſerved now under *Don John*, was accuſed by the Engliſh fugitives, that he was ſent under hand to kill *Don John*; which (whether true or falſe) he was thereupon taken and put to death. The Spaniards have affirmed, That *Ratcliffe* at his laſt end, confeſſed voluntarily, That he was freed out of the Tower of *London*, and moved by *Walſinghams* large promiſes, to do this Fact; but the Engliſh that were preſent at his death, deny that he confeſſed any ſuch thing, though the Engliſh Rebells did all they could to wreſt this confeſſion from him.

At this very time, *Don John*, in the flower of his age, died of the Peſtilence, or (as ſome ſay) of grief, as being neglected by the King of *Spain* his brother; a man of an inſatiable Ambition, who aymed firſt at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and after, of *England*; and who, without the privity of the French King, or King of *Spain*, had made a league with the *Guiſes*, for the defence of both Crowns.

Alanſon, although very buſie about the *Belgick* War, yet now began again to purſue the Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*; for renewing of which ſuit, firſt was *Bachervyle* ſent to the Queen; and ſoon after *Rambouler*, from the French King; and within a month after that, *Simier*, a neat Courtier, and exquiſitely learned in the Art of Love, accompanied with a great number of the French Nobility; whom the Queen at *Richmond* entertained in ſuch loving manner, that *Leiceſter* began to rage, as if his hopes were now quite blaſted. Certainly a little before, when *Aſhley*, a Lady of the Queens Bed-chamber, mentioned the Earl of *Leiceſter* to her for husband, ſhe, with an angry countenance, replyed, Doſt thou think me ſo unlike my ſelf, and ſo forgetfull of Majeſtie, as to prefer my ſervant, whom I my ſelf have advanced, before the greateſt Princes of the Chriſtian world?

But it is now time to return to the Scottiſh Affairs. The Earl of *Morton*, Regent of *Scotland*, though a man of great wiſedome and valour, yet was now ſo overcome of covetouſneſſe, that he grew univerſally hated, and thereupon, with the joynt conſent of the Nobility, the Adminiſtration of the Common-wealth was tranſlated to the King, though he was yet but twelve yeers old, and twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him in Councell, three of them by courſe for three months, amongſt whom, the Earl of *Morton* for one, that they might not ſeem to caſt him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Adminiſtration, ſent preſently the Earl of *Dunfermelin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great deſerts towards him, and requeſting to have the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, agreed on in the yeer 1559, to be confirmed, for the more happy reſtraining the robbers about the borders; and withall, That his ancient Patrimony in *England*; namely, the Lands granted to his Grand-father *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, and the Counteſſe his Grand-mother, might be delivered into his hands, who was the next Heir. The Queen readily promiſed the former demands, but ſtuck a little at the laſt, concerning the Patrimony; For ſhe would not grant, That *Arbella*, the daughter of *Charles* the King of Scots Unkle, Born in *England*, was the next Heir to the Lands in *England*; neither would ſhe grant the Ambaſſadours proof out of Hiſtory, That the Kings of Scots, born in *Scotland*, did anciently (without queſtion) hold the Earldome of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet ſhe commanded a Sequeſtration to be made of the Revenues of thoſe Lands, by *Burleigh* Maſter of the Wards; and willeth the King, That out of the goods of the Earl of *Lenox in Scotland*, ſatisfaction might be made to his Grand-mothers Creditors here. For ſhe took it in ill part, that the King had recalled the Inſeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* (made to his Unkle *Charls* and his Heirs) after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice (as was ſuggeſted to her) of *Arbella*; although indeed, it be a Priviledge of the Kings of *Scotland*, That they may recall Donations made in their minority.

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The Earl of *Morton* in the mean while, not enduring the disgrace to be outed of his Regency, regarded not the prescript Form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power, at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his presence, but whom he pleased. At this presumption, the Lords growing angry, made the Earl of *Athol* their Captain, and in the Kings Name levyed a great Army, and were ready to encounter *Morton*; but by the intercession of *Robert Bowes*, the English Ambassadour, they were stayed from fighting; and *Morton* presently betook himself home, and the Earl of *Athol* soon after died, not without suspition of being poysoned.

At this time the King of *Spain*, and Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, held secret Consultation, to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the absolute ruine of Queen *Elizabeth*; The Pope to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his son *James Buen* of *Compagno*, whom he had made Marquesse of *Vincola*. The King of *Spain* secretly to relieve the Irish Rebells, as Queen *Elizabeth* did the Dutch, while friendship in words was upheld on both sides: and being known, That the greatest strength of *England* consisted in the Navy Royall, and Merchants Ships, it was advised, that the Italian and Dutch Merchants should hire these Ships for long Voyages; to the end that while they were absent, the Queens Navy might be surprized with a greater Fleet: and at that time *Thomas Stukeley*, an English fugitive, should joyn himself to the Irish Rebells with new Forces. For he making great boast, and promising the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Popes bastard son, had so insinuated himself into grace with the ambitious old man, that he adorned him with the Titles of Marquesse of *Leinster*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterlogh*, Viscount *Morogh*, and Baron of *Rosse* (the principall dignities of *Ireland*) and made him Commander over eight hundred Italian Souldiers, to be employed in the Irish War. With which Forces *Stukeley* setting Sayl from *Civita Vecchia*, arrived at length in *Portingall*, where he and his Forces, were by the divine providence, diverted another way. For *Sebastian* King of *Portingall* (to whom the chief Command, in this Expedition against *England* was assigned) being first to dispatch a War in *Africa*, in Ayd of *Mahomet Abdall*, son to the King of *Fesse*, perswaded *Stukeley* to go along with him into *Mauretania*, together with his Italian Souldiers; and then afterward they would go together against *Ireland*: To this motion *Stukeley* soon agreed, and therein agreed with his destiny, for in that memorable Battell where three Kings were slain, both he and *Sebastian* lost their lives.

At this time Sir *Henry Sidney* (who had been Deputy of *Ireland* at severall times eleven yeers) delivered up his Deputy-ship to Sir *William Drury*, President of *Munster*: Such a Deputy, for good Government, that if any have equalled him, none have exceed him.

It was now the yeer 1579, and the two and twentieth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign; when *John Casimire*, son of *Frederick* the third, Count Palatine of the *Rhyne*, came into *England*; where, after he had been entertained with Tiltings and Justs, made Knight of the Garter (the Queen tying the Garter about his leg) and rewarded with a yeerly Pension, he returned. And now was *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, made Governour of the *Netherlands* by the King of *Spain*: and Queen *Elizabeth* supplied the States with a great Sum of money; for which *William Davison* brought into *England* the ancient precious Habilliments of the Family of *Burgundy*, and their costly Vessells, laid to pawn by *Matthew* of *Austria* and the States. *Simier* in the mean time here in *England*, ceaseth not by all amorous devices to perswade the Queen to marry *Alanson*; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of *Leicester* gave out, He crept into the Queens affection by

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love Potions and unlawfull Arts: and *Simier* on the other side endeavoured by all means to cast down *Leicester*, discovering his mariage with the Earl of *Essex* widdow, whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confined him to the Castle at *Greenwich*, and had meant to have him Committed to the Tower, but that the Earl of *Sussex* (though his greatest Adversarie) disswaded her: telling her that none ought to be molested for contracting lawfull Matrimonie. But *Leicester* notwithstanding was so provoked for his confining, that he was bent to revenge it, and if it be true, as some said, he had suborned on *Teuder* a Yeoman of the Guard to murder *Simier*, sute it is the Queen by Proclamation commanded that no person should offer injury to the Embassadour or any of his servants. At which time it fell out that as the Queen, together with *Simier*, the Earle of *Lincolne*, and *Hatton* Vice-Chamberlaine were rowed in a barge to *Greenwich*, a young man shooting off a Harquebus out of a boate, shot one of the rowers in the Queenes Barge thorough the arme with a bullet, who was presenly taken and ledde to the Gallowes, but upon solemne Protestation, that he did it unwillingly, and out of no malicious Intent, he was let go and Pardoned. Some would have perswaded the Queen that was purposely suborned to shoote either her or the *French* Embassadour: but she was so far from suspecting her Subjects, that she would often say, She would not believe any thing against them which a mother would not believe against her children.

After a few dayes *Alanson* himself came privately into *England* with only on or two attendants, and came to the Queen at *Greenwich*, at a time when she thought not of it; they had secret conference together, all parties being sent away, after which, being seen of very few, he returned home; but within a moneth or two after the Queen enjoyned the Lord *Burleigh* treasurer, the Earle of *Sussex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham*, seriously to weigh both the dangers, and the Commodities likely to arise from the marriage with him, and to consult with *Simier* concerning the marriage Covenants.

As in *England* there was some feare of this Frenchman: So in *Scotland* at this time of another Frenchman, called *Esme Steward*, Lord of *Aubigny*, who came now into *Scotland* to visit the King his cosen. He was the sonne of *John Steward* brother to *Matthew Steward* Earle of *Lenox* the Kings grandfather, and had denomination from *Aubigny* in *France*, which title *Charles* the seaventh King of *France* had antiently conferred upon *John Steward* of the Familie of *Lenox*, who being constable of the Scottish Army in *France*, vanquished the English in one battile, and was slain by them in another: and from that time the title belonged to the younger descent of that house. This *Esme Steward*, the King embraced with exceeding great love, made him Lord Chamberlaine of *Scotland*, and Captain of the Castle of *Dumbriton*, and created him first Earle and then Duke of *Lenox*. The feare from this man was; becaus he was deuoted to the *Guises* and the Popish religion, and that which encreased the feare from this man; becaus he applied himselfe to *Mortons* adversaries, and mediated to have *Thomas Carre* Lord of *Fernishurst* called home, who of all men was most addicted to the Queen of Scots.

About this time Queen *Elizabeth*, at the request of *William Harbourne* an Englishman, procured a grant from the *Turkish* Emperour for the English merchants to exercise free traffick in all places of his dominions, as well as *Venetians*, *Polanders*, and other neighbouring Nations; whereupon they set up first the Companie of *Turkie* Merchants, managing a most gainfull Trade at Constantinople, *Alexandoria*, *Egypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other parts of *Asia*, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Tapistry, Indico, Corrants, and the like.

This yeer died Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; but who, by vertue of an Act of Parliament, alwayes exercised the Jurisdiction of Lord

Lord Chancellor; a very fat man, but singularly wise, and a chief prop of the Queens Privy Councell: In whose place succeeded Sir *Thomas Bromley*, the Queens Solicitor, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *England*.

In *Ireland* at this time, in the Province of *Munster*, *James Fitz Morris* kindled a new fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission upon his knees, vowing all Obedience to the Queen, he stole away into *France*, and promised the French King, if he would lend him assistance, to make him King of *Ireland*. But being by him slighted, he went into *Spain*, and made the like offer to the King there. The King of *Spain* sent him to the Pope, from whom (by means of *Nicholas Sanders*, an English Priest, and *Alan* an Irishman, both Doctors of Divinity) he obtained a little money, a Legats Authority for *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Commendation to the Catholike King. And returning from *Spain* with those Divines, three Ships, and a few men, he landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, a Demy Island in the West part of *Ireland*, about the first day of *July*, where (the place being first of all consecrated by the Priests) he built a Fort, and brought the Ships close under it; but these were presently set upon and carryed away, by *Thomas Courtney*, and thereby the Spaniards deprived of their opportunity of coming thither by Sea. But now *John* and *James*, brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a small number of Irish, joyn themselves presently with their kinsman *Fitz Morris*. Yet the Spaniards seeing that but a very few Irish, and those unarmed, came unto them, they began to distrust the estate they were in, and to cry out, That they were undone; whom *Fitz Morris* heartened the best he could, telling them that Supplyes were presently to come. And going himself to get more company, he passed thorow the Land of his Cosin *William a Burgh*, who though he had been a Rebell before, yet was now grown loyall, so as there fell out a Skirmish between them; in which *Fitz Morris* being strucken thorow with a Pike, and shot into the head with a Leaden Bullet, died in the place, and most of his Company with him; but withall, two of *William Burghs* sons were in that Skirmish slain also; when the Queen, to comfort him for the losse of his sons, adorned him with the Dignity of Baron of *Castle Conell*, and rewarded him with a yeerly Pension besides: which favours so overwhelmed him with joy, that he lived but a short while after. And now Sir *William Drury* the Deputy growing very sick, appointed Sir *Nicholas Malby* then Governour of *Connaght*, to be President of *Munster*, and Generall of the Army; at which time, the Earl of *Desmond*, who had all this while made a shew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion; when now *Drury* the Deputy dying at *Waterford*, and by his death *Malbyes* Authority ceasing, Sir *William Pelham* is by the Counsell chosen Justice of *Ireland*, with Authority of Vice-Roy, untill such time as a Deputy were appointed, and the Earl of *Ormond* is made President of *Munster*. *Pelham* goeth into *Munster*, and sendeth for the Earl of *Desmond*, who refusing to come, is thereupon proclaymed Traytor, and an enemy to the State; and this being published, the Justice committed the following the War to the Earl of *Ormond*, who slaying most of the Spaniards, and adherents to *Desmond*, compelleth him to send his wife to the Justice, to beg his pardon.

The Lord Justice *Pelham* now certified, that *Arthur* Lord *Grey* was landed with authority to be Deputy of *Ireland*, at *Munster* delivereth the Army to *George Bourchier*, the son of *John*, second Earl of *Bathe*, of that name, and himself returneth to *Dublin*, to deliver up the Province to his Successor. The Lord *Grey* at his landing, before he received the Sword, hearing where the Rebells had their Randevouz, marcheth towards them, who presently betake themselves to *Glandilough*, a graffie Valley, and beset thick with Trees,

Trees, where they who dwell neer, ſcarce know the winding out; yet the Deputy (taking one *Cosbie* an old man, well acquainted with the place, to be is leader) entred into it, where he loſt divers of his men; namely, *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Audeley*, and *Cosbie* himſelf th. t was his Leader.

A ſhort time after, there landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, under the command of *San Joſeph* an Italian, about ſeven hundred Italian ſouldiers, who fortifie the place, and name it *Fort del Or*. Whereupon the Deputy ſent a Trumpetter to the Fort to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, and who ſent them; withall commanding them to depart immediately. But they replyed, That ſome of them were ſent from his Holineſſe, other from the Catholike King, upon whom the Pope had beſtowed the Kingdome of *Ireland*, for that Queen *Elizabeth* (by reaſon of hereſie) hath forfeited the Right unto her; and therefore what they had gotten, they would maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for Battery, lets flie his Ordnance four dayes together; in which time the Spaniards once or twice make ſallyes out, to their own loſſe much, but not an Engliſh-man ſlain, but onely *John Cheek*, a couragious young Gentleman, ſon to Sir *John Cheek*, a learned Knight. And now *San Joſeph*, who commanded the Fort, a white-liver'd ſouldier, terrified with the continuall Battery, and having no hope of relief, either from the King of *Spain*, or *Deſmond* (contrary to the will of all his ſouldiers) he ſet up a White Flagge, and deſired Parlee, but Parlee was denyed, becauſe he had combined with Rebells, with whom it is not lawfull to hold Parlee. Then he demanded that his Company might paſſe away with their Baggage, but neither would this be granted. Then he required that ſome of the chiefer ſort might have leave to depart; but neither could this be obtained. At laſt, when they could prevail in nothing, they hanged out the white Flagge again, and ſubmitted themſelves abſolutely, without any condition, to the Deputies mercy, who preſently conſulteth how to deal with them, and this was the Caſe; Their number was well neer as great as the Engliſh; there was preſent fear of danger from the Rebells; and the Engliſh were ſo deſtitute of meat and apparell, that they were ready to mutiny, unleſſe they might have the ſpoyl granted them; and beſides, there were no ſhips neither to ſend them away if they were ſpared: For theſe Reaſons it was concluded (the Deputy gain-ſaying, and letting tears fall) That onely the Leaders ſhould be ſaved, the reſt all ſlain, and all the Iriſh hanged up; which was preſently put in execution; to the great diſliking of the Queen, who deteſted the ſlaughter of ſuch as yeelded themſelves, and would accept of any excuſes or allegations.

And yet more cruelty then this was at that time committed in the *Netherlands*; for *John Norris*, and *Oliver Temple*, Engliſh Commanders, together with ſome Companies of Dutch, ſetting out early one morning, took *Mechlyn* a wealthy Town of *Brabant*, at an aſſault with ladders, where they promiſcuouſly murthered both Citizens and Religious Perſons, offering violence even upon the dead, taking away Grave-ſtones, which were ſent into *England* to be ſold.

About this time certain Engliſh Prieſts, who were fled into the *Netherlands*, in the yeer 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen*, an *Oxford* Schollar, joyned themſelves to ſtudy at *Doway*, where they entred into a Collegiate Form of Government; to whom the Pope allowed a yeerly Penſion. But tumults ariſing in the *Low-Countries*, and the Engliſh Fugitives being commanded by the King of *Spains* Deputy to depart from thence, other the like Colledges, for the trayning up of the Engliſh youth, were erected, one at *Rheims* by the *Guiſes*, and another

at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, which alwayes afforded new ſupplyes of Prieſts for *England*, when the old fayled, who ſhould ſpread abroad the ſeeds of the Romiſh Religion here amongſt us; from whence, thoſe Colledges had the name of Seminaries, and they called Seminary-Prieſts who were trayned up in them. In theſe Seminaries, amongſt other Diſputations, it was concluded, That the Pope hath ſuch fulneſſe of Power, by Divine Right, over the whole Chriſtian world, both in Eccleſiaſticall and Secular matters, that by vertue thereof, it is lawfull for him to excommunicate Kings, abſolve their ſubjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From theſe Seminaries at this time, there came two into *England*, *Robert Parſons*, and *Edmund Campian*, both of them Engliſh-men, and Jeſuites. *Parſons* was born in *Somerſet*-ſhire, a fierce and rough conditioned fellow; *Campian* was a Londoner, of a milder diſpoſition. They had been both brought up in *Oxford*; *Campian* a Fellow of St. *John*'s Colledge, and had been Proctor in the yeer 1569; and when he was made Deacon, counterfeited himſelf to be a Proteſtant, till ſuch time as he ſlipped out of *England*. *Parſons* was of *Bayliol* Colledge, where he made open profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, till for diſhoneſt carriage, he was expelled the Houſe, and then fled to the Popiſh Party. Both theſe came privily into *England*, in the diſguiſe one while of Souldiers, another while of Noble-men; ſometimes like Engliſh Miniſters, and ſometimes in the habit of Apparitors. *Parſons*, who was made the Superiour, brake forth into ſuch open words amongſt the Papiſts, about depoſing the Queen, that ſome of themſelves had a purpoſe to complain of him to the Magiſtrates. *Campian*, though ſomething more moderate, yet in a Writing provoked the Engliſh Miniſters to a diſpute; and publiſhed in Latine an Elegant Book of his ten Reaſons, in maintenance of the Doctrine of the Romiſh Church; as *Parſons* in like manner, ſet forth another violent Pamphlet againſt *Clark*, who had written modeſtly againſt *Campians* Provocation. But Doctor *Whitaker* ſoundly confuted *Campian*, who being after a yeer apprehended, and put upon the Rack, was afterward brought out to a Diſputation; where he ſcarcely made good the great fame that went of him.

In this yeer was the return of Captain *Drake* from his incredible Voyage round about the World (which *Magellan* had before attempted, but died in the Voyage) whereof to relate all particular accidents, would require a large Volume: It may ſuffice in this place, to deliver ſome ſpeciall Paſſages. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devon*-ſhire, yet had a great man (*Francis Ruſſell*, after Earl of *Bedford*) to be his God-father. His father, in K. *Henry* the eighth's time, being perſecuted for a Proteſtant, changed his Soyl, and lived cloſe in *Kent*. K. *Henry* being dead, he got a place amongſt the Marriners of the Queens Navy, to reade Prayers, and afterward bound his ſon *Francis* to a Ship-Maſter, who in a Ship which went to and fro upon the Coaſt with Commodities, one while to *Zealand*, another while to *France*, trayning him up to pains and skill at Sea; who afterward dying, took ſuch a liking to him, that he bequeathed his Barque to him by his Will: This Barque *Drake* ſold, and then in the yeer 1567, went with Sir *John Hawkins* into *America*; in which Voyage, he unfortunately loſt all he had. Five yeers after, having gotten again a good ſum of Money by Trading and Pyracy, (which the Preacher of his Ship told him was lawfull) he bought a Ship of Warre, and two ſmall Veſſells, with which he ſet Sayl again for *America*, where his firſt Prize was great ſtore of Gold and Silver, carryed over the Mountains upon Mules; whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, hiding it under ground: After this, he fired a great place of Traffique, called, The *Croſſe*, at the River *Chirugo*, when roaming to and fro upon the Mountains, he eſpyed the South Sea; where

where falling upon his knees, he craved assistance of Almighty God, to finde out that passage, which he reserveth for another Voyage, and for the present, having gotten much riches, he returned home. Afterwards, in the yeer 1577, the thirteenth day of *November*, with five Ships, and Sea-men, to the number of 163, he set Sayl from *Plimmouth*, for the Southern Sea, and within five and twenty dayes, came to *Canyne*, a Cape in *Barbary*, and then sayled along by the Isle of *Fogo*, which sends forth flames of Sulphur, and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ships blood. The sixteenth of *April*, entring into the mouth of the Plate, they espyed a world of Sea-Calves, in which place *John Doughty*, the next to *Drake* in Authority, was called in question for raising Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded. Some report, That *Drake* had charge given him from the Earl of *Leicester*, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other, for that he had said, that the Earl of *Essex* was craftily made away by *Leicester*. The twentyeth of *August*, two of his Ships he turneth off, and with the other three came to the Sea, which they call, The Straight of *Magellan*. The sixth of *September*, entring into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, The *Pacifique* Sea, he found it out of measure troublous, so that his Ships were here by Tempests dispersed, in one of which, *John Winter* was Master, who returned back into *England*; *Drake* himself, with onely one Ship, coasted along the Shore, till he came to the Isle *Mocha*, from whence loosing, he lighted upon a fellow fishing in a little Boat, who shewed him where a Spanish Ship laden with Treasure lay; *Drake* making towards it, the Spaniards thought him to be their owne Country man, and thereupon invited him to come on, but he getting aboord presently shut the Spaniards (being not above eight persons) under hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of gold. At *Tenapasa*, going again on shoar, he found a Spaniard sleeping by the Sea-side, who had lying by him twenty bars of massie Silver, to the value of four thousand Duckats, which he bid his followers take amongst them, the Spaniard still sleeping. After this, going into the Port of *Africa*, he found there three Vessels without any Marriners in them, wherein, besides other wares, were seven and fifty silver bricks, each of which weighed twenty pound. From hence, Tyding it to *Lima*, he found twelve Ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chest full of money coined, but not so much as a Ship-boy aboord, (such security there was in that Coast:) Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he followed the rich Ship called *Cacofoga*, and by the way met with a small Ship, without Ordnance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emraulds of a fingers length. The first day of *March*, he overtook the *Cacofoga*, set upon her, and took her; and in her, besides jewels, foureſcore pound weight of gold, thirteen Chests of silver ready coyned, and as much silver as would ballast a Ship. And now thinking he had gained wealth enough, he resolved to return home, and so on the third of *November* 1580. he landed at *Plimmouth*, having sayled round about the World, in the space of three years; to the great admiration of all that know what compasse the World is of.

The Queen welcomed him home, but made a sequestration of the goods, that they might be ready if the King of *Spain* required them; and commanded the ship to be drawn on shoar neer *Detford* for a monument (where the carkasse of it is yet to be seen) and her selfe feasted in it, at which time She Knighted Captaine *Drake*. But *Bernardine Mendoza*, the KING of Spaines Embassadour in ENGLAND began to rage, and earnestly demanded Restitution of the Goods, and complained, that the ENGLISH sayled upon the INDIAN Sea. To whom it was

answered, That the goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of *Spain* satisfaction, although the Queen had expended against the Rebells, whom the Spaniard had excited in *England* and *Ireland*, more money then that which *Drake* brought home. And as for saying on the Indian Sea, that it was as lawfull for the Queens subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Ayr are common for all to use. Notwithstanding, to *Pedro* [illegible] the King of *Spain*'s Agent in this businesse, a great sum of money was re-paid, which was not returned to them to whom it belonged, but employed to the Spaniards Wars in the Low Countries, as was known afterwards, when it was too late.

But at this time, when *Frobisher* and *Fen*, two skilfull Pilots, were sent forth with two Ships by the *Londoners*, to finde out a shorter way to the East Indies, by the North-West Passage; they had not the like successe, for a few Leagues beyond the Iles of *Orkney*, they met with such uncertain Tydes, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no further, and had much ado to return home.

About this time, *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel* died, in whom the Sirname of a most Noble Family ended, which had flourished in this Honour for above three hundred years, from *Richard Fitz-Alan*, who being descended from the *Albanis* (ancient Earls of *Arundel* and *Sussex*) in the Raign of King *Edward* (the first) obtained the Title of Earl, by reason of the possession of *Arundel* Castle, without Creation. He had three daughters by his wife *Katherine*, daughter to *Thomas Grey*, Marquesse of *Dorset*, all whom he out-lived, *Henry* a young man of great hope, who died at *Bruxells*, *Jane*, wife to the Lord *Lumley*, and *Mary*, who being married to *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, brought forth *Philip*, in her Right, Earl of *Arundel*.

In *Ireland*, *Arthur* Lord *Grey* the Deputy going against the *O Conors*, who raised [illegible] in *Offaly*, putteth to death *Hugh O Maley*, quieteth all that Quarter, even the Families of the *Mageoghegans*, and *O Charles*, and in the very beginning suppresseth a conspiracy which was breaking forth, by putting to death the Lord *Netter*, who being confident in his own innocency, when the Deputy promised to save his life, if he would but confesse himself guilty, chose rather to die and be held guiltlesse, than to live in infamy, by betraying his own Innocency. With whose death the Queen was extremely displeased, as by which she was made a Patroness of cruelty, to her great dishonour. But the Deputy knew with what kinde of people he dealt, and by this example of severity, brought *Tirlogh Leymigh* to accept conditions of Peace, and the *O Neals* and *Cavenaghs* (rebellious Families in *Leinster*) humbly to crave Peace also, and to offer Hostages.

In *Scotland* at this time, great jealousie was had of *Lenox*, Lord of *Obigny*, lest, being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into *France*, and bring into *Scotland* the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and proferred himself to be a Protestant) yet many courses were taken to sequester him from the King, but so far from taking effect, That on the contrary, the Earl of *Morton* (who among all other was most addicted to the English) was soon after accused of Treason by the Earl of *Arran*, and cast into prison, and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) was beheaded, as convicted to be actuallary to the murder of the Kings Father. Whereupon [the Earl of *Angus*, and other, who laboured for *Morton*, fled straight-wayes into *England*.

In the *Low Countries* about this time, the Count *Rhenberg* proceeded victoriously for the King of *Spain*, and beleaguerd *Zutphen* in *Freezland*; against whom the States sent *Norris* Generall of the Field, who put the *Rhenburgh* Company to the worse, and raised the Siege: but afterward joyning

...Cadiz the Spaniard at Newhaven, even when the Vi... (Roger Williams having put the enemies to flight) ...War turned, Nevers is vanquished, wounded, and a great ...slain, amongst whom were Carew, Sir Walter Williams, and ...Commanders. Here it must not be omitted, That the English ...dwellers in the Northern parts of the World, were hitherto ...and deserved praise for their sobriety) in these Dutch ...to be Drunkards, and brought the vice so far to over-spread ...that Laws were fain to be enacted for repressing it.

...whilst the States and the King of Spain contend about a few ...the Low-Countries, he seizeth upon the whole Kingdom of Portugal. ...Queen, Henry King of Portugall dying, many Competitors ...enge the Kingdom; as the Duke of Savoy, the Prince of Parma, ...Catharine Bragant, and the Queen of France. But Philip King of ...Henries eldest sister, putting the case to his Divines and ...and adjuring them to pronounce to whom of Right it belonged, ...nounced, For him: whereupon he sent Duke D'Alva, who put to ...whom the people had elected King, and within seventy dayes ...Portugall. The Queen of France angry hereat, and enviously be... King of Spain's Dominions thus enlarged (being now Master ...all, the East Indies, and many Islands besides) adviseth amongst ...Queen Elizabeth, to bethink themselves in time, of restraining ...excessive Dominions. Whereupon the Queen received Don An... lavingly relieved him, which she thought might be done without ...of the League with Spain, seeing Don Antonio was descended of ...blood, and of the House of Lancaster, and that no Cause was ...gue; That the Portuger should not be admitted into England.

...the Queen-Mother of France, while the King her son, more ...than ever, pursue the March with Alençon, now Duke of Anjou; ...ensuing whereof, they sent in Ambassage into England, Francis ...Prince of Dauphine, Arthur Cosse, Marshall of France, and many ...honourable Personages, who were entertained with great respect (a ...purposely built at Westminster for that use, Royally furnished; ...and Justs proclaimed, by Philip Earl of Arundel, Frederick Baron ...Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Fulk Greville, against all comers. The ...that were to confer with the French concerning the Marriage, ...William Cecill, Lord Treasurer, Edward, Earl of Lincoln, Lord Ad... Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir ...Walsingham, Secretary; by whom Covenants of Marriage were at ...agreed on; First, That the Duke of Anjou, and the Queen of Eng... within six weeks after the ratification of the Articles, should contract ...and the rest, most of them such as were before agreed on, in the ...between Queen Mary and King Philip, chiefly consisting in confer... Honour upon the Duke, and Power upon the Queen. It was also ar... That all particulars should be ratified within two Months, by the ...full Promise and Oath of the French King, for him and his Heirs, and ...servation also was added again, with the Hands and Seals of every one ...Delegates, That Queen Elizabeth is not bound to finish the Marriage, ...she and the Duke have given each other satisfaction in some ...and have certified the French King of the same within six ...those six weeks were expired, Simier, Secretary to the Commissioners, is ...into France, to require the King of France his Confirmation. The ...will not hear him, but presseth to have the Marriage ...was contracted, and then nothing else was to be done. ...in the ...side, shewed by the Articles, That a League offensive and defensive ...first be concluded. That the French King disliked them. Whereupon

Walsing-

Walsingham is presently sent to compose this difference, who joyntly with *Henry Cobham*, the Embassadour in ordinary, and *Somer*, alleadgeth to the French King these Particulars, That Queen *Elizabeth* for no other reason was willing to marry, but for the satisfaction of her people; and seeing many Impediments were come in the way since the first Treaty, namely the Civill Warrs in *France*, and the Dukes engagement in a war with *Spain*, wch makes the minds of her subjects to be now against the Match: This hath made her to deferre the accomplishment of it, although her affection be still constant towards the Duke: for this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the French Duke be freed from the Spanish warre, and a League of mutuall offence and defence be agreed on. The French King willingly accepted of the League defensive; but of the offensive he would heare no speech, till the marriage were finished.

Not long after, the French Duke himselfe came into *England*, having with good successe raised the Siege of *Cambray*, he was here received with as great humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted, where by he might judge himselfe to be truly welcome: Insomuch that in *November*, when the Anniversarie of the Queens Inauguration came to be solemnized, the Q. (while they were in Love conference) drew a Ring off from her finger, and put it upon his, upon some private conditions. The standers by imagined, that by this Ceremonie the Marriage was confirmed between them; and *Aldegund* Governour of *Antwerp* being there, presently dispatched messengers into the Low Countries, to give notice of it, and thereupon Bonfires were made, and all shewes of Rejoycing. But the Earl of *Leicester* (who privily plotted to crosse the Match) *Hatton* the Vice-Chamberlain, and Secretary *Walsingham*, fret and are enraged, as if the Kingdom, the Queen and Religion, were now utterly overthrowne. The Maids of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen, made grievous lamentation, and so cursed and dismayed her, that she could take no rest that night. The next day, she calleth to her the French Duke, and causing all companie to goe aside, they privately entertain a long discourse. At length the Duke returning to his lodging, casts the Ring away from him, and after a while takes it up again, terribly exclayming against the Levity and inconstancie of Women.

The Queen at this time was much troubled at a Book lately put forth, with this Title, *The Gulph wherein England will be swallowed by the French Marriage*: whereof, conceiving that some Puritan was the Author, it made her highly displeased with the Puritans; whereupon within a few dayes, *John Stubbes* of Lincolnes-Inne, a Zealous Professour, and the Author of this booke, (whose sister, *Thomas Cartwright*, the father of the Puritants, had married) *William Page* that dispersed the copies, and *Singleton* the Printer, were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounced, That their Right hand should be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the Raigne of *Phillip* and *Mary* against the Authors and dispersers of Seditious Writings; (though the chiefe Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the force of this Statute) Hereupon *Stubbes* and *Page* were brought to the Scaffold, made of purpose, in the Market place at *Westminster*, and their right hands, with a Butchers knife and a mallet, cut off by the wrest; the Printer was pardoned. At that time, *Stubbs* when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the left, and cried out, *God save the Queen*, to the great amazement of all the beholders.

At this time the Queene, upon importunate suite of her Counsell, gave way, that *Edmund Campian*, *Ralph Sherwin*, and *Alexander Bryant*, Priests, should be called to the Barre, who being accused by vertue of a Law made in the five and twentieth yeare of King *Edward* the Third, to have plotted the ruine of the Queene and Kingdome; to be adhering to the Pope, the

...ens enemy, and coming into *England*, to raiſe Forces againſt the State, ...e then condemned of High-treaſon, and accordingly executed. *Campian* ... he was convicted, being demanded, Firſt, whether Queen *Elizabeth* ... a lawfull Queen? would make no anſwer; afterward, Whether he ...ld ſtand for the Queen, or for the Pope, if he ſhould ſend an Army a...ſt the Queen; he plainly profeſſed, That he would be of the Popes ſide, ...d witneſſed ſo much under his hand. After this, ſome other Papiſts up... the like occaſion were alſo put to death, which the Queen rather neceſſa...y, than willingly aſſented to, as being unwilling to force the conſcience ...any. Theſe, and the like exorbitancies of Papiſts, were cauſe, that new ...d ſtrict Laws were enacted againſt them the Parliament following, which ...gan the next *January*.

The French Duke after three moneths abode in *England*, took his jour...y in *February*, into the Low-Countries, whom the Queen her ſelf brought ...n his way as far as *Canterbury*; and then commanded the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ...e Lord *Charles Howard*, *Hunſdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windſor*, *Sheffield*, Sir *Philip* ...dney, Sir *Francis Ruſſell*, Sir *George Bourchier*, and ſome other prime knights, ...o accompany him to *Antwerpe*, where he is made Duke of *Brabant*, *Lim...burg*, and *Lorraine*; for the Dutch had long before removed the King of *Spains* Government, and quitted the people from their oath of Allegiance, ...t it might be in their power to chooſe any other Prince. Here the Duke ...f *Anjou* gave free leave to exerciſe the Roman Religion, to as many as ...would ſwear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of *Spains* authority: but ...ber all, having ſpent a great maſſe of money, with which he was ſupplied ...rom *England*; and obſerviug, that only vain and empty tjtles were confer...ed upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, ...e rathly enterprized an aſſault upon *Antwerpe*, and ſome other Towns, and ...ortly departed without any great matter performed.

At this time Queen *Elizabeth*, as well to get her ſome friends, as ſhe had ...procured her ſelfe many enemies; received into the Order of t...e Garter, *Fredericke* the Second King of *Denmarke*; to whom ſhe employed Sir *Pere...grine Bertye* (whom ſhe had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Ereſby*) to In...veſt him.

But now to prevent the Duke of *Guyſes* deſigne in *Scotland*, which was to ...make uſe of the Duke of *Lenox* favour with the King, to withdraw his affe...ction from the Engliſh: *William Ruthen*, whom the King had lately made ...Earle of *Gowry*, endeavoured with others, by all means to remove *Lenox*, ...and the Earl of *Arran* from the King; and ſo, while *Lenox* was gone from ...*Perth* (where the King at that time was) to *Edinburgh*, and *Arran* was alſo ...abſent on a journey: The Earls *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lindſey*, and other, taking ...the opportunity, invited the King to the Caſtle of *Ruthen*, and there detai...ned him, not permitting him to walk abroad: All his truſty ſervants they ...removed from about him, *Arran* they caſt in priſon, enforced the King to ...call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to ſend away *Lenox* into *France*, who be...ing a man of a ſoft and gentle diſpoſition, for the Kings ſafety readily con...ſented; and not content with all this, they compelled the King by his Let...ters to Queen *Elizabeth*, to approve and allow of this his thraldome. The ...Queen of *Scots* in the mean while, bewailing her own hard fortune, and the ...diſtreſſe of the King her Son, layeth open the ſame in a large letter, written ...to the Queen in French: With which letter, Queen *Elizabeth* being ſome...what affected, ſent unto her *Robert Beale* Clerk of the Councell, to expoſtu...late with her concerning the querulous writing, and joyntly with the Earle ...of *Shrewſbury*, to treat of the ſetting her at liberty. And indeed, ſerious ...conſultation was held at the Councell Table about it, and the moſt were of ...opinion, that upon certain conditions ſhe ſhould have her liberty; but the ...Scottiſh of the Engliſh faction oppoſing it, nothing was effected.

Soone

Soone after this, the King sent Colonell *William Steward*, and *John Colvill* to Queen *Elizabeth*, profering all manner of respect and observance, and requesting her advice for quieting the tumults in *Scotland*, and also for his contracting of marriage. At which time, news was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* was dead in *France*, who departing this life at *Paris*, even at the very point of death, as oftentimes before, made open profession of the Protestant Religion; thereby confuting those who had maliciously traduced him for a Papist. After whose death, when the surprizers of the King were lift up in their own conceits, as thinking they had him safe enough; He on a sudden (though scarce eighteen yeers of age) with some few others, conveyed himselfe to the Castle of St. *Andrews*, to whom the Nobility presently repaired, bringing Armed Bands with them, as fearing some danger might befall him. Afterwards, in fair words, he advised some of his surprizers to go from the Court, for avoyding of tumults, and promised them pardon, if they would crave it. But *Gowry* only asked pardon, and submitted himselfe, using this distinction, That he had not offended in matter, but in forme onely; and then the King sent for the Earle of *Arran* to the Court, and respected him as his intimate friend, imploying him to compose the differences amongst the Nobility, and to purge the kingdome and his own Court from civill dissensions.

Whiles he is sedulous in these cares, comes Sir *Francis Walsingham* from Queen *Elizabeth*, to advise him not to be led away by evill Councellours, to the destruction of both kingdoms. He findeth the King accompanied with the flowr of the nobility, and beholdeth another maner of Majesty than he looked for in *Scotland*: Having Audience given him, he put the King in minde, of what the Queen out of *Isocrates*, in private Letters had formerly admonished him: *That a Prince must be such a lover of Truth, that more credit may be given to his bare word, than to anothers oath*; and in many words advised him, to beware now in his youth of evill Councellours, and alwayes to be like himselfe. The King answered, That he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should appoint him Councellors whom he liked not; but that he had long since devoted the first-fruits of his amitie to the Queen of *England*, his deer Sister, and doth now willingly make profer of the same. *Walsingham* now dealt with him farther, not to lay to the Queens charge what broyls had lately fallen out in *Scotland*, sheweth, how beneficiall to him, and to both kingdoms Amity had been hitherto, and would be in time to come also, so it were not neglected; and that the same might the better be confirmed, if the variance between the Nobility were layd asleep, by a Law of oblivion Enacted in Parliament, The Peers which now were removed from the Court called back again, Religion looked into, and a firm League concluded between both kingdoms. The King made answer, that he gladly embraced Amity with *England*, and that he would constantly defend the Religion already established: Afterward he lovingly dismissed *Walsingham*, though he held him no good friend to him and his Mother; and carefully looking to matters, with undestanding, even above his yeers, proposed and profered reconciliation to those that had surprized him, if within a limited time they asked Pardon; which they were so far from doing, that the entred into new consultations to surprize him again; whereupon they are commanded within a set time to leave the kingdom, of which number, *Marre*, *Glames*, *Paslet* and some other, betook themselves into *Ireland*; *Boyde*, *Zester*, *Weeme*, *Lochlevin*, into the *Low-Countries*; *Dumfermilin* into *France*, the Earle of *Angus* is confined to his Earldome, *Gowry* onely to his owne ruine stayeth behinde after the limited time, hatching new devises.

About this time happened a difference, and thereupon a Warre, between the Emperors of *Muscovia*, and the King of *Sweden*; when *John* King of

Sweden,

Sweden, doubting himself to be no fit Match for the Emperour, sent a Royall Ambassage to Queen *Elizabeth*, requesting her to intercede for him to the Emperour; which she did without delay, and by her Ambassadour drew the *Muscovian* to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions. But the *Muscovian* shortly after dying, and *Theodorus* his Successor, granting free Traffique to Merchants of all Nations that would come thither; the Queen importuned him to admit of none but English Merchants, requiring him to confirm the Priviledges which his Father had granted them: Whereto, by way of Answer, he demanded Free Trading for all the English, saying, It was not fit that a small Company should exercise a Monopoly, and all other be restrayned: But as for Customes, he promised to take lesse by one half of that Company, then of any other, because they first opened the way thither.

The next Summer, *Albertus Alasco*, a Palatine of *Poland*, of a comely personage, and great learning, came into *England* to see the Queen, who was nobly entertained, both by her, and the Nobility, as also by the Scholars of *Oxford*, with learned Orations, and other Recreations: but having tarryed here four Months, and run into much debt, he secretly withdrew himself and departed. This man I saw my self afterward in *Crakow*, very bare, though it was reported of him, That he had in a Dowry with a wife, fifty Castles of great value: but what Myne can bear the charges of prodigality?

This yeer proved fatall to divers great men; for there died this yeer, first, *Thomas Ratcliffe*, the third Earl of *Sussex* of this Family; a man of great spirit, and great faithfulnesse to his Countrey. There died also *Henry Wriothsley* Earl of *Southampton*; one exceedingly devoted to the Romish Religion, and a great favourer of the Queen of Scots, which cost him Queen *Elizabeths* displeasure, and imprisonment besides. There died also Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, who was cast away at Sea, in his return from the North part of *America*, whither he lately sayled with five Ships, having sold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. There died also *Edmund Grindall*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, being blinde through age, a grave and pious Prelate, who stood highly in the Queens favour for a long time, till he lost that last, by favouring (as was said) the Puritans Conventicles; but the true cause indeed was, for disallowing the Marriage of *Julio* an Italian Physician, with another mans wife, against the Earl of *Leicester*'s pleasure. *Grindall* dying, *John Whitegift* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, being translated thither from the See of *Worcester*.

At this time, certain popish Books written against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and particularly, so intoxicated one *Somervile*, an English Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but blood and death against all Protestants, set upon one or two by the way, with his drawn Sword. Being apprehended, he stuck not to say, That he would murder the Queen with his own hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Arden* his father in Law (a man of an ancient House in *Warwick*-shire) *Ardens* wife, their daughter; *Somerviles* wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were brought to the Bar, and all condemned; *Somervile* as principall, the rest as accessaries. Three dayes after, *Somervile* was found strangled in the prison; *Arden* was executed and quartered; the women and the Priest were spared. Many pitied the old Gentleman *Arden*, as misled by the Priest, and (as it was generally believed) brought to his end through the envy of *Leicester*, whom he used to call Whore-master, Upstart, and many such opprobrious names.

In the *Netherlands*, the English Garrison at *Alost* in *Flanders* being neglected, the Governour *Pigot*, and the other Captains, for want of pay, upon

Compoſition, yeelded up the Town to the Spaniard, and then fearing diſgrace at home, joyned themſelves to the Prince of *Parma*, at whoſe hands finding themſelves ſlighted, by degrees they ſtole all away, and came all to unlucky ends.

In *Ireland* the famous Rebell, *Gyrald Fitz Gyrald*, the eleventh Earl of *Deſmond* of this Family, having a long time in lurking places eſcaped the Engliſh, was now by a common Souldier found out in a poor Cottage, and ſlain. His head was ſent into *England*, and ſet upon *London*-Bridge. This end had this great Lord, deſcended from *Maurice*, the ſon of *Gyrald* of *Windſore*, an Engliſh-man, famous amongſt thoſe who firſt ſet upon *Ireland*, in the yeer 1170. He poſſeſſed whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of *Kerry*, and had of his own Name and Race, at leaſt five hundred Gentlemen at his command. All whom, and his own life alſo, he loſt within the ſpace of three yeers, very few of his Houſe being left alive. And this diſaſter he fell into, by proving Trayterous to his Prince, at the inſtigation of certain Popiſh Prieſts. Of whom, the chief was one *Nicholas Sanders* an Engliſh-man, who at the ſame time died miſerably of Famine, being ſtarved to death, when as being forſaken, and running mad upon his ill ſucceſſe, he roamed up and down the Mountains and Groves, finding nothing to ſuſtain him. In his Scrip were found certain Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebells, and promiſing large rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebells ill ſucceſſe, *James Fitz Euſtace*, Viſcount *Baltinglas*, fled into *Spain*, where he pined away with grief. He out of zeal to the Romane Religion, a little before he had taken up Arms with the Rebells, and exhorting the Earl of *Ormond* his neighbour to do the like, (who drew his Linage from St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*) he uſed theſe words to perſwade him, That if Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury* had not dyed for the Church of ROME, thou hadſt never been Earl of *Ormond*, for King HENRY the ſecond, to expiate the murther of THOMAS BECKET, gave large Lands in *Ormond* to his Predeceſſors.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain Scots, together with *Gowry*, plotted again to ſurprize the King, pretending onely a care of Religion, and to remove ill Councellors from him: but the King having intelligence of their practiſe, uſed means by Colonell *Steward*, to have *Gowry* taken and caſt into priſon: whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the confederates, flie into *England*, and beſeech the Queen to commiſerate their eſtate, who had incurred the Kings diſpleaſure, to do her and the Kingdom of *England* ſervice. The King on the other ſide, accuſeth them to the Queen of haynous crimes, and requires to have them delivered up into his hands. But Secretary *Walſingham*, who bore great good will to theſe men, ſent Letters with a Command, That they ſhould be ſafely admitted into *Linds Ferme*, otherwiſe called, The holy Iſland; where *Hunſdon* being Governour there, and great addicted to the King of Scots, reſiſted *Walſinghams* Command, alleadging he could not ſatisfie the Secretary in this point, unleſſe the Queen gave expreſſe Command. Hereupon grew a Diſpute, Whether a Secretary of State might not tranſact a buſineſſe of State, without ſpeciall Commiſſion from the Prince. How this Caſe was determined, is uncertain; but ſure it is, the Scots came not thither, though ſome favour they had ſhewed them here in *England*. In the mean time, *Gowry* was tryed by his Peers, at *Steclyn*; where, being accuſed of many Treaſons, though he gave colourable anſwers to them all, yet was found guilty, condemed, and beheaded; whoſe head his ſervants ſewing to his body, committed to the Grave.

GOWRY

About

About this time were practiſes plotted againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, chiefly by *Francis Throgmorton*, eldeſt ſon of *John Throgmorton*, Juſtice of *Cheſter*, who came to be ſuſpected, by reaſon of Letters ſent to the Queen of Scots which were intercepted. Upon his apprehenſion, *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel*, privately ſtole away into *France*, grievouſly complaining againſt *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and uſing ſuch wiles, that ſcarce any man was able to live in ſafety. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, were confined to their houſes, his wife committed to the cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Shirley*; *William Howard*, the Earls brother, and *Henry Howard* their Unkle, brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, were examined about Letters from the Queen of Scots; and many Statagems were ſet on foot, dangerous to ſome particular perſons, but neceſſary (as ſhould ſeem) for the Queens ſecurity. Certain it is, That now the malice of the Papiſts againſt the Queen, brake forth more violently than ever before; for in printed Books they ſtirred up the Queens own ſervants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did on *Olophernes*. The Author of theſe Books could not be found, but the ſuſpition lay upon one *Gregory Martin*, ſometime of *Oxford*; and *Carter* a Stationer, who printed the Books, ſuffered for it. And whereas the Papiſts every where traduced the Queen for cruelty, ſhe deſirous alwayes to leave a bleſſed remembrance behinde her, grew extremely offended with the Commiſſioners for Popiſh cauſes, taxing them of too much cruelty, inſomuch that they were fain, in a printed Declaration, to cleer themſelves, proteſting; That they queſtioned no man for his Religion, but onely for dangerous attempts againſt the Queen and State, and that *Campian* himſelf was never ſo Racked, but that he could preſently walk up and down. But all this gave not the Queen ſatisfaction, but ſhe commanded the Commiſſioners to forbear tortures, and the Judges other puniſhments; and not long after, when ſeventy Prieſts were taken, and ſome of them condemned, and the reſt in danger of the Law, ſhe cauſed them all to be Shipped away, and ſent out of *England*: The chief of whom were *Gaſpar Heywood*, the great Epigrammatiſt's ſon, the firſt Jeſuite that ever ſet foot in *England*; *James Beſgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edmund Riſhton*.

At this time *Mendoza* the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, was thruſt out of *England*, for joyning with *Throgmorton*, in his Treaſon againſt the Queen; whereupon Sir *William Waad* was ſent to the King of *Spain*, to ſatisfie him how ill *Mendoza* had diſcharged the Office of an Ambaſſadour here in *England*; who, when the King admitted him not to his Preſence, but in a ſlighting manner, putting him off to his Councellors; *Waad* taking it in great diſdain, boldly ſaid, That it was a declared Cuſtome among Princes (though in heat of War) to give Ambaſſadours audience, and thereupon ſtourly refuſed to declare his Ambaſſage, and ſo returned into *England* unheard. The greateſt matters laid to *Mendoza*'s charge, were gotten out of *Throgmorton*'s Confeſſion; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he ſent to *Mendoza* a box of Writings; and when his Cheſts were ſearched, there were found two Scrowls, one with the names of the Ports of *England*, and in the other the names of the Nobility and Gentry in *England* that favoured the Romiſh Religion. Theſe, when *Throgmorton* ſaw brought forth, he ſaid they were counterfeited, and ſtood to it upon the very Rack; but being brought to the Rack the ſecond time, he then confeſſed all, That *Morgan* by Letters out of *France*, had given him information, that the Catholike Princes had decreed to invade *England*, and with the help of the Duke of *Guiſe*, to free the Q. of Scots, and that nothing was now wanting, but money & ayd in *England*: and that for procuring of this, *Charls Paget*,

under the counterfeit name of *Mope*, was sent into *Sussex*, where the Duke of *Guise* intended to land, and that he had imparted all this matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the names of the Ports, and of the Noble-men that should assist. But being arraigned at the Guild-hall, he denyed all this again, saying, He had spoken so, because he would not be Racked again. Yet being condemned to die, he flying to the Queens mercy, confessed in a manner all he had before related; and then at the Gallows went about to deny it again. So false to it self is the minde of man when it is divided between hope and fear, and lies under the burden of a guilty conscience.

Sir *William Wade* being returned from *Spain*, was employed to the Queen of *Scots*, about a Treaty begun two years before: To whom, the distressed Queen sincerely professed, That she devoted her service and her selfe to the Queen of *England*, and made solemne promise, That if the former Treaty might go on, she would mediate with the King her Son, to receive into favour the Earl of *Angus*, and the other Scottish Lords, and would charge the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Glasco*, her Agents in *France*, to have no further to do with the English Fugitives. These things Queen *Elizabeth* heard gladly, and thereupon sent *Beale* to the Queen of *Scots*, who joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbery* should signifie unto her, That if she continued still in the same minde, as she had delivered to *Wade*; Sir *Walter Mildmay* should come out of hand to her, and Treat concerning her liberty: but withall she commanded *Mildmay* and *Beale* to dive into her as well as they could, to know what practises the Duke of *Guyse* had on foot. To that which she had spoken to sir *William Wade*, the Queen of *Scots* made a wary answer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guyse*, she plainly confesseth; That being sickly her selfe, and weak of body, she had committed her selfe and her Son, to the Protection of the Duke of *Guyse*, her dear Cosen, of whose intendments she knoweth nothing; nor if she did, would she disclose them, unlesse she might be sure of her own liberty. Lastly, she requesteth, That being a free and an absolute Prince, she may not be worse handled, than Queen *Elizabeth* her selfe was, when she was a subject, and kept in prison by her Sister. These things had a hearing, but no feeling, and the rather by a strange accident; for *Creighton* a Scottish Jesuit, sayling from the *Low-Countries*, and taken by Dutch Pirats, had certain papers which he tore and threw away, which thrown over-boord, and by the winde blown back into the ship, miraculously (as *Creighton* himselfe sayd) they were brought to sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much labour and cunning, discovered by them some new intendments of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Guyse*, about the Invading of *England*: Whereupon, and upon divers other rumors, the better to provide for the safety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects (the Earl of *Leicester* being the foremost) men of all ranks and conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other, by their oaths and subscriptions, to persecute all those to the very death, that should attempt any thing against the Queen; which league of theirs, they called the Association.

The Queen of *Scots* who presently apprehended, that this Association was entred into for her destruction; maketh this proposition by *Nave* her Secretary to the Queen and the Councell; That if she might have her liberty granted, and be assured of the Queens love, she would enter a strict league and amity with her, and passing by all matters of offence, esteem and honor her, above all the Princes of the Christian World; yea, and (saving the ancient League betwixt *France*, and *Scotland*) she would her selfe be comprehended in the Association, and a League defensive, against all that should go about to injure the Queen. Herewith Queen *Elizabeth* was wonderfully pleased, and at that time certainly had an inclination to grant her freedom. But see what malice can do, for many in *England*, but specially the *Scots* of

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the adverse party, endeavoured by all means to hinder it; exclaiming, That the Queen could be no longer in safety, if the Queen of *Scots* were set at liberty, That both Kingdoms were utterly undone, if she were admitted into the joynt Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the reformed Religion lay a bleeding, if Papists were admitted within the Court walls; nor was this all, but the Scottish Ministers in their Pulpits, loaded the Q. of *Scots* with all manner of contumelies, slandred the King himselfe, and his Councell in most bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refused, saying, That the Pulpits were exempted from all Regall Authority, and that Ecclesiasticall persons, were not to be censured by the Prince, but by their own Consistory (directly against the Laws made the year before in Parliament) whereby the Kings Authority over all persons, whether Ecclesiasticall, or Secular, was confirmed: and namely, That the King and his Councell, were Supream Judges in all Causes; and that whosoever refused to be tryed by them, should be holden guilty of High-treason; all Presbyteries and Lay-conventicles forbidden, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the authority of Bishops restored, whose Calling the Presbyteries had condemned as wicked and Antichristian: And lastly, all scurrilous Libels against the King and his mother, prohibited, namely, the Scottish History of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

At this time, upon her adversaries suggestion, the Queen of *Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbery*, and committed to the custody of sir *Amis Paulet* and sir *Drue Drury*; and that on set purpose (as some were perswaded) to drive her into abrupt and desperate attempts; and indeed upon this, she grew more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to hasten their intendment, whatsoever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as some sayd) that *Leicester* sent out assasinats to make her away; but that *Drury* detested the villany, and would grant them no accesse.

And now to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* utterly from her, it is suggested to her, That *Allen* for the Catholicks of the Clergy, *Inglefield* for the Layity, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queen of Scots, with consent of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, had joyntly combined to depose her, and to bar the King of *Scotland* from his hereditary Right to the Crown of *England*, and to marry the Queen of Scots to an English Noble-man of the Romish Religion, and him the English Catholikes should chuse King of *England*, and the Pope confirm the Election; and all this upon the credit of *Hais* the Priest: but who this English Noble-man should be that should marry the Queen of Scots, could not be found, though *Walsingham* were very busie to search it out: the fame went upon *Henry Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolks* brother, who was a single man, a great Papist, and of high estimation amongst the Catholikes.

This yeer died in Exile and misery, *Charles Nevill*, who was in the Rebellion of the North, the last Earl of *Westmerland* of this Family; a House from whence descended many Noble Personages, six Earls of *Westmerland*, two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marquesse *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Wemsley*, the Lord *Latymer*, the Lord of *Abergavenny*, one Queen, and five Dutchesses (to let passe Countesses and Baronesses) an Arch-bishop of *York*, and a numerous company of other Lords. In *England* died none of reckoning this yeer, but onely *Plowden* the famous Lawyer, but in *France*, the Duke of *Anjou* died of grief, and in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, shot into the body with three Bullets, by one *Balthaser Gerard*, a Burgundian.

It was now the yeer 1585, and the eight and twentieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign, when, to tie the French King more nearly to her, whom the yeer before she had received into the number of the Knights of the Garter,

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she sent the Earl of *Derby* into *France*, to invest him with the Robes and Ornaments, according to the due Solemnity, which he kindely accepted, and at Evening Prayer was invested with them.

At this time a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, wherein *William Parrie* a Welsh-man, a Doctor of the Laws, when in the Lower House a Bill was read against the Jesuites, he alone stood up, and exclaimed that it was a cruell and bloody Law: and being asked his reason, he stoutly refused, unlesse he were required by the Lords of the Councell. Hereupon he was sent to the Gate-house, but upon submission, was received into the House again. Soon after, he was accused by *Edward Nevill*, for holding secret consultations about making the Queen away; Who thereupon apprehended, upon his examination, confessed in effect this much, That out of discontent he went beyond the Sea, where, by the encouragement of *Campegio* the Popes Nuntio at *Venice*, and grant of a plenary Indulgence from the Pope, he undertook to kill the Queen; but coming into *England* to that intent, he altered his minde, and disclosed to the Queen the whole matter. After this, he received a Letter from the Cardinall of *Como*, perswading him to go forward with the Enterprise; and this Letter also he shewed the Queen. After this, he chanced to see a Book of Doctor *Allens*, written *contra Justitiam Britannicam*, wherein was declared, That Princes who were for heresie excommunicate, might lawfully be deprived of their life and Kingdom. This book wonderfully confirmed him, and he read it to *Nevill*; who, though he took an oath of secrecy, yet now upon a hope of the Earldom of *Westmerland*, betrayed him. This was his confession, before Baron *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*: as likewise in his Letters to the Queen, to the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, acknowledging his fault, and craving mercy. A few dayes after, he was called to the Bar in *Westminster*-Hall, where he confessed himself guilty, and thereupon was condemned. After the Sentence of death pronounced, he furiously cited the Queen to Gods Tribunall: five dayes after he was laid upon a Hurdle, and dragged thorow the City to *Westminster*, where at the Gibbet he made a vain-glorious boasting of his faithfulnesse to the Queen, but not so much as in a word commended himself to God; and in the great Palace at *Westminster* was executed as a Traytor, the Nobility and Commons sitting then in Parliament.

In this Parliament, the Association before spoken of, was universally approved, and enacted in this Form; That four and twenty, or more, of the Queens Privy Councell, and Peers of the Realm, should be selected and authorized, under the Great Seal of *England*, *To make enquiry of all such persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any evill against the Queens Person; for whomsoever, and by whomsoever, that layeth any claim to the Crown of* England; *and that person for whom, or by whom they shall attempt any such thing, shall be altogether uncapable of the Crown*; and more to this purpose. Laws also for the Queens safety, were enacted against Jesuites and Popish Priests, and against all that shall receive or relieve them. These Laws terrified many; and particularly out of fear of them, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Norfolks* eldest son, purposed with himself to travell beyond Seas; for having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Councell, and confined to his house, and after six months set at liberty, he hereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen, That for the Service of God, and his souls health, he purposed to leave his Countrey, but not his loyall affection towards her; but as he was taking Shipping, by his own servants treachery he was discovered, apprehended, and laid in the Tower.

At the same time lay in the Tower, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, a man of a lofty spirit, being suspected by reason of secret consultation with

with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget*, and the *Guiſes*, about the invading of *England*, and freeing of the Queen of *Scots* (whoſe cauſe he ever highly favoured) but in the moneth of *June*, he was found dead in his bed, ſhot into the body with three bullets, under his right pappe, and the door bolted on the inſide: The Corroners Inqueſt examining the matter, found and pronounced, that he had killed himſelfe. Three dayes after, the Lords meeting in the *Star-chamber*, *Bromeley* Lord Chancellor, declared this fact of the Earls, and then commanded the Atturney Generall to ſhew the cauſes of his imprisonment, and the manner of his death; whereupon, *Popham* firſt, and then *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, in long Orations, lay open all his Treaſons, and how for feare of the Law, he had layd violent hands upon himſelfe.

And now the Queen knowing that the ſeeds of theſe Treaſons proceeded from the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his adherents, ſhe ſought for the ſtrengthning of her ſelfe, to enter into League with the Princes of *Germany*; and to this end, ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmarke*, to the Count Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Duke of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Brunſwicke*, *Lunceburg*, the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, and the *Lant grave* of *Heſſia*; and into *Scotland*, ſhe ſent Sir *Edward Wootton*, to let the King underſtand how ſincerely ſhe was affected towards him, and withall to draw the King (if he could) into a League of mutuall defence and offence, and to commend to him the Match of the King of *Denmarks* Daughter. The King was very inclinable to the matter of the League, but for the preſent the buſineſſe was interrupted, by the death of *Francis Ruſſell*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, ſlain at a meeting to compound a difference between the Borderers, by a ſudden tumult of the *Scots*, but who it was that ſlew him, was not known. The Engliſh layd it upon the Earl of *Arran*, and the Lord *Fernihurſt* Governour of the middle Borders; whereupon, at the Queenes complaint, the Earl of *Arran* was confined, and *Fernihurſt* committed to priſon at *Dundee*, where he dyed; a man of great valour and reſolution, and one that was alwayes firm for the Queen of *Scots*. But Queen *Elizabeth* not thus ſatisfied, gave leave by way of connivance to the Scottiſh Lords that were fled into *England*, namely, the Earl of *Angus*, the *Hamiltons*, *John* and *Cladius*, the Earl of *Marre*, *Glames*, and other, that they ſhould ſteal away into *Scotland* (ſhe ſupplying them with money) there to maſter and ſubdue the Earl of *Arran*. For *Maxwell*, who was lately made Earl of *Bothwell*, Baron *Humes*, *Coldingknells* and other in *Scotland*, had already promiſed them their aſſiſtance, even in the very Court. Sir *Patrick Grey* (*Arrans* great Rivall for the Kings favour) *Belenden*, and Secretary *Maitland* (by *Woottons* craft) were made againſt *Arran*. Theſe men, upon their firſt entry into *Scotland*, command all perſons in the Kings name, to ayd them for conſerving the truth of the Goſpell, for freeing the King from corrupt Councellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the Engliſh, ſo as there preſently joyned with them about eight thouſand men. The Earle of *Arran* hearing hereof, makes haſte to the King, and accuſeth *Patricke Grey* as author of this commotion: but whiles *Arran* was making proviſion for defence of the Town, the enemies were ready to ſcale the Walls: whereupon, *Arran* being adviſed, that only his life was ſought, gets ſecretly away with only one ſervant, the reſt betook themſelves to the King in the Caſtle. Then the Rebels get into the Market-place, and diſplay their Banners againſt the Caſtle: the King ſends *Grey* to know the reaſon of their comming; they anſwer, to ſubmit themſelves, and in humble manner to kiſſe the Kings hands: the King offereth reſtitution of all their goods, if they would depart; They deſire to be admitted to his Preſence, which upon theſe conditions the King granted. That they ſhould not attempt any thing againſt his liſe, or thoſe whom he ſhould nominate, nor make any innovation in the Government. They

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proteſt, They are ready to ſacrifice their lives for the Kings ſafety, and of any Innovation they had not ſo much as a thought; onely they requeſt to have their adverſaries, and the Fortifications of *Scotland* delivered up into their hands. Hereupon after a dayes Conſultation, they are admitted into the Kings Preſence and forthwith the Earls of *Mount Roſſe*, *Crawford*, and *Rothſay*; Colonell *Steward*, *Downs*, *Arran*'s brothers, and others, were delivered to them: The Earl of *Arran*, who was fled into the Weſtern Iſlands, is called home; the aſſaulters were pardoned, and pronounced good ſubjects. *Hamilton* is ſet over *Dumbriton* Caſtle; *Goldingknolls* over *Edinburgh*; the Earl of *Angus* over *Tantallon*; the Earl of *Marre* over *Stelyn*; and *Glames* is made Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Proſcriptions and Outlaries whatſoever againſt all perſons, ſince the Kings Inauguration) ſaving ſome few proſcribed for the murder of the Kings Father) are called in, and with an unanimous conſent of all parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of *England* is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to that purpoſe.

In *Ireland* likewiſe was a Combuſtion this yeer; firſt the *Burkes* (deſcended of the ancient Family of the *Burroughs* in *England*) provoked by the ſevere Government of *Richard Bingham*, Governour of *Connaght*, raiſe Rebellion; but this was ſoon ſuppreſſed, for *Thomas Burk* dyed fighting; *Meyler*, and *Theobald Burke*, were taken and hanged. After this, the *Clan-Gibbons*, *Clan-Donells*, and *Foyes*, combined together in great numbers, and ſay plainly, They will have a *Mac-William* of their own, one of the *Burks* to rule over them, or ſome other Lord out of *Spain*; they will admit of no Sheriff into their Countrey, nor appear before the Engliſh Courts of Juſtice; and thereupon harryed all the Countrey with Fire and Sword, and neither by the perſwaſions of the Arch-biſhop *Tuan*, nor by the intreaties of the Earl of *Clan-ricard* (the chief of the Houſe of the *Burks*) would be quieted, till *John Bingham* the Preſidents brother, following them into the Woods, drave away five thouſand Head of their Cattell, ſo as after forty dayes, half ſtarved, they came forth and ſubmitted themſelves. But this was not yet an end; for now the Preſident underſtood, That two thouſand Scottiſh Iſlanders were landed, and ready to break into *Connaght*; whereupon he Muſters his men to give them Battell; but they flying to Bogs and Woods, he retires back as though in fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm ground, and then with his whole Forces ſet upon them, ſlew three thouſand of them (indeed all but fourſcore) amongſt whom were *Donell Garmy*, and *Alexander Garmy*, the ſons of *James Mac-Conell*, who had long diſquieted this part, and thoſe *Burkes* who were the firſt authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the good of the preſent and future times; for hereby the name of the *Mac-Williams* in *Connaght* was utterly extinct, and the inſolent attempts of the Scottiſh Iſlanders abſolutely cruſhed.

In the *Low-Countries* at this time the States were very hard beſet, ſo as they held a Conſultation, Whether to flie for protection, either to the French King, or to the Queen of *England*. Monſieur *Pruni* the French Ambaſſadour ſhewed many advantages, and gave many reaſons why they ſhould flie rather to the French King; the Engliſh on the other ſide, alleadged many reaſons why they ſhould flie rather to the Queen of *England*: but in concluſion, they have firſt recourſe to the King of *France*, and afterward being by him neglected, to the Queen of *England*. But then in *England* it was conſulted, Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein the Councell was divided; ſome were of opinion, That it were good to receive and aid them, leſt the Spaniard firſt conquering them, might have the better way to annoy *England*; other again thought, They were to be held no better then Rebells to their lawfull Soveraign, and therefore unworthy of aſſiſtance. After long debating the matter, the Queen refuſeth to take into

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protection, much leſſe to exerciſe Soveraignty over them. Nevertheleſſe, to raiſe the Siege of *Antwerp*, which was then beleaguer'd by the Prince of *Parma*, ſhe was content to ſupply them with four thouſand Souldiers, ſo as the Town of *Sluce*, and the Ordnance belonging to it, were given up into their hands: but while this matter was diſcuſſing, the Town of *Antwerp* was fain to yeeld it ſelf.

But the Queen better bethinking herſelf, partly, as fearing the growth of the King of *Spain*'s power, and partly, as commiſerating the afflicted of her own Religion, at laſt reſolves to undertake their protection, upon condition of her part, to ſupply them with five thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, under a ſufficient Generall, paying them during the War; And afterward the expences to be payed back, upon condition on their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver *Fluſhing*, and the Fort of *Ramekyn*, the Town of *Brill*, with the two neighbouring Forts: and for the juſtifying of this her action, ſhe ſet forth a large Declaration. And knowing that herein ſhe incenſed the King of *Spain*, ſhe thought beſt to turn his anger further from home, and thereupon ſent out Sir *Francis Drake*, and *Chriſtopher Carlile*, with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein were two thouſand Voluntaries and Marriners) toward the Weſt Indies; who firſt ſurprized the Town of St. *Jago*, afterwards St. *Dominick* (where five and twenty thouſand Crowns were given them, to ſpare the Town from burning) afterward *Cartagena*, which they held ſeven weeks, till the Spaniards redeemed it for a hundred and ten thouſand Crowns. After this, the *Calenture* waxing hot, and diminiſhing their Forces, they returned homewards, paſſing by *Virginia*, a Colony which Sir *Walter Raleigh* had there planted; from whence *Drake* brings home with him *Ralph Lane*, who was the firſt that brought Tobacco into *England*, which the Indians take againſt crudities of the Stomack. At this Expedition were loſt about ſeven hundred men, who for the moſt part died of *Calentures*: their Booty amounted to the value of threeſcore thouſand pounds Sterling, beſides two hundred and forty Braſſe and Iron Pieces. Theſe things were done under the Torrid Zone in *America*; when in the mean while, Captain *John Davis*, with two Ships (at the charges of *William Sanderſon*, and other Citizens of *London*) found out away to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the higher part of *America*, under the Frigid Zone.

At the end of this yeere, the Earle of *Leiceſter* is ſent Generall of the Queenes Forces into *Holland*, accompanied with the Earle of *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley*, and *North*, Sir *William Ruſſell*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, and divers other Knights, beſides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at *Fluſhing*, he was firſt by Sir *Philip Sidney* the Governour his Nephew, and after by the Townes of *Zeland* and *Holland*, entertained in moſt magnificent manner, and comming to the *Hague* in *January*; the *States* by Patent committed to him the command and abſolute authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governour and Captain Generall of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and the Confederate Provinces: So as being now ſaluted with the Title of his Excellency, he began to aſſume unto him Princely ſpirits. But the Queene tooke him ſoone off from further aſpiring, Writing to him in moſt peremptory manner; That ſhe wondred how a man whom ſhe had raiſed out of the duſt, could ſo contemptuouſly violate her commands, and therefore charged him upon his Allegiance, to put in execution the Injunctions ſhe ſent him by HENNAGE her VICE-CHAMBERLAINE; Withall, in Letters apart, She expoſtulateth with the States, that to her great diſparagement, they had caſt upon the Earle of *Leiceſter* her Subject, the abſolute command over the united PROVINCES without her privity, which ſhe her ſelfe had utterly refuſed, and therfore willeth them to Deveſt him of that abſolute authority, to

whom ſhe had ſet bounds, which he ſhould not paſſe. The *States* returne Anſwer, That they are heartily ſorry they ſhould incurre her diſpleaſure by conferring upon the Earle that abſolute Authority, not having firſt made her acquainted, but they beſeeched her to conſider the neceſſity of it; ſeeing, that for avoyding of confuſion, that Authority muſt needs be caſt upon ſome one or other; Neither, was there any great matter in the word *Abſolute*, ſeeing the Rule and Dominion reſided ſtill in the people. By theſe Letters, and *Leiceſters* own ſubmiſſive writing, the Queen was ſoon ſatisfied; *Leiceſter* all this while receiveth Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces, maketh Martiall Laws, and endeavouring likewiſe to raiſe new Cuſtoms upon Merchandizes, incurred great diſlike amongſt the common people. His firſt ſervice was to relieve *Grave*, a Town in *Brabant*, which the Prince of *Parma*, by Count *Mansfield* had beſieged: Hither he ſent the Count *Hohenlo* a German, and *Norris* Generall of the Engliſh Foot; but notwithſtanding all the great ſervice they did there, the Town in the end was taken; but *Hemart* the Governor, for his cowardly yeelding it up, loſt his head. From hence the Prince of *Parma* marched into *Gelderland*, and pitched his Tents before *Venlow*, where *Skenkic* a Friezlander, and *Roger Williams* a Welſhman performed great ſervice, yet that Town in a ſhort time was taken alſo. But in the mean while, the Lord *Willoughby* Governor of *Bergen ap Zome*, cut off the enemies Convoyes, and took away their victualls; and Sir *Philip Sidney*, and *Maurice* the Prince of *Oranges* Son, upon a ſudden on-ſet, took *Axale* a Town in *Flanders*. From *Venlo* the Prince of *Parma* goes to *Berke*, where there were twelve thouſand Engliſh, under the command of Colonell *Morgan*; he notwithſtanding layd Siege to the Town, which the Earl of *Leiceſter* came to raiſe, but finding his Forces to weak to raiſe it, he ſeeks to divert it, by Beleaguering *Duiſbourgh*; which before the Prince of *Parma* could come to relieve, he tooke. And now the Prince of *Parma*, fearing leaſt *Zutphin* ſhould come in danger, commandeth victualls to be carried thither, which the Spaniards carrying along in a fogge, the Engliſh by chance lighted on them, vanquiſhed a Troop of their Horſe, ſlew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and divers other, but then on the Engliſh ſide was one ſlain, more worth than all the Engliſh and Spaniards put together; Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his horſe ſlain under him, and getting upon another, was ſhot into the thigh, and 25 dayes after, in the floure of his age, dyed: A man of ſo many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valour and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity; that as he had equalled all thoſe of former Ages, ſo future Ages wil hardly be able to equal him. His Funeralls were in ſumptuous manner ſolemnized at St. *Pauls* Church in *London*. *James* King of *Scotland* made his Epitaph, and both Univerſities celebrated his death with Funerall Verſes.

After this, *Leiceſter* aſſaulteth *Zutphen*, where ſetting upon a Fort, he takes it in this manner; *Edward Stanley* (of the *Stanlies* of *Elford*) catching hold of a Spaniards Launce, which was brandiſhed at him, held it ſo faſt, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort; whereupon, the Spaniards being affrighted (as thinking all the enemies were comming up) forſook the place; *Leiceſter* knighted *Stanly* for this act, gave him forty pounds in preſent money, and yeerly Penſion of an hundred Marks during his life. And now though in this forwardneſſe to winne the Town, yet winter being already come on, he thought it unſeaſonable to beſiege it any longer (eſpecially ſo many Engliſh Garriſons lying round about it, which were in nature of a ſiege) but returned to the *Hague*, where the *States* entertained him with complaints, that their money was not carefully husbanded, that the number of the Engliſh ſupplies was not full, that forreign ſouldiers were levyed without their conſent, that the priviledges of the united Provinces were ſet at nought, and new deviſes for contribution invented; for all which evills,

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they entreat him to provide ſome preſent remedy. To which complaints (having a purpoſe to go for *England*) he gave a friendly anſwer; but upon the very day in which he was to depart, he committeth the government of the Province, to the deliberation of the *States*; and the ſame day, made another private inſtrument of writing, where he reſerved to himſelf the whole authority over the Governours of the ſeverall Provinces, Cities, and Forts; and more than this, taketh away the wonted juriſdiction from the *States* Councell, and Preſidents of the Provinces; and came into *England* the third day of *December*. And thus paſſed the affairs of the *Nether-lands* for this yeare.

But in *England*, *Philip* Earle of *Arundel*, who had lyen in Priſon a whole year, was at laſt brought to the Starchamber; and being charged with foſtering of Prieſts, and having correſpondence with *Allen* and *Parſons* the Jeſuit, and offering to depart the Kingdom without licence, was fined ten thouſand pounds, and impriſonment during the Queens p'eaſure.

At this time, the Queen, by Sir *Horatio Palavicino*, ſupplied with a large ſumme of money the King of *Navarre*; thorow whoſe ſide, the *Guyſes* oppoſed the reformed Religion in *Scotland*; but her moſt intentive care was how to unite *England* and *Scotland* in a ſolid friendſhip: To which end, ſhe ſent *Thomas Randoll* into *Scotland*, who making Propoſitions to the King, touching a League offenſive and defenſive, though the King at firſt required ſome additions, and though the French Ambaſſador infinitely oppoſed it, yet at laſt he conſented to it; and in *July* following, there met at *Burwick*, *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Euer*, and *Thomas Randoll* for the Queen of *England*; *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, and *Humes* for the King of *Scots*, and there the League (which was called the League of ſtrict Amity; for that the word *offenſive* liked not the *Scots*) was upon certain points concluded: Firſt, for the maintenance of the reformed Religion, and then other ſuch Articles, as commonly in Leagues are uſuall.

The very ſame moneth that this League was agreed on, a moſt dangerous conſpiracy againſt the Queen was diſcovered. For firſt, one *John Savage*, was by the perſwaſions of *Gifford*, Doctor in Divinity, induced to believe, that it was a meritorious work, to take away the lives of Princes Excommunicate, who thereupon vowed to kill Queen *Elizabeth*: but to make the Queen and her Councell ſecure, at the very ſame time they wrote a book, exhorting the Papiſts in *England*, to attempt nothing againſt their Prince, and to uſe only the Chriſtian weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Faſting. About *Whitſuntide*, one *Ballard* a Seminary Prieſt of *Rheims*, acquainted with the vow of *Savage* (having dealt in *France* with *Mendoza* and *Charles Paget*, about invading of *England*) arrived here in a ſouldiers habit, and by a counterfeit name, called Captain *Foſcu*; with theſe matters he acquaints one *Anthony Babington*, a gentleman of *Darbyſhire*, who by the Biſhop of *Glaſco*, the Queen of *Scots* Ambaſſador in *France*, had been commended to her, as one worthy of her love; ſo, as between them, there paſſed often letters in unknown characters. In ſhort time, *Babington* had drawn into the Plot, other gentlemen as zealous of the Romiſh Religion as himſelfe; namely, *Edward Windſor*, brother to the Lord *Windſor*; *Thomas Salubery* of a good Family in *Devonſhire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queens Penſioners, *Chydiock Tichburne* of *Hantſhire*, *Edward Abington* (whoſe father was Coferer to the Queen) *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Traverſe*, and *John Charnock* of *Lancaſhire*, *John Jones*. *Savage* formerly ſpoken of, *Barnwell* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dunne* a Clerk in the Office of Firſt-fruits and Tenths, one *Pollie* alſo ſerued himſelfe into their company, a fellow throughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of *Scots*, who was thought to have revealed all their conſultations to *Walſingham* day by day. To theſe Gentlemen, *Babington* communicateth his affairs, but not

every particular to every one, but to *Ballard*, *Tichburne*, and *Dunne*, he sheweth the Letters which passed between him and the Queen of *Scots*; with *Tilney* and the rest, he dealeth to be the Assassinates; of whom, some at first loth, at last consented, and in a foolish vaingloriousnesse, a picture of the Assassinates was made to the life, and *Babington* in the midst, with these words; *Quorsum hæc alio properentibus?* This Picture (they say) was gotten and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by face, but only *Bernwell* (who had oftentimes come to her in the causes of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose servant he was) Certain it is, that the Queen one day walking abroad, spyed this *Bernwell*, and turning to *Hatton* sayd, Am not I well Guarded, that have not so much as one man in the company with a sword by his side? Thus much *Bernwell* himselfe told the rest of his confederacy, and how easie a matter it had bin to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the aforesayd *Gifford*: This man was a gentleman of a good Hou'e at *Chellington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queen of *Scots* was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the English fugitives in *France*, under the counterfeit name of *Luson*, to put *Savage* in minde of the vow he had made, and to convey letters between them and the Queen of *Scots*. But he, whether pricked in conscience, or dismayed in minde, came to *Walsingham* privately, revealing who he was, and for what end, and by whom sent into *England*. *Walsingham* courteously entertained him, and sent him down into *Staffordshire*, to do the work he had undertaken. Here *Gifford* bribing the Brewer of the House, where the Queen of *Scots* lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by messengers purposely layd by the way, came evermore to *Walsinghams* hands, who broke them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one *Thomas Philips*, found out the meaning of the private Characters, and by the singular Art of *Arthur Gregory*, sealed them again so curiously, that no man would imagine them to have been opened, and ever sent them to the parties, to whom the superscription directed them. In like manner were the former letters from the Queen of *Scots* to *Babington* intercepted; as also, other letters written at the same time to *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador, *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Archbishop of *Glasco*, and *Francis Englefield*. The Queen as soon as she understood by these letters of the storm hanging over her head, both at home and abroad, commanded *Ballard* to be apprehended, who on a sodain is taken in *Babingtons* house. *Babington* hereupon goeth to *Walsingham*, with whom he had long been a suiter, for licence to go into *France*, promising to do great matters in discovering the practises of the Fugitives; *Walsingham* with fair promises drives him off from day to day; and now perswades him, that for a small space till he could get his license sealed, he would lodge at his house in *London*, where they might have secret conference without suspition. This Web *Walsingham* himselfe had spun hitherto, and no other of the Queens Councell were made acquainted; and longer yet he would have drawn the thread out, but that the Queen was unwilling; least (as she sayd) by not avoyding danger when she might, she should seem rather to tempt God, than to trust in him. Whereupon, *Walsingham* sent a Note to his man *Scudamore* from the Court, to looke carefully to *Babington*: This Note was delivered in such manner, that *Babington* sitting by at Table when *Scudamore* read it, overlooked him, and read it likewise; Hereupon, suspecting that all was discovered, the next night he and *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walsinghams* servants supping at a Tavern, and being very merry, he made an excuse that he must needs step aside, and rose up, leaving his Cloak and his sword, and so made haste through the dark to *Westminster*, where *Gage* and he changed apparel, and then together withdrew themselves

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into S. *Johns* wood neer the City, whether *Barnwell* alſo and *Dun* betook themſelves. In the mean ſpace they were proclaimed Traytors all *England* over. Hereupon they lay lurking in Woods and by-places; they ſhave *Babingtons* face, disfigure the beauty of his countenance (for he was of an extraordinary beauty) with the husks of green Wall-nuts; and when they were half ſtarved, went to the houſes of the *Bellamies*, neer *Harrow* on the hill, who were great Papiſts; There they were hid in Barns, and put into a Country habit: but notwithſtanding all their ſhifting, within ten dayes after they were diſcovered and brought to *London*. The other Complices were ſoon after taken, moſt of them in the Suburbs of the Citie, *Salisbury* and *Traverſe* in *Cheſhire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, who harboured them in his houſe, after he knew they were Proclaimed Traitors, *Windſor* only was never heard of. Many dayes were ſpent in the examination of them, who cut one the others throats with their own confeſſions. All this while, the Queen of *Scots* and her ſervants are ſo narrowly looked to by *Pawlet*, that ſhe knew nothing of all theſe paſſages: Aſſoon as they were apprehended, *Thomas Gorge* was ſent to acquaint her with the whole matter, which yet he did not do, till ſhe was got on horſe-back to Ride a hunting, and was not then ſuffered to return, but in ſhew of curteſie was carried up and down, to ſee the Houſes of the Gentry thereabouts. In which mean while, *John Manners*, *Edward Aſton*, *Richard Bagot*, and Sir *William Waad*, took *Nave* and *Curle* the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, and the reſt of her ſervants, and delivered them to Keepers apart, that they might have no ſpeech between themſelves, nor with their Lady the Queen of *Scots*. Then they break open all doors, and ſuch Desks and Boxes as they found with any papers in them, they ſet their ſeals upon, and ſent them to the Court: In which, being broken open before the Queen, were found a number of Letters from Forreign parts, the copies likewiſe of Letters ſent to ſeverall perſons, and threeſcore Alphabets at leaſt of private Characters; as alſo, Letters to her from ſome of the Engliſh Nobility, containing great proffers of love and ſervice, which the Queen notwithſtanding took no notice of, but paſſed over in ſilence, according to her Motto, *Video, & Taceo*, I ſee, and ſay nothing, *Gifford* now, who had all this while ſerved their turn, is ſent into *France*; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the French Ambaſſador here in *England*, with inſtructions, that he ſhould deliver no Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, or the Fugitives in *France*; but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he ſent underhand to Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

The twentieth of *September*, ſeven of the forenamed Conſpirators were Arraigned, and pleading guilty, were condemned of High-treaſon. Two dayes after, ſeven other were called to the Bar, who pleaded not guilty, but notwithſtanding were found guilty by their own confeſſions, and condemned; *Pollie* only, though he were privie to all paſſages, yet becauſe he had diſcloſed many things to *Walſingham*, was not called in queſtion. The twentieth day of the moneth, the firſt ſeven in St. *Giles* Fields, where they were wont to meet, were hanged, cut down inſtantly, their privy members cut off, and themſelves yet living and beholding it, were in cruell manner bowelled and quartered; namely, *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage* (who, the roap breaking, fell dowd from the Gibbet, and was preſently taken by the hangman, his privie members cut off, and bowelled, while he was perfectly living) *Barnwell*, *Tichburne*, *Tilney*, And *Abbington*. The next day, the other ſeven were drawn to the ſame place, and executed in the ſame faſhion, but in a more gentle manner, by the Queens ſpeciall charge, who deteſted the former cruelty, for they were to hang till they were quite dead. *Salisbery* firſt, then *Dun*, then *Jones*, *Chervock*, *Traverſe*, *Gage*, and with them *Hieronme Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was Proclaimed Traytor (whoſe brother being guilty of the ſame fact, had ſtrangled himſelfe in Priſon.

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When theſe men were executed, *Nave* a Frenchman, and *Curle* a Scotſman, Secretaries to the Queen of Scots, were examined concerning the Letters, the copies of Letters, and priviate Characters found in the Queen of Scots Cloſet; who under their own voluntary ſubſcriptions acknowledged, that they were their own hand writings, dictated in French by the Queen her ſelf, taken by *Nave*; turned into Engliſh by *Curle*, and copied out in ſecret Characters. Hereupon, Sir *Edward Wootton* was ſent out of hand into *France*, to make known to the King, the order of the Treaſon, and to ſhew him the copies of the Queen of *Scots* Letters, confirmed by the teſtimony of ſundry of the Engliſh Nobility, that the French King might ſee what dangerous plots were by *Charls Paget*, and the Engliſh Fugitives contrived againſt the Queen of *England*.

And now, what ſhould be done with the Queen of *Scots*, was a great conſultation, wherein the Councellours were not all of one minde; ſome conceived, That it were not good to take any rigorous courſe againſt her, but only to hold her in faſt cuſtody; both for that ſhe was not Authour of the Treaſon, but only conſcious to it, and becauſe ſhe was crazie, and not likely to live long. Others, out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, To have her forthwith Arraigned and put to death according to the Law; *Leiceſter* thought it better to have her poiſoned, and ſent a Divine to *Walſingham* to prove it lawfull, but *Walſingham* proteſted againſt that courſe. A difference then aroſe amongſt them, by what Law to proceed againſt her; Whether by the Law of the 25. of *Edward* the Third? (In which they are Pronounced guilty of Treaſon, who plot the deſtruction of the King or Queen, raiſe War in his Dominions, or adhere to his Adverſaries.) Or elſe by the 27. of the Queen, Enacted a year ſince: Their opinion at laſt prevailed, who thought beſt to proceed againſt her by this latter Law, as being indeed in this caſe provided. Whereupon, divers of the Lords of the Privie Councell, and other of the Nobility, are Authorized by the Queens Letters, to enquire by vertue of that Law, and paſſe ſentence againſt all ſuch as raiſed Rebellion, Invaded the Kingdome, or attempted any violence againſt the Queen. Theſe Commiſſioners therefore upon the 11. day of *October*, repaired to *Fotheringay* Caſtle in *Northamptonſhire*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then held priſoner; and the next day, ſent unto her *Walter Mildmay*, *Pawlet* and *Edward Barker*, publick Notary, who delivered her the Queens Letters; which, having with a ſetled countenance read, She ſayd, It ſeems to me ſtrange, that the Queen ſhould lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar; as though I were a Subject, ſeeing I am an abſolute Queen, no leſſe than her ſelfe; but howſoever, I will never do any thing prejudiciall to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of *Scotland*. After many meetings, ſhe ſtanding ſtill upon her innocency, and upon her exemption from anſwering, as being an abſolute Prince, and ſpecially for yeelding to be tryed by the Engliſh Laws; of which, One (ſhe ſayd) had lately been made of purpoſe for her deſtruction. It was at laſt told her plainly, by the Chancellour and Treaſurer, That if ſhe refuſed to anſwer to ſuch crimes as ſhould be objected, they would then proceed againſt her, though ſhe were abſent. Being brought at laſt, with much ado to conſent, the Commiſſioners came together in the Preſence Chamber; a Chaire of Eſtate was ſet for the Queen of *England*, in the upper end of the Chamber, under a Canopy; beneath over againſt it, was placed a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*; on both ſides of the Cloth of Eſtate, ſtools were ſet, upon which on the one ſide ſate the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwicke*, *Pembrooke*, *Lincolne*, and Viſcount *Mountacute*; On the other ſide ſate the Lords *Aburgavany*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, St. *John* of *Bletſho*, *Compton*, and *Cheyney*; Next to theſe, ſate the Knights that were Privie Councellors, Sir *James Croſts*, Sir *Chriſto-*

Christopher Hatton, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amis Paulet*; Foreward, before the Earls, sate the two Chiefe Justices, and the Lord chiefe Baron; on the other side, the two Barons, and the other Justices; *Dale*, and *Foord*, Doctors of the Civill Law, at a Table in the midst, *Popham* the Queens Atturney Generall, *Egerton* her Solicitor, *Gawdie* her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Queen of Scots was come, and had placed her selfe, silence being made, *Bromely* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, sayd; That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could Answer to crimes layd to her charge, assuring her, that nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, then to hear, that she had proved her selfe innocent. Upon this, she rising up, sayd; That although, being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocency, she was now content to appear. Then *Gawdie*, opened every speciality of the Law lately made (against which she had taken exception) shewing, By *Babingtons* confession, by Letters passed between them, by the confessions of *Ballard*, and *Savage*, by the confessions of her Secretaries, *Nave*, and *Curle*, that she was privy to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of *England*, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted, the rest, in hope of life, might be drawn to confesse that which was not true: In this she stood peremptorily, That she never consented to any Attempt against the Queens Person; though for her own delivery, she confessed she did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of Scots; At last, she requested, that she might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her selfe, and her Councell. But this request prevailed not; for on the 25. day of *October* following, at the Star-Chamber in *Westminster*, the Commissioners met again, and there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and subscriptions, that after the 1. day of *June*, in the seven and twentieth year of our Soveraign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom, by *Anthony Babington*, and others, with the privity of *Mary* Queen of Scots, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royall Person, of our sayd Soveraigne Lady the Queen.

After a few dayes, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, the which was begun by Authority from the Queen, derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*; and the same, not without some Presidents. At this Parliament, the Proscriptions of the Lord *Paget*, *Charls Paget*, *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chydiock Tichburne*, *Charles Tilney*, and the other complices, was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom, with an unanimous consent, exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, that for the preservation of the true Religion, and safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the Sentence passed against *Mary* Queen of Scots, might according to Law be presently Promulged: They put the Queen in minde of the fearfull examples of Gods Judgements extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul*, for sparing of *Agag*, and upon *Ahab*, for not putting *Benhadad* to death. But the Queen answereth them to this effect: First, acknowledging Gods miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant affections towards her, for whose sakes onely she desires to live: Otherwise, when she calls to minde things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy, who go soonest hence. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of Scots is condemned, was not made (as some maliciously have imagined) to ensnare her; but

but contrariwiſe, to forewarn and deterre her from attempting any thing againſt it, which though it had not been made, yet were there other ancient Laws enough to condemne her. Nothing could have been more grievous to me, than that a Prince, and one ſo neer Allied unto me, ſhould deſerve the Sentence pronounced againſt her; and ſeeing the matter is of rare example, and of a very weighty conſequence, I hope you will not expect, that I ſhould at this preſent determine any thing; Yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time ſignifie my minde unto you; and in the meane time, would have you to expect from me, whatſoever good Subjects may looke for, from a Gracious Prince.

Twelve dayes after, having deeply weighed the matter in her minde, ſhe ſent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and *Puckering* to the Lower Houſe, entreating them to adviſe more diligently concerning ſo weighty a matter, and to bethinke themſelves of ſome wholeſome remedy, by which the life of the Queen of Scots might be ſpared, and their ſecurity alſo provided for. They, when they had a long time in moſt ſerious manner deliberated hereof, Return at laſt this Verdict; That the Queenes life could not be in ſafety, while the Queen of Scots lived, unleſſe ſhe either repented and acknowledged her crimes, or were kept in ſtraight cuſtody, or bound by her oath and obligations, or gave Hoſtages, or laſtly, departed the Kingdome. And ſeeing none of theſe were likely to be remedies; It remained, that only her death would be a remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not ſo much as acknowledge her ſelf faulty: Cloſe Impriſonment, Obligations, Oath, and Hoſtages they accounted as nothing, which all vaniſhed, if the Queens life were once taken away; and if ſhe departed the Kingdom, they feared ſhe would ſtraightway go about to Invade it again. Theſe things the Lord Chancellor, and *Puckering* the Speaker of the Lower-Houſe, declared to the Queen at large, and urged her in their names, to have the Sentence put in execution. Hereupon, the Queen after a ſhort pawſe, ſpake at laſt to this effect: I proteſt, my chief deſire hath been, that for your ſecurity, and my own ſafety, ſome other way might be deviſed, than that which is now propounded; but ſeeing it is now evident and certain, that my ſafety without her deſtruction, is in a more deplorate eſtate, I am moſt grievouſly affected with inward ſorrow; That I, who have pardoned ſo many Rebells, have neglected ſo many Treaſons (either by connivance, or ſilence) ſhould now at laſt exerciſe cruelty, upon a Prince ſo neerly Allied to me. As for your Petition, I beſeech you to reſt in an Anſwer, without an Anſwer: If I ſay I will not grant your Petition, I ſhall happily ſay what I mean not; If I ſhould ſay, I will grant it, then caſt I my ſelfe into deſtruction headlong, whoſe ſafety you ſo earneſtly deſire, And that I know, you in your wiſedoms would not I ſhould doe.

After this, the Parliament was Prorogued, and then were the Lords *Buckhurſt* and *Beale* ſent to the Queen of Scots, to let her underſtand that Sentence was pronounced againſt her, and confirmed by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earneſtly deſired, by the Nobility and the Commons; and therefore perſwaded her, that before her death, ſhe would make acknowledgement of her offences, againſt God and the Queen; Intimating, That if ſhe lived, the Religion received in *England*, could not ſubſiſt. Hereupon, ſhe was taken with an unwonted alacrity, and ſeemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own felicity, That ſhe ſhould be accounted an Inſtrument, for eſtabliſhing Religion in this Iſland; and therewith requeſted, She might have ſome Catholike Prieſt to adminiſter the Sacrament to her; but was denied, which ſome deemed, not inhumane onely, but tyranicall and heatheniſh. The Biſhop and the Dean, whom for this cauſe they commended to her, ſhe utterly rejected,

rejected, and jeered at the Engliſh Nation, ſaying; The Engliſh were ever and anon wont to murther their own Kings, and therefore, no marvell, they ſhould now thirſt after her deſtruction. In *December* following the Sentence againſt her was Proclaimed, in *London* firſt, and after, over all the Kingdom, wherein Queen Elizabeth ſeriouſly proteſted, that this Promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the importunity of the whole Body of the Kingdome. The Queen of Scots being told hereof, ſeemed not a whit dejected with it; but writing to the Queen, never maketh interceſſion for her ſelf, nor expoſtulateth her death, but onely makes three ſmall requeſts, one, That ſhe might be buried in *France*, by her Mother; another, That ſhee might not be put to death privately, but her ſervants to be preſent; the third, That her ſervants might freely depart, and enjoy ſuch Legacies as ſhe had given them. Of which Requeſts, ſhe deſireth the Queen to vouchſafe her an anſwer; but whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*, is uncertain.

This condemnation of the Queene of Scots, as a thing ſtrange, and ſcarce credible, was ſoone ſpread farre and neare; ſo as interceſſions came thicke in her behalfe to Queene ELIZABETH, but ſpecially from the King of Scots, and the King of FRANCE, who ſent their ſeverall Ambaſſadors, uſing all the reaſons that naturall affection in the one, and likeneſſe of condition in the other, could urge, for ſparing of her life; but when the neceſſity of the State, ſeemed to obſtruct all wayes of clemency, the French Ambaſſador *L'Aubeſpine*, falls from reaſons to action, and thinketh no way ſo effectuall for ſaving the Queen of Scots life, as to take away Queen ELIZABETHS life; and thereupon, Firſt, he dealeth covertly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, and prone to embrace hopes (whoſe Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Queen ELIZABETH, and his brother at that time, Ambaſſador Lieger in *France*) and afterward, more openly by *Trappe* his Secretary, to murther the Queen. *Stafford*, though not daring to act ſuch a villany himſelfe, yet commended one *Moody* to him, a reſolute fellow; and one that for money would be ſure to do it. Upon this, *Stafford* brings *Trappe* to *Moody*, being then in the common Gaole, who upon *Trappes* offers, undertakes it: But then the conſultation was, by what way it ſhould be done? *Moody* propounded poiſon, or elſe to lay a bagge of Gunpowder under the Queens Bed, and ſuddenly fire it. But *Trappe* liked of neither of theſe wayes, but would rather have it done, as was done to the Prince of *Orange*. But while they are thus conſulting about the way of doing it; *Stafford* diſcovers all to the Lords of the Councell. Whereupon *Trappe*, who was now bound for *France*, was apprehended, and being examined, confeſſed the whole matter. Upon this, the Ambaſſador himſelf was ſent for to *Cecills* houſe, the twelveth of *January*; where met him by the Queens appointment, *Cecill* Lord Treaſurer, the Earle of *Leiceſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Davyſon* one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambaſſador every particular which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappe* his Secretary had confeſſed. Aſſoone as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to ſpeake, the AMBASSADOR interrupted him, and revyling him, made aſſeveration, that *Stafford* firſt propounded it; when *Stafford* falling on his knees, made fearful imprecations, that the AMBASSADOR firſt propounded it himſelf. But whoſoever propounded it (ſayth BVRLEIGH) It appeares, that you were made acquainted with the matter. To which hee preſently Replyed; That if hee had knowne of any ſuch thing, yet, being he was an AMBASSADOVR, hee ought not

to give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner; The Lord *Burleigh* admonished him, to beware how he offended hereafter in this kinde; and let him know, That he is not quitted from the offence, though for this time the Queen be pleased to forbear him.

But upon this Treason, the Queen of Scots Adversaries put many terrors into Queen *Elizabeths* minde, giving out, That the Spanish Navy was come to *Milford* Haven, That the Scots were broken into *England*, That the Duke of *Guyse* with a great Army was landed in *Sussex*, That the Queen of Scots was escaped out of Prison, and had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other such feigned suggestions; Through which, at length they drew the Queen to this: That she sealed Letters, for executing the Sentence against the Queen of Scots; and one of her greatest perswaders to it (as the Scots reported) was one whom the King of Scots had sent to disswade her from it; namely, *Patricke Grey*, who sounded often in her ears, *Mortua non mordet*; when she is dead, she cannot bite.

The Queen notwithstanding, began to weigh with her self, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offered themselves on both sides, but where only speculative reasons presented themselves for sparing her; many practicall reasons, and those pressed both by Courtiers and Preachers, were presented to her; so as long holden in suspence, she would oftentimes sit speechlesse, and her countenance cast down: At last, her fear prevayling, she delivered to Secretary *Davyson*, Letters under her hand and Seal, to get the Commission made under the Great Seal of *England*, for the Execution of the Queen of Scots, which might be in a readinesse upon any fear of danger; charging him not to disclose the matter, to any whomsoever. But the next day her minde was altered, and sent Sir *William Killegrew* to *Davyson*, to countermand the making of the Commission. Whereupon *Davyson* goes to her, and lets her know, That the Commission was already made, and the Seal put to it; Whereat, the Queen extreamly angry, rebuketh him sharply for his hastinesse; yet *Davyson* imparteth the matter to Privy Councellors; and perswades them, That the Queen Commanded, the Commission should be put in execution. Hereupon, *Beale* Clerk of the Councell, is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law; with which proceeding, the Queen was not once made acquainted, and more than this, Although she had intimated to *Davyson*, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of Scots, yet did not he stay *Beale* from going.

And now comes in the last Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy; for assoon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringay*; They, together with Sir *Amis Paulet*, and Sir *Drue Drurie*, with whom she was then in custody; go unto her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their comming; and in a few words, admonish her to prepare her selfe for death, for that she must dye the next day. Whereto, without any change of countenance or passion of minde, she made Answer; I had not thought that my Sister the Queen, would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall then be to me most welcome. Then she requesteth that she might conferre with her Confessor, and *Melvyn* her Steward, which would not be granted: The Bishop or Deane of *Peterborough* they offered her, but them she refused. The Earles being departed, she gave order that Supper should bee hastened, where shee eat (as she used to doe) soberly, and sparingly; and perceiving her men and women servants to lament and weepe, she comforteth them, and bid them rejoyce rather, that

that ſhe was now to depart out of a world of miſery. After ſupper, ſhe looketh over her Will, read the Inventory of her Goods and Jewells, and writ their names ſeverally by them, to whom ſhe gave any of them; at her wonted hour ſhe went to bed, and after a few hours ſleep, awaking; ſpent the reſt of the night in her devotion. And now the fatall day being come, wich was the 8 of *February*, ſhe getteth up, and makes her ready in her beſt Apparell, and then betook her ſelf in her Cloſet to Almighty God, imploring his aſſiſtance with deep ſighes and groans; untill *Thomas Andrews* Sheriffe of the County gave notice, that it was time to come forth, and then with a Princely Majeſty, and chearfull conntenance, ſhe came out, her head covered with a linnen Vayl, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her hand; In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where *Melvyn* her ſervant upon his bended knees, deplored his own fortune, that he ſhould be the meſſenger to carry this ſad newes into *Scotland*; whom ſhe comforted ſaying, Do not lament *Melvyn*, Thou ſhalt by and by ſee *Mary Steward* freed from all cares. Then turning her ſelf to the Earls, She requeſted that her ſervants might ſtand by her at her death, which the Earl of Kent was very loath to grant, for fear of ſuperſtition; To whom ſhe ſayd, Fear nothing, theſe poor wretches deſire only to give me my laſt farewell. I know the Queen my Siſter, would not deny me ſo ſmall a requeſt. After this, the two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, ſhe came to the Scaffold, which was ſet up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a Chayre, a Cuſhion, and a Block, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of *Peterborough* going to Prayers, ſhe falling upon her knees, and holding up t he Crucifix in both her hands, prayed with her Servants in Latine, out of the Office of the bleſſed Virgin. Prayers being ended, ſhe kiſſed the Crucifix, and ſigning her ſelf with the Sign of the Croſſe, ſaid, *As thy arms, O Chriſt, were ſpread forth upon the Croſſe, ſo embrace me with the open arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my ſins.* Then the Executioner asking her pardon, ſhe forgave him. And now her women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into ſhrikes and cryes, ſhe kiſſed them, ſigned them with the Croſſe, and willed them to leave lamenting, for now an end of her ſorrows was at hand; and then ſhadowing her face with a Linnen Cloth, and lying down on the Block, ſhe repeated the Pſalm, *In te Domine ſperavi, ne confundar in æternum*; at which words ſhe ſtretching forth her Body, her head at two blows was taken off. Her Body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedrall Church at *Peterborough*; but ſince that, her Noble Son *James*, King of Great *Britain*, erected a Royall Monument for her, in King *Henry* the ſeventh's Chappell at *Weſtminſter*. This end had *Mary* Queen of Scots, in the ſix and fortieth yeer of her age, and of her Impriſonment in *England* the eighteenth; a Lady ſo compleat in all excellent parts of body and minde, that muſt needs have made her a happy woman, if ſhe had not been a Queen; and perhaps a happy Queen too, if ſhe had not been Heir to the Crown of *England*: For why did all her endeavours want ſucceſſe, but onely from the fear of that Succeſſion; and no Innocency of heas could be a Defence, where the fury of Jealouſie made the Aſſault.

Aſſoon as it came to the Queens knowledge, that the Queen of Scots was put to death, her countenance grew dejected, and her ſpeech fayled her; inſomuch that all in mourning weeds, ſhe gave her ſelf over to ſorrow, Commanded her Councellors from her Preſence, and cauſed *Davyſon* to be cited to the Starchamber. And aſſoon as grief would ſuffer her, She wrote a Letter with her own hand to the King of Scots, and ſent it by Sir *Robert Cary*, to this effect; That her minde was infinitely diſquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, againſt her meaning and intent,

entreating him to believe, That if ſhe had commanded it, ſhe would never have denyed it, and withall, Proteſting her true affection towards him, and her aſſiduous watchfulneſſe for the proſpering of his affairs.

While *Carye* was on his journey, *Davyſon* is cited to the Star-Chamber before theſe Delegates, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray* Chiefe Juſtice of the Kings-Bench, for that time made Lord Privy Seal, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Cumberland*, and *Lincolne*, the Lords *Grey*, and *Lumley*, Sir *James Croft*, Comptroller of the Queens Houſe, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Edmond Anderſon*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Roger Manwood*, Lord Chief Baron (where note, That *Bromely* Lord Chancellor, *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer, *Leiceſter*, and *Hatton*, who were indeed more guilty of the fact, than *Davyſon*, were none of the number.) Before theſe Delegates, *Popham* the Queens Atturney layeth to *Davyſons* charge, Contempt of the Queens Majeſty, violating of his truſt, and neglect of his duty, laying open all particulars of his fact; which after *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, *Gawdy*, and *Puckering* her Serjeants at Law, urged alſo againſt him with great aggravation: To which *Davyſon* mildely anſwered, That he would not conteſt with the Queen; only proteſts, That if he had done any thing otherwiſe than he ought, it was out of ignorance and miſtaking, and not out of any purpoſe to diſobey her Majeſty. It ſeems the Queen had carried her ſelfe, as one that would have it done, and yet was loth to do it, ſcarce knowing her one minde, and yet would have another know it; meaning to make it the work of miſtaking, rather than of purpoſe, that ſo at leaſt ſhe might leave ſome place of ſatisfaction to her ſelfe, that it was not abſolutely of her doing.

The Pleadings ended, the Commiſſioners went to cenſure; *Manwood* began, and gave his opinion, That *Davyſon*, for the inconſideratneſſe of his fact, ſhould be fined ten thouſand pounds, and Impriſonment during the Queens pleaſure; the reſt went on in that Sentence, only the Lord *Grey* excuſed *Davyſon* ſo far, That he thought him worthy of reward, rather than of puniſhment: The concluſion was, the firſt Sentence for his Fine and Impriſonment, was by *Wray* keeper of the Privy Seal confirmed; and *Davyſon* never after recovered the Queens favour, though ſhe relieved him ſometimes in his neceſſity. A man ingenious indeed, but not throughly acquainted with the wayes of the Court; and thought to have been raiſed to this place, of purpoſe to Act this part, and for nothing elſe.

By this time Sir *Robert Cary*, Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, who was ſent to excuſe the Queen, was come to the Borders; but being come thither, was not ſuffered to ſet foot in *Scotland*, The King would ſcarce hear him by another, and with much adoe received his Letters. He called home his Ambaſſador out of *England*, and thought of nothing but revenge.

But the Queen ſtill laying the fault upon *Davyſon*, and the unadviſed credulity of her Councellrs, by little and little allayeth his paſſion; and expecting, till time had ſomewhat aſſwaged his griefe, that it would endure to be touched, at length, by her Agents in *Scotland*; And ſoon after by the Lord *Hunſdon* Governor of *Berwicke*, She admoniſhed him, How dangerous it would be for him, to break out into War againſt *England*, and what little help he could juſtly expect from either *Spain* or *France*, but if he perſiſted in the amity with *England*, he might be ſure the Queen of *England*, would moſt lovingly account him for her Son. And to the end, that he ſhould aſſure himſelf, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privity, ſhe ſent him the Sentence againſt *Davyſon*, under the Seals of all the Delegates, and atteſted under the Great Seal of *England*; and another Inſtrument likewiſe ſigned with the hands of the Judges of *England*; in which they averre, That the Sentence againſt the Queen of Scots, could in no wiſe be prejudice to his right in the Succeſſion. Ha-

Having now by theſe and the like courſes, ſomewhat aſſwaged the King of Scots indignation; to prevent the War which they foreſaw was imminent from the King of *Spain*, they ſend forth *Drake* with four of the Queens ſhips and others, unto the Coaſt of *Spain*, to ſet upon their ſhips in the Havens, and to intercept their Munition. *Drake* entring into the Port of *Cales*, ſunck, took, and fired, about an hundred ſhips, wherein was great ſtore of Munition and Victualls: Then returning to the Cape of St. *Vincent*, he ſet up three Forts, and compelled them to yeild. Thence ſetting ſayl towards the Weſtern Iſlands, called *Azores*, under the great Meridian; by great good fortune he happened upon an huge and wealthy Carack, called St. *Philip*, returning from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and eaſily vanquiſhed it; Wherupon the Mariners on both ſides, from the name of *Philp*, portended no good luck to *Philip* King of *Spain*.

At the ſame time, *Thomas Cavendiſh* of *Suffolke*, in the other part of the World, who two years before had ſet ſayl from *England* with three ſhips, paſſing thorough the Straights of *Magellan*, in the Coaſt of *Chily*, *Peru*, and *Nuova Hiſpania*, fired a great number of Spaniſh Towns, took and pillaged ninteen great ſhips, and amongſt them a wealthy ſhip of the Kings, nigh unto *Caliphornia*, in North *America*; and ſo by the *Philippine* Iſles, the *Molucce*, the Cape *de Bone Eſperance*, and the Iſland of St. *Helene*, returned home the next year, being the third after *Magellan*, that ſayled about the World.

As *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* at this time gained great fame and renown; ſo two other men in the Netherlands (*Stanley* and *Yorke*) purchaſed as great infamy and diſgrace: This *Yorke* was a Londoner, a bold fellow, and of looſe behaviour; famous for bringing firſt into *England*, the manner of turning the point upon the Adverſary in ſingle Combats, whereas the Engliſh till this time, were wont to be armed with Bucklers and ſwords, and to ſtrike with edge, and it was held no manhood to turn the point, or ſtrike below the girdle. He ſuffering ſome affront from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, fled away, and for a time, ſerved under the Spaniards in the Netherlands, till at length being reconciled to *Leiceſter*, he was ſent over the Fort near *Zutphen*; but being bribed, he not only yeilded up the place to the Enemy, but drew to the like villany one *Stanley*, who with great valour had ſerved in an Iriſh expedition; to yeild up *Daventry* to the Spaniards, a wealthy and well Fortified Town. But what got they by their treachery, The Spaniards ſet *Yorke* and *Stanley* at variance, they poiſon *Yorke* and ſeize upon his goods, his carkaſſe was three years after digged up by the *States* commandment, and hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away; *Stanley* went into *Spain*, where there was no credit given to him; for the Spaniards have a ſaying, It is lawfull to give honor to a Traytor ſometimes, but never to truſt him.

Theſe late treacheries, wrought the Earl of *Leiceſter* much envy with the Confederate Netherlands, becauſe the Traytors were very intimate with him; whereupon the *States* in large letters to the Queen, accuſe *Leiceſter* for his ill managing of the Weal-Publick, in the matter of money, Merchandize, and Military affairs; and to his credulity, They impute the harm which accrewed by *Yorke* and *Stanley*. The Queen, for the narrow ſifting of the matter, and compoſing it; ſent thither *Thomas Sackvile* Lord *Buckehurſt* (lately taken iuto her Privie Councell in *Leiceſters* abſence) *Norris*, and *Bartholmew Clerke*: But when as the officious diligence of *Buckhurſt*, ſeemed to trench upon *Leiceſters* reputation; his grace with the Queen proved ſo forcible, that *Buckhurſt* at his return, was for certain moneths confined to his houſe.

Afterward, *Sluce* being beleaguered by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leiceſter* was by the *States* ſent for out of *England*, to ſuccour it; the Town was furiouſly aſſaulted, with ſeventeen thouſand great ſhot, and a mighty breach was made

made into it; which nevertheleſſe, *Roger Williams*, *Franis Vere*, *Nicholas Baskervile*, with the Garriſon of the Engliſh and Wallons, were valiantly defended for a while, but at laſt were enforced to yeild it up, *Leiceſter*, that came to relieve it, finding himſelf too weak for the Beſiegers, being gone away. And indeed, the *States* would not commit any great Army to his Command; who(they knew had a determination to ſeize *Leyden*, and ſome other Towns into his own hands, and had a purpoſe to ſurprize the abſolute Govet nment. Whereupon, the *States* uſed means, that *Leiceſter* was called home; gave up the Government to the *States*, and in his roome ſucceeded *Maurice* of *Naſſaw* Son to the Prince of *Orange*, being now but twenty years of age.) *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, was by the Queen made Generall of the Engliſh Forces in the Low-Countries, to whom ſhe gave command to reduce the Engliſh Factions into the *States* obedience; the which, with the help of Prince *Maurice*, he eaſily effected.

Leiceſter being now come home, and perceiving that an accuſation was preparing againſt him by *Buckhurſt* and others, for his unfaithfull managing of affairs in *Holland*; privately with tears he caſt himſelf down at the Queens feet, entreating her, that ſhe would not receive him with diſgrace, at his return, whom ſhe had ſent forth with honor; and ſo far prevailed with her, that the next day being called to examination before the Lords, he took his place amongſt them, not kneeling down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is; and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his Accuſation, he interrupted him, ſaying; That the publick inſtructions which he had received, were limited with private reſtriction; and making his appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole crimination, with the ſecret indignation of his Adverſaries.

This year was famous for the death of many great Perſonages: In the moneth of *February*, dyed *Henry Nevill* Lord of *Aburgaveny*, great Grandchilde to *Edward Nevill*, who in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, got this Title in the right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Worceſter*, and Lord of *Aburgaveny*; In which right, when as the only Daughter of this *Henry*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Fane*, challenged the Title of Baroneſſe of *Aburgaveny*; a memorable contention aroſe concerning the Title between her, and the next Heir Male, to whom by Will (and the ſame confirmed by Authority of Parliament) the Caſtle of *Aburgaveny* was bequeathed. This queſtion being a long time debated; at laſt in a Parliament holden in the ſecond year of King *James*, the matter was tryed by voyces; and the Heir Male carried the Lordſhip of *Aburgaveny*, and the Barony *Le Diſpencer*, was ratified to the Female. This year alſo, in the moneth of *Aprill*, dyed *Anne Stanhope* Dutcheſſe of *Somerſet*, ninety years old, who being the Wife of *Edward Seymer* Duke of *Somerſet*, and Protector of *England*, contended for precedency, with *Katherine Parre*, Queen Dowager to King *Henry* the Eight. There dyed alſo, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, the laſt Baneret of *England*, with which dignity he was adorned at the Battell of *Muſſelborough* in *Scotland*. After him dyed *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chancellor of *England*; and ſix dayes after, He, whom the Queen meant ſhould have ſucceeded him, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, but he now fayling, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was made Lord Chancellor, who though he were a Courtier, yet the Queen knowing him to be an honeſt man, thought him not unfit for that place, where conſcience hath, or ſhould have more place than Law; although ſome were of opinion, That it was not ſo much the Queens own choice, as that ſhe was perſwaded to it by ſome that wiſht him not well; both thereby to be a cauſe of abſenting him from the Court, and thinking that ſuch a ſedentary place, to a corpulent man that had been uſed to exerciſe, would be a means to ſhorten his life, and indeed he lived not full out three years after.

This yeer Sir *John Perot* was called home out of *Ireland*, and left all in great quiet to *Fitz Williams* his Succeſſor. For hitherto the Engliſh found it no hard matter to vanquiſh the Iriſh, by reaſon of their unskilfulneſſe in Arms; eight hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, was held an invincible Army: but after that by *Perots* command, they were exerciſed in Feats of Arms, and taught to diſcharge Muskets at a Mark, and had in the *Low-Countries* learned the Art of Fortification, they held the Engliſh better to it, and were not ſo eaſily overcome.

And now we are come to the one and twentieth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign, being the yeer 1588, long before ſpoken of by Aſtrologers, to be a wonderfull yeer, and even the Climacterical yeer of the World. And yet the greateſt Wonder that happened this yeer, was but the wonderfull Fleet that *Spain* provided for invading of ENGLAND, if the defeat of that wonderfull Fleet were not a greater Wonder.

It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*; and the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, *Dale* and *Rogers*, Doctors of Law, Commiſſioners for the Queen: for the Prince of *Parma*, the Count *Aurenberg*, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, *Maes*, and *Garvyer*, Doctors, had many meetings about it neer to *Oſtend*; but it ſeemed on the part of *Spain*, rather to make the Engliſh ſecure, that they ſhould not make proviſion for War, than that they had any purpoſe of reall proceeding, ſeeing they accepted not of any reaſonable Conditions that were offered, but trifled out the time, till the Spaniſh Navy was come upon the Coaſt, and the Ordnance heard from Sea, and then diſmiſſed the Engliſh Delegates.

The Spaniſh Navy conſiſted of one hundred and thirty Ships; whereof Galeaſſes and Galleons, ſeventy two, goodly Ships, like to floating Towers; in which were Souldiers, 19290; Marriners, 8350; Gally-ſlaves, 2080; Great Ordnance, 2630: For the greater holineſſe of their Action, twelve of their Ships were called, The twelve Apoſtles. Chief Commander of the Fleet, was Don *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Medina*; and next to him, *John Martin Recalde*, a great Sea-man. The twentieth of *May* they weighed Anchor from the River *Tagus*, but were by Tempeſt ſo miſerably diſperſt, that it was long ere they met again: but then they ſent before to the Prince of *Parma*, That he with his Forces, conſiſting of fifty thouſand old Souldiers, ſhould be ready to joyn with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into *England*, and to land his Army at the Thames Mouth.

The Queens Preparation in the mean time, was this; The Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord Admirall, with all her Navy; and Sir *Francis Drake*, Vice-Admirall, to be ready at *Plimouth*; and the Lord *Henry Seymor* (ſecond ſon to the Duke of *Somerſet*, with forty Engliſh and Dutch Ships, to keep the Coaſts of the *Netherlands*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma*'s coming forth. Then for Land-Service, there were laid along the Southern Coaſt, twenty thouſand ſouldiers, and two Armies beſides of Trayned men were levyed, over one of which, conſiſting of a thouſand Horſe, and two and twenty thouſand Foot, the Earl of *Leiceſter* commanded, and pitched his Tents at *Tilbury*, neer the Thames mouth: Over the other, appointed to Guard the Queens Perſon, and conſiſting of four and twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, the Lord *Hunſdon* was Generall. *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other Military men, were choſen to make a Councell of War, and conſult how the Land-ſervice ſhould be ordered. Theſe declared, amongſt other things, That the places which lay fitteſt for the enemies landing, as *Milford* Haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*,

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Portland, the Isle of *Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the *Downs*, the Thames mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, and such other, should be fortified with Works and Garrisons; the Trayned Souldiers of those Shires which lay neer the Sea Coast, should defend those places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; but if he did land, then to spoyl the Countrey round about, that he might finde no food; and by continuall crying, Arm, Arm, give the Enemy no rest, but yet should not give Battell, till good store of Commanders were come together.

At this time many fearing the Papists at home, no lesse than the Spaniards abroad, perswaded the Queen to take off the heads of some of the greatest of them; but she detesting such cruelty, took order onely, That some few of them should be committed to custody in *Wisbych* Castle.

And now all things on both sides prepared, the Spanish Navy set forth out of the *Groyne* in *May*, but was dispersed and driven back by weather. The English Navy set forth somewhat later out of *Plimouth*, bearing up towards the Coast of *Spain*; but partly by occasion of contrary windes, partly by advertisement that the Spaniards were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might passe by towards the Coast of *England*, whilest they were seeking them afar off, they returned to *Plimouth*; At which time, a confident (though false) advertisement came to the Admirall, That the Spaniards could not possible come forward that yeer: whereupon the English Navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of the men were gone on shore; when suddenly the invincible *Armada* (for so it was called in a Spanish ostentation) was discovered upon the Western Coast: whereof the Lord Admirall being informed, had much ado to get the Queens Navy out of the Haven (the winde being contrary) yet at length he haled it forth. The next day, the English beheld the Spanish Ships, in height like to Castles, sayling slowly along, whom they suffered peaceably to passe by, that they might have the benefit of the winde to follow after. The one and twentieth day of *July*, the Admirall of *England* sent a Pinnace before, called, *The Defiance*, which by a great shot, challenged the Spaniards to fight, and by and by they fell to it. Then *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher* let fly against the outmost Squadron, which *Recalde* commanded, making him glad to fly to their main Navy for succour. The night following, a mighty *Biskayner* of *Oquenda*'s (in which the King of *Spain*'s Treasure was) was by chance fired with Gun-powder, but was timely quenched by other Ships sent to her succour; one of which Ships, was the Galleon of Don *Pedro*, whom Sir *Francis Drake* took prisoner, and sent him to *Darthmouth*. The *Biskayner* it self (the Treasure being taken out by the Spaniards) they left behinde them, which the English brought into the Haven at *Weymouth*.

The three and twentieth day of this Month, they had a second Fight, in which most of the Spanish Shot flew over the English Ships, and never hurt them; Onely *Cock* an English-man, being with his little Vessell in the midst of the enemies, died valiantly. The four and twentieth day, they rested on both sides; in which time the Lord Admirall ranked his whole Fleet into four Squadrons: The first he ruled himself, *Drake* the second, *Hawkins* the third, and *Forbisher* the fourth.

The five and twentieth day (which was Saint *James* day) they fell to it the third time, in which Fight, the English had again the better, so as after this time, the Spaniards would no more turne upon the English, but holding on their course, dispatched a Messenger to the

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Prince of Parma; Requiring him forthwith to joyne himſelf to the Kings Fleet, and withall to ſend them Bullets.

The day following, the Lord Admirall Knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*; *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Frobiſher*; and holding a Councell of War, they decreed not to ſet again upon the Enemy, till they came to the ſtreight of Calice, where the Lord *Henry Seymor* and Sir *William Winter* waited for their coming. And now ſo far were the Engliſh from being terrified with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and other of ſpeciall note, hired Ships at their own charges and came to the Admirall; as the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecill*, *Henry Brook*, Sir *Charls Blunt*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Robert Carie*, Sir *Ambroſe Willoughby*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Arthur Gorge* and others.

The ſeaven and twentieth of July towards the Evening, the Spaniards caſt Anchour neer unto Calis, and not far from them rode the Engliſh Admirall, within ſhot of a great Ordnance, to whom *Seymor* and *Winter* joyned themſelves, ſo as by this time there were in the Engliſh Navy a hundred and forty Ships, nimble and ſerviceable for Fighting or Sayling, yet only Fifteen of them bore the ſtroke of the Battell. And now againe the Spaniards ſent Poſt after Poſt to the Prince of Parma to ſend them forty Flyeboates, without which they were not able to skirmiſh with the Engliſh, by reaſon of the greatneſſe and unweldineſſe of their Ships, and importune him preſently to put to Sea with his Army; But he was unprepa ed, and his Flat-bottomed Boates were full of chinks and leaked, and beſides, the Hollanders hovered before the Ports of Dunkerk and Newport, in ſuch ſort, that he durſt not look forth.

The eight and twentieth day, the Lord Admirall made ready eight of his worſt Ships, on the out-ſide dawbed with wild-fire, Rozin and Brimſtone, within, full of combuſtible matter, and under the conduct of *Young* and *Prowſe*, ſent them down with the winde in the ſilent time of the night towards the Spaniſh Fleet; the which when the Spaniards ſaw approach them, and the Sea as it were all on a light fire; imagining withall, that thoſe Fire-ſhips might carry in them ſome murthering Engines, they made a hideous noiſe, took up Anchours, cutt Cables, ſpread Sayles, and betook themſelves to their Oars, but more to flight: One of the Spaniſh Galleaſſes having loſt her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in fight by *Anias Preſton*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvie*, who ſlew Captain *Hugh Moncada*, caſt the Souldiers over board, and carryed away a great deale of Gold, but the Veſſell and Ordnance was wreck to the Governour of Calice.

Drake and *Fenet* in the mean while perceiving the Spaniſh Fleet to gather togethea again before Graveling, ſet upon them with great violence, to whom ſtr.ightwayes, *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeſton*, *Croſſe*, and *Riman* joyne themſelves, and ſoon after the Admirall himſelf, Sir *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*, the Galleon called Saint *Matthew*, was ſorely battered by *Seymor* and *Winter*, driven toward Oſtend, and ſet upon again by the Zelanders, and at laſt was taken by the Fluſhingers.

And now the Spaniſh Navy having want of many neceſſaries, and no hope of the Prince of Parma's coming, they reſolved to returne Northward for Spain; in which paſſage they loſt both many Ships and men, the Engliſh Navy ſtill following them cloſe, till they were faine to give them over for want of Powder. Whileſt theſe things paſſed at Sea, the Queen in Perſon came to Tilbury to view the Army and Campe there, where ſhe ſhewed ſuch undaunted Courage and Reſolution, that it wonderfully animated the ſpirits of them all.

And thus this Navy, which was three whole Yeers in preparing, in the ſpace of a month was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of

their men being ſlain, more then halfe of their Ships taken and ſunk (of the Engliſh not above a hundred at the moſt miſſing, nor ſo much as a Ship, but *Cocks* little Veſſell) and Sayling about all Brittaine by Scotland, the Orkeneys and Ireland, they returned into Spain with as much diſhonour as they came out with boaſting, for indeed *Mendoza* in France by a Book in Print, Triumphed before the Victory.

For the happy ſucceſſe of this Action, Queen *Elizabeth* appointed prayers and thanksgiving over all the Churches of England, and ſhe (as it were in triumph) came in Perſon, attended with a great Troop of the Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul* (where the Banners taken from the Enemy was placed in view) and there in moſt humble manner gave thanks to Almighty God. And that which increaſed the publike joy, was the newes which Sir *Robert Sidney* brought out of Scotland, That the King had over-paſt all injuries, was lovingly affected towards the Engliſh, and deſired to imbrace ſincere and perfect amitie with the Queen. For as for the King of Spain, he wittily told the Embaſſadour, that he expected no other courteſie from him, but ſuch as *Polyphemus* promiſed *Ulyſſes*, that he ſhould be the laſt whom he would devoure.

And now dyed the great Earl of Leiceſter the fourth day of September, at his Mannor of Killingworth of a violent Feaver; I may well ſay the great Earl, conſidering the many great Honours he enjoyed, which are extant in the Story; yet one honour greater then any he had before, he effected even then when he was ready to go out of the world, and that was; To be Vice-gerent in the high Government of England and Ireland, for which the Patent was already drawne, and had been ſealed; but that *Burleigh* and *Hatton* ſhewed the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove, for ſo great Authority to reſide in one Subject. He was while he lived in ſo great favour with the Queen, that ſome thought (and himſelfe not the leaſt) that ſhe meant to marry him; yet when he dyed, his goods were ſold at an Outcry to make payment of the debts he owed her.

About this time *Philip* Earl of Arundell, who three yeers before had been caſt in priſon, was now cited in Weſtminſter Hall, to the judgement of his Peers, and *Henry* Earl of Derby was made High Steward of England for the time. The matters layd to his charge were theſe: That he had contracted friendſhip with Cardinall *Allen*, *Parſons* the Jeſuite, and other Traytours, exciting divers both abroad and at home to reſtore the Romiſh Religion, promiſing his aſſiſtance thereunto: and for that reaſon had a purpoſe to depart the Kingdom. That he was privy to the Bull, in which Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had depoſed the Queen, and given England to the Spaniard; that being impriſoned in the Tower he cauſed Maſſe to be ſaid for the proſperous ſucceſſe of the Spaniſh Fleet, and for that purpoſe had framed peculiar prayers for his own private uſe. Being demanded whether he were guilty of theſe things; turning himſelf to the Judges, he asked them theſe queſtions: Firſt, whether it were lawfull to heap up ſo many crimes together in one Bill of Indictment? They anſwered that it was: Then whether Arguments taken from preſumptions were of force? They anſwered, that it was lawfull for him to interpoſe exceptions if he ſaw cauſe. Then again, if he might be Arraigned for thoſe things which were Capitall, by the Law made the thirteenth yeer of the Queen, after that the time expreſſed in the Act was expired? They promiſed, they would proceed againſt him by no Law; but the old Statute of Treaſon, made in the Raigne of King *Edward* the Third. But now again asked if he were guilty or not; He pleaded not guilty, whereupon *Puckering* the Queens Sergeant at Law, *Popham* Atturney Generall, *Shuttleworth* Sergeant at Law, and *Egerton* the Queens Sollicitour, in their turnes, urged and proved the crimes objected; ſome whereof he denyed, ſome he extenuated; but in concluſion was by

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his Peers found guilty and condemned; yet the Queen ſpared his life, and was content with thus much done in terror to the Papiſts.

It was now the yeer 1589. And the two and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign; when to be in ſome ſort revenged of the Spaniards for their Invaſion, ſhe gave leave to Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition at their own private charges, requiring nothing of her but a few Ships of War, who took along with them *Anthony* the baſtard, laying clayme to the Kingdom of Portingall, and of Souldiers to the number of eleven thouſand, of Sea-men about fifteen hundred: ſetting Sayle from Plimmouth the fifth day of Aprill, they arrived at the Groyne in Galacia; whereof, with great valour they took firſt the Lower town, and afterward the Higher, and from thence ſayling toward Portingall, they met *Robert* Earl of Eſſex, who without the Queens leave had put to Sea: After two dayes they arrive at Penycha a Town of Portingall, which they took; and left the Caſtle to *Don-Antonio*, and from thence they march by land towards Lisbon threeſcore miles off: The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promiſed to follow with the Fleet. Being come to the Weſt Suburbs of Lisbon, they found no body there but a few poor diſarmed Portugalls who cryed out, *God ſave King Antonio.* The day following the Spaniards made a ſayle out, in which Skirmiſh *Bret*, *Careſley*, and *Carre*, (ſtout Commanders) were ſlain; yet did the Earl of Eſſex drive the Spaniards to the very gates of the Citie. And now having tarryed here two dayes, and ſeeing no ſigne of the Portingalls revolting; which *Don-Anthonio* had aſſured them would be, finding freſh ſupplies come into the Town, their own Army ſickly, Victualls and Powder failing; and that which moſt of all Sir *Francis Drake* not bringing the great Ordnance as he promiſed, they departed from the Suburbs of Lisbon towards Caſcais, a little Town at the mouth of the River Tagus, which Town *Drake* had taken this meane while, who excuſed his not coming to Lisbon, by reaſon of the Flats he muſt have paſſed, and the Caſtle of Saint Julian, Fortified with fifty pieces of great Ordnance. Neer this place they found threeſcore Hulkes of the Hauſe towns of Germany, laden with corne and all manner of Munition, which they took as good prize towards their charges, in regard the Queen had forbidden them to carry Victualls or Munition to the Spaniard. From hence they ſet ſayle toward Virgo, a forlorne Town by the Sea-ſide, and pillaging all along that Quarter, returned for England, having loſt in the Voyage of Souldiers and Marriners about ſix thouſand; yet not ſo much by the Enemy, as by eating of ſtrange fruites and diſtemper of the Climate.

It concerns the ſtate of England, to look at this time into the ſtate of France; for while thoſe things were in doing between Spain and England, the Popiſh Princes of France, under pretext of defending the Catholike Religion, entred into a combination, which they called, *The holy League:* The purpoſe whereof was, to root out the Proteſtants, and to divert the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of France; For they bound themſelves to each other by oath, to ſuffer no perſon but a Catholike to be King of France; which was directly to exclude the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, if the preſent King, without iſſue male, ſhould fail. The head of this League, was the Duke of Guiſe, who having given ſome overthrows to the German Forces, that came into France in aid of the Proteſtants, was immeaſurably extolled by the Clergie and others; and grew to ſuch a height of reputation, that entring into Paris, he made the King glad to leave the City, and in an Aſſembly at Bloys, to make him great Maſter of the French Cavalery, and to conſent by Edict, to the cutting off the Proteſtants. So as the King ſtanding now in fear of him, uſed means at laſt, even in the very Court, to have him murthered; and ſoon after, the Cardinall his brother

to be ſtrangled. Hereupon ſo great a confuſion followed, that the people every where diſobeyed the Magiſtrates, and ſpoiled the Kings very Pallace at Paris. Some Cities affected a Democracie, others an Ariſtocracie, but few liked of a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean while, made a new Seal, uſurped the Royall Authority, ſeized into their hands the beſt fortified places, intercept the Kings Revenues, call in Spaniſh Souldiers, and in all places denounce war and violence againſt the King. And the King in this caſe being forced to flye to the Proteſtants for ſuccour, they then moſt wickedly, by one *James Clement* a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to dye, Declareth the King of Navarre to be his lawfull ſucceſſor, but the Confederates would exclude him as an open Heretick; and yet whom to make choice of they cannot well agree, ſome would have the Duke of Lorraine, as being deſcended from the ancient Kings of France, ſome the Duke of Savoy, as borne of the French Kings daughter, a Prince Potent and Couragious; others would have the Duke of Guiſes brother that was murthered; others the King of Spain; but the greateſt part gave their voices for the Cardinall of Bourbon, who was one degree neerer allyed to the ſlain King, then the King of Navarre his Nephew. He therefore was preſently proclaimed King of France, with the Title of *Charls* the Tenth; but he being a Prieſt, the King of Navarre alſo was at the ſame time proclaimed King of France, who abode at Diepe a Sea Town of Normandy, and doubted not to drive the Cardinall eaſily out of France.

The King of Navarre being thus raiſed in Dignity, but weake in means, implored Aid of the Queen of England, offering to make a League Offenſive and Defenſive; the Queen out of a pious reſpect to a King of her own Religion, ſent him preſently two and twenty thouſand pound ſterling in Gold (ſuch a ſumme of Gold, as he profeſſed he had never ſeen at one time before) and withall ſupplyed him with four thouſand Souldiers, under the command of *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*; for Colonells, ſhe appointed Sir *Thomas Wilford*, who was made Marſhall of the Field, *John Boroughs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskervyle*, and gave them a months pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates (whom the King had vanquiſhed a little before at Arques beyond all expectation) began to quaile, and the day before the Arrivall of the Engliſh they vaniſhed away, with this addition of Forces the King marcheth to Paris, and being ready to enter the Citie, cauſeth a retreat to be ſounded, as loath to have ſpoile made of a Citie, which he hoped ſhortly ſhould be his own. Afterwards by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh he wonne many Towns, and then having marched at leaſt five hundred miles on foot, he gave them leave after a long winters ſervice, to returne into England. In which Voyage of men of note, dyed Captain *Hunnings*, but of a naturall death, alſo *Stubbs* (he whoſe right hand was cutt off for writing the book againſt the Queens marriage) and Sir *William Drury* ſlain by Maſter *Boroughs* in a ſingle Combat, where the quarrell was, that he being but a Knight, would take place of *Boroughs* that was the younger ſon of a Baron, contrary to the Lawes of the Engliſh Gentry.

About this time, *James* King of Scots (with Queen *Elizabeths* good liking) Eſpouſed *Anne* the daughter of *Frederick* the ſecond King of Denmarke by his Deputy; but ſhe afterward ſayling for Scotland, was by tempeſt caſt upon Norway, and there, through continuall ſtormes forced to ſtay, ſo as the King in the winter ſeaſon ſet ſayle thither, that the marriage according to his vow might be accompliſhed within the yeer: ſome were of opinion that thoſe ſtormes were cauſed by witch-craft, and was confirmed indeed by ſome witches taken in Scotland; who confeſſed they had raiſed thoſe ſtormes to keep the Queen from landing in Scotland, and that the Earl of Bothwell had asked Counſell of them concerning the

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Kings end; who was thereupon caſt into priſon, but in a ſhort time breaking looſe, occaſioned new ſtirs in Scotland.

This yeer, many Noble perſonages dyed; *Frances* Counteſſe of Suſſex, ſiſter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Walter Mildway*, Chancellour and Vice-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, *William Somerſet* Earl of Worceſter, ſo numerous in his off-ſpring, that he could reckon more children of both Sexes, then all the Earls of England. Alſo *John* Lord *Sturton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and at Bruxels the Lord *Paget*.

At this time, the Queen who was alwayes frugall, ſtrained one point of Frugality more then ever ſhe had done before; for upon the information of one *Caermarden*, (though *Burleigh*, *Leiceſter*, and *Walſingham* were offended, that credit ſhould be given to ſuch a one, and themſelvos neglected) ſhe raiſed *Thomas Smith* the cuſtomer from thirteen thouſand pounds yeerly, to two and forty thouſand pounds, and at laſt to fifty thouſand.

It was now the yeer 1590. and the three and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Raigne, in which, the Earl of Cumberland made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid levell to the ground the Fort of the Iſle of Fiala, and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of great Ordnance.

This yeer was fatall to many Noble perſonages; firſt dyed *Ambroſe Dudley* Earl of Warwick, (ſon to *John* Duke of Northumberland) without iſſue. After him Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Secretary, a man more skilfull in the Politicks, then in the Oeconomicks; more cunning in managing matters of the publick State, then of his own private eſtate, which he left ſo mean, and dyed ſo much indebted, that he was fain to be buryed by night, without any Funerall pomp, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*; leaving behinde him one onely daughter, famous for her three husbands, all of them the goodlieſt men of their time; the firſt, Sir *Philip Sidney*; the ſecond, *Robert* Earl of Eſſex; the third, *Richard Burgh* Earl of Clanricard, by King *Charls* made Earl of Saint *Albans*. Within two Moneths after *Walſingham*, dyed Sir *Thomas Randoll*, who had been fourteen times ſent in Embaſſage to ſeverall Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater dignities, then the Chamberlainſhip of the Exchequer, and the Poſtmaſterſhip of England. Soon after him dyed Sir *John Crofts*, who had done good ſervice in Scotland, in *Edward* the ſixths time; in Queen *Mary's* time was condemned of high Treaſon; in Queen *Eliſabeths* time ſet at liberty, and made Comptroller of her houſe. After him dyed *George Talbot*, the ſeventh E. of Shrewsbury of this houſe; he was made Earl Marſhall of England, and left behinde him a memoriall of Wiſdom and Integrity. Laſtly dyed *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, the laſt of the Engliſh that had been Governour of Calice.

In Ireland at this time *Hugh Gaveloc* (ſo called, becauſe he had been long kept in Fetters) the naturall ſon of *Shan O Neale*, accuſed *Hugh* Earl of Tir-Oen, for holding private conſultations with certain Spaniards, who in 88 were by Shipwrack caſt upon the coaſt of Ireland: *Tir-Oen* to prevent the Accuſation, took the ſaid *Hugh*, and when others refuſed to do it, took a cord and with his own hands ſtrangled him. Hereupon he was ſent for into England, and came, and upon pardon obtained, ſolemnly undertook in preſence of the Queen at Greenwich, to maintain the peace with *Turlogh Leynigh*; Not to uſurpe the Title of *O-Neale*, nor any authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of *Tir-Oen* to the form of a County, and civil behaviour, and many ſuch matters; giving hoſtages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he obſerved all things very duly. This trouble allayed, another aroſe; for ſoon after this, *Hugh Roe Mac-Mahon*, a Potentate in the Territory of Monaghan, compelled thoſe under his juriſdiction to pay him tribute; whereupon the Deputy cauſed him to be taken, and tryed by a Jury of common Souldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his lands amongſt certain Engliſh; and ſome of the *Mac-Mahons*, reſerving

ving a certain yeerly Rent to the Crown of England, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Title of *Mac-Mahon*. But hereupon, *O-Rork*, fearing hee should be served in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen, whom *Bingham* President of Connacht soon distressed, and drave into Scotland, and at the Queens request, was by the King delivered up into his hands.

It was now the yeer 1591. and the Four and thirtieth of Queen *Elisabeths* Raign, when she, carefull lest Britain should come into the Spaniards hands, sent *Edmund York* into France, to advertise the King to take care thereof; and promising to send him Forces to that end, if he would, some Towns, where they might be in safety. Hereupon he named *Cherburg*, *Granvile*, or *Brest*, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that Three thousand English should be sent into Brittainy and Picardy; but in the mean time, *Henry Palmer* was sent to Sea, with certain Ships, who seized upon Thirteen Spanish Ships, as they were returning from *Nova Francia*. And now *Roger Williams*, with a Company of Six hundred Souldiers, passeth over to Diepe in Normandy; and Sir *John Norris* with the rest of the Forces, hasted into Britain soon after. *Roger Williams*, with his own Six hundred, and the help of *Charter* Governour of Diepe, put to rout the Confederates, that had blocked up the passages; whose valour, the French King in his Letters to the Queen, highly extolled. Whereupon growing more couragious, and not minding his charge, which was to stay at Diepe, he accompanyed the King to the very Suburbs of Paris, where in honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the Spaniards, to encounter Two hundred Pikemen of the English, and a hundred Musquetiers, with as many Spaniards in open Field.

After this, the King of France acquainted the Queen, that he had a purpose to set upon Roan, or New-haven, before the Prince of Parma should come into France, and thereupon requested her, to send Four thousand English into Normandy, which upon certain conditions she willingly did, and sent them under the Command of *Robert* Earl of Essex, accompanyed with Sir *Thomas Leighton*, and Sir *William Killegrew*, as his Counsellours. When the Earl came into France, he found that the King was at Noyon, and in Normandy no preparation for the War at all, which seemed strange, and much troubled him; but by and by Sir *Roger Williams* comes to him from the King, requesting him to come to Noyon, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious journey, and being come thither, the King told him, he was now of necessity to go himself into Champaigne; but promiseth to send Marshall *Biron*, and the Duke of Montpensier forthwith to him, to lay siege to Roan. Hereupon the Earl returned to his Tents, expecting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more then before; so as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to Roan, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately slain. Indeed the affairs of the King of France were at this time upon so uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolved, something still intervened, that diverted him; for which, by his Letters he excused himself to the Queen of England, and by the mediation of the Earl, and *Mornay* Lord *du Plessie*, whom to that end he sent into England, obtained new supplies, and then besieged Roan.

At this time was memorable the prodigious cariage of one *Hacket*, born at Oundale in Northamptonshire, a mean fellow of no learning, whose first prank was this, That when, in shew of Reconciliation to one with whom he had been at variance, he imbraced him, he bit off his Nose, and the man desiring to have his Nose again, that it might be sowed on, while the wound was green, he most villanously eat it up, and swallowed it down before his face. After this, all on a sudden, he took upon him a shew of wonderfull holinesse, did nothing but hear Sermons, and getting Scriptures by heart, and

and counterfeting Revelations from God, and an extraordinary calling, and grew to be ſo magnified by certain zealous Miniſters, and ſpecially of one *Edward Coppinger*, (a Gentleman of a good houſe) and one *Arthington*, a great admirer of the Geneva Diſcipline; that they accounted him as ſent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet then *Moſes* or *John Baptiſt*, and finally, that he was Chriſt himſelf, come with his fanne in his hand, to judge the world. And this they proclaimed in Cheapſide; giving out that *Hacket* participated of Chriſts glorified body, by his eſpeciall Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Goſpel over Europe, and to ſettle a true Diſcipline in the Church of England; and that they themſelves were two Prophets, the one of Mercie, and the other of Judgement; with many other ſuch incredible blaſphemies; whereupon *Hacket* was apprehended and arraigned; and at laſt, hanged, drawn and quartered, continuing all the time, and at his death, his blaſphemous Aſſertions. *Coppinger* a while after ſtarved himſelf to death in priſon, *Arthington* repented, and made his Recantation in a publike writing.

Beſides theſe, other alſo at this time oppoſed the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church of England, crying down the calling of Biſhops, with whom ſided ſome Common-Lawyers alſo, affirming, that the Queen could not depute, nor theſe men exerciſe any ſuch Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction; and that the Oath *Ex Officio* was unchriſtian. But the Queen conceiving, that through the ſides of the Prelates, ſhe her ſelf was ſhot at, ſuppreſſed them what ſhe could, and maintained the Government formerly eſtabliſhed.

About this time, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, with ſix of the Queens ſhips, having waited at the Azores ſix whole Moneths, for the coming of the Spaniſh Fleet from America, was at laſt ſet upon by *Alphonſo Baſſano*, with three and fifty ſhips, ſent out for the Convoy of the American Fleet, where *Richard Granvile* Vice-Admirall, being in the *Revenge*, and ſeparated from his company, was ſo hemmed in by the Spaniſh ſhips, and ſo battered with great ſhot; that moſt of his men being ſlain, his Main-maſt cut off, himſelf ſore wounded in the head, he commanded to ſink the ſhip, that it might not come into the Spaniards hands; but this being countermanded by moſt voices, it was agreed, to yeeld it to the Spaniards, upon condition that the men ſhould be ſet at liberty. *Granvile* himſelf was carryed into the Spaniſh Admirall, where within two dayes he dyed, not without praiſe of his very enemies: Thus the great ſhip called the *Revenge*, was yeelded, but had ſo many leaks in the Keel, that ſoon after it was caſt away in a ſtorm; and the loſſe of this one ſhip the Engliſh ſoon made good upon the Spaniards, by taking many of theirs.

About this time alſo, *Cavendiſh*, who in the yeer 1578. had ſailed round about the world, now with five ſhips bent his courſe toward the Magellan Straits, but by reaſon of foul weather, was not able to paſſe them, being driven to the coaſt of Braſile, was there caſt away.

And now, enmity increaſing daily between Spain and England, two Proclamations were ſet forth; one, prohibiting upon pain of high-Treaſon, to carry Victuals or Munition into any of the King of Spains dominions: Another, forbidding all perſons to entertain any in their houſes, till inquiry made, what they were, leſt they might entertain Popiſh Prieſts, who at this time came ſwarming into England, by reaſon the King of Spain had lately founded a Seminary at Valledolid for the Engliſh.

At this time dyed Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Lord Chancelour, whom of a mean Gentlemans houſe, the Queens favour had raiſed to this height of Dignity; a goodly perſonage of body, of Noble, but no aſpiring ſpirits, the onely of all the Queens ſpeciall Favourites, that dyed a Batchelour; and therefore left *William Newport* his ſiſters ſon his heir, who erected for him, in *Pauls* Church, a ſumptuous Monument. After his death, the keeping of

of the great Seal was for certain Moneths committed to the Lord *Burleigh* Treaſurer, *Hunſdon*, *Cobham* and *Buckhurſt*: Afterward, *Puckering* the Queens Sergeant at Law, was elected, not Chancelour, but Keeper of the great Seal.

At this time alſo, *Brian O-Rork*, the Iriſh Potentate, was arraigned at Weſtminſter; his Indictments were, For raiſing Rebellion againſt the Queen, for dragging her Picture at a horſe tail, for giving the Spaniards entertainment; which things being told him by an Interpreter, (for he underſtood no Engliſh) hee ſaid, Hee would not be tryed, unleſſe the Queen her ſelf in perſon ſate to judge him. Yet being told, that it was the Law; hee onely ſaid, If it muſt be ſo, let it be ſo; and ſo condemned, was executed at Tyburn as a Traitour, whereof hee ſeemed to make as little reckoning, as if it had but been in jeſt. And now this yeer, the Queen made the Colledge of Dublin in Ireland, an Univerſity, which was formerly the Monaſtery of All-Saints, endowing it with power to confer Scholaſticall Dignities.

At this time, Sir *John Perot*, who had been Deputy of Ireland, and done good ſervice there, was yet by the malice of Adverſaries, of whom *Hatton* was one, called in queſtion, before the Baron *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Cecill*, (lately made a Councellour) Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *John Wolley*, and ſome of the Judges: His Accuſations were; firſt, that he had ſpoken opprobrious words againſt the Queen, ſaying, Shee was illegitimate and cowardly; ſecondly, that hee had foſtered notorious Traitours, and Popiſh Prieſts; thirdly, that hee held correſpondence with the Prince of Parma, and the Queens enemies. To the firſt of which he confeſſed, that in his paſſion he had ſpoken of the Queen unadviſedly, for which hee was infinitely grieved; the reſt hee denyed: And all men knew, he was never Popiſhly affected. His Accuſers were, one *Philip Williams*, ſometime his Secretary; *Denys O-Roghan* an Iriſh marryed Prieſt, whoſe life hee had ſaved; and one *Walton*, a fellow of no worth or Reputation. Yet the crimes being urged againſt him, by *Popham* and other Lawyers, till eleven a clock at night; hee was at laſt condemned of high Treaſon, but Sentence was not pronounced till twenty dayes after; and yet was not put to death, but dyed a naturall death in the Tower; hee vvas a man of a goodly perſonage, ſtout and chollerick, and one whom (many thought) the Queen had the more reaſon to reſpect, for her father King *Henry* the Eighths ſake.

The Earl of Eſſex, after a tedious Winters ſiege in Normandy, challenged Monſieur *Villerſe* Governour of Roan to a ſingle combate, who refuſing to meet him; hee then returned into England, being called home by the Queen, whoſe favour, by his long abſence, might elſe have ſuffered prejudice.

And now the King of France, hearing that the Prince of Parma was coming into France, once again was fain to flye to the Queen for ſuccour, to whom, upon certain conditions, ſhe granted an Army of four thouſand men, and ſome great Ordnance, with which Sir *John Norris* was ſent into France; whom yet the French King imployed not, as was agreed, to the great diſpleaſure of the Queen. But as for the Prince of Parma's coming into France, hee was prevented by death, when hee had governed the Netherlands under the Spaniard fourteen yeers; a Prince of many excellent parts, and whom Queen *Eliſabeth* never mentioned but with honour.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* conſidering that the King of Spaines chiefe ſtrength was in his Gold of America, ſends forth Sir *Walter Ralegh* with a Fleet of fifteene Ships to meete with the Spaniſh Fleet; who

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passing by a Promontory of *Spain*, received certain intelligence, that the Spanish Fleet was not to come forth that yeare: Whereupon, dividing his Navy into two parts; whereof, the one he committed to Sir *John Burroughs*, the other to Sir *Martin Forbysher*; he waited other opportunities, when soon after, a mighty Caraque came in view, called *The Mother of God*, which from the Beake to the Sterne, was a hundred threescore and five foot long, built with seven Decks, and carrying six hundred men, besides rich Merchandize. This great Vessell they took, and in it, to the value of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, over and above what the Commanders and Sea-men pilfered.

This yeare, the Queene going in Progresse, passed through *Oxford*, where she was entertained by the Schollers with Orations, Stage-Players, and Disputations; and by the Lord *Buckhurst* Chancellor of the University, with a sumptuous Feast. At her departure, She made a Latine Oration, wherein she vowed a vow, and gave them counsell; Her vow was, That as she desired nothing so much, as the prosperity and flourishing estate of her Kingdome, so she as much wished to see the Universities and Schools of learning to flourish likewise. Her Counsell was, That they would serve God above all, not following the curiosity of some wits, but the Lawes of God, and the Kingdome, That they would not prevent the Lawes, but follow them, nor dispute whether better Lawes might be made, but observe those which were already Enacted.

This year, dyed *Anthony Browne* Viscount *Montacute*, whom Queene *Mary* honored with this Title; because his Grandmother was Daughter, and one of the Heirs of *John Nevill* Marquesse *Montacute*; who, though he were a great Roman Catholike, yet the Queen finding him faithfull alwayes, loved him, and in his sickneſse went to visit him. There dyed at this time also, *Henry* Lord *Scroope* of *Bolton*, Knight of the Garter, and long time Governour of the Westerne Border toward *Scotland*.

At this time *Henry Barrow*, and his Sectaries, condemning the Church of *England* to be no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in matters Ecclesiasticall; he the sayd *Barrow*, as Ring-leader of the rest, was put to death, in terror to all such disturbers of the peace of the Church.

About this time, by reason of the Queens correspondence with the *Turk*, to the end, her Subjects might have free Trading in his Territories; It was maliciously given out by some, that she had excited the *Turke* to a War against the Christians; which caused the Queen to write to the Emperour, shewing him the falseneſse of this report, wherein she gave him full satisfaction.

And now a constant report came into *England*, That the King of *France* had already embraced, or was ready to embrace the Romish Religion, which so much troubled the Queene, that she presently sent *Thomas Wilkes* into *France*; with reasons (if it were not too late) to divert him from it. But before *Wilkes* came, the King indeed had openly professed the Romish Religion, at the Church of Saint *Denis* in *Paris*; of which his Conversion, he declared the causes to *Wilkes* at large, shewing, the necessity of it, unleſse he would suffer himselfe to be utterly thrust out of the Kingdome. And the French AMBASSADOR signifying as much to the Queene, in great perplexity, She writ to him to this effect.

Alas, what grief? what anxiety of minde hath befallen me, since I heard this news? was it possible that worldly respects should make you lay aside Gods feare? could you thinke, That He, who had hitherto upheld and kept you, would now at the last, leave you? It is a dangerous thing to doe evill, that good

may come thereof. But I hope your minde may alter; In the meane while, I will pray for you, and beg of God, That the hands of Esau, *may not hinder the blessing of* Jacob.

To this the KING Answered, That though he had done this in his owne Person out of necessity; yet, He would never be wanting to those of the Reformed Religion, but would take them into his speciall care and Protection.

And now was *Richard Hasket*, condemned and executed for Treason, being sent from the English Fugitives beyond Sea, to perswade *Ferdinand* Earle of *Derby*, Sonne to *Henry* newly deceased, to assume the Title of the Kingdome, by right of Descent from *Mary*, Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh; and threatning him, that unlesse he undertooke this enterprize, and withall, concealed him the Abettor, he should shortly dye in most wretched manner. But the Earle fearing a trap was layd for him, revealed the matter; yet the fellows threating proved not altogether vaine, for the Earle within foure Moneths, dyed a most horrible death. This yeare, Death had his tribute payd him from the Nobility; for there dyed *Henry Ratcliffe* Earle of Sussex, and three renowned Barons, *Arthur Grey* of *Wilton*, *Henry* Lord *Cromwell*, and *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*; besides Sir *Christopher Carlile*, whose Warlike Prowesse at Sea and land, deserves to be remembred.

In IRELAND, at this time, divers great men in *Connaght* Rebelled; and *Turlogh Leynigh* being dead, *Tir-Oen* assumed to himselfe, the title of *O-Neale*, (which in IRELAND is more esteemed, than to be called EMPEROVR) But upon a sudden, dissembling his discontent, hee submitted himselfe to the DEPVTY, and promised all obedience.

It was now the yeare 1594, and the seven and thirtieth of Queen ELIZABETHS Raigne; when the good correspondence betweene the King of Scots and Queen ELIZABETH, gave the Papists small hope that ever he would prove an Instrument to restore the Catholike Religion. Whereupon, they began to bethinke themselves of some English Papist, that might succeed the Queene; but finding none of their owne Sect, a fit person, they fixed their thoughts upon the Earl of *Essex*, who alwayes seemed a very moderate man; and him they devised to have some right to the Crowne, by Descent from *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, King EDVVARD the Thirds Sonne. But the English Fugitives, were for the Infanta of *Spaine*, and desiring to set the King of Scots and the Earle of *Essex* at ods; they set forth a Book, which they Dedicated to *Essex*, under the name of *Doleman*, but was written indeed by *Parsons* (*Dolemans* bitter Adversary) Cardinall *Allen*, and *Francis Englefield*. The scope of which Booke was, to exclude from Succession, all persons whatsoever, and how near soever Allied to the Crowne, unlesse they were Roman Catholikes; Contending further, for the right of *Isabella*, Infanta of *Spaine*, as being descended from *Constance*, Daughter of WILLIAM the Conquerour; from *Eleanor* eldest Daughter to HENRY the Second, Married to *Alphonso* the ninth King of *Castile*, from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King HENRY the Third, Titles obsolete, and which exceed the bounds of Heraldry to discusse. This year, the nineteenth of *February*, was *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* born, to whom the Queen was Godmother, and sent *Robert* Earl of *Sussex* for her Depury,

But now greater matters were in hand, Plots were layd against the Queenes life, some Spaniards thinking to make her away by Poison, and not daring to trust any Englishman in such a businesse, they treat to that purpose, with *Rodericke Lopes* a JEVV, and Phisitian to the Queen,

with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emmanuel Loyſie*, and other Portugalls; for divers of that Nation came into *England* at this time, in relation to *Don Anthonio*, who being diſcovered by letters of theirs, that were intercepted, were Arraigned at *Guildhall*, and by their own confeſſions convinced, to have conſpired againſt the life of the Queen, they were all condemned, and Executed at Tiburne; LOPES profeſſing that he loved the Queen, as well as Jeſus Chriſt, which was cauſe of laughter to them, that knew him to be a JEVV. The next day after them, was condemned *Patrick Cullen*, an Iriſh Fencer, ſent hither by the Engliſh Fugitives, to kill the Queen; who was ſtraightway executed, though he were at that very time ſick and ready to dye.

About this time, Sir *John Norris* having been in a hot conflict at ſea againſt the Spaniard, where Sir *Martin Forbyſher* received his deaths wound, was now called home, with a purpoſe to ſend him into *Ireland*. In which mean while, *Richard Hawkins*, Sonne of Sir *John Hawkins* the famous ſea Captain, had been ſet forth a year ſince, with three of the Queens ſhips, and two hundred men in them; whereof, one of them at the Iſle of St. *Anne*, was by chance fired, another of them ſeperated by tempeſt, returned into *England*, himſelf in the third, paſſed the Straights of *Magellan*, being the ſixth man in the Spaniſh accompt, that had ever done it, and being now come into the wide Southern ſea, he took five ſhips laden with Merchandize; one whereof he took away, the reſt he ſuffered to redeeme themſelves for two thouſand Duckats: But at laſt, being ſet upon by *Bertrandus a Caſtro*, who was ſent out by the Vice-Roy of thoſe parts, with eight ſhips againſt him; after three dayes battery, he yeilded, and though upon compoſition, yet was nevertheleſſe ſent into *Spain*, and there for divers years kept priſoner.

But *James Lancaſter* in another part of *America*, had better ſucceſſe; for being ſet forth by ſome *London* Merchants (whoſe goods the Spaniards had ſeized) with three Ships and a long Boat, Hee tooke nine and thirty Spaniſh Ships, and at *Fernanbucke* in *Braſile*, where the wealth of an Eaſt-Indian Caraque was lately unloden; hee deſperately venturing upon the Shoare, Loaded Fifteene Ships with the wealth of the Indian Caraque; Sugar, Reed, Redwood called Braſill, and other Merchandize, and then ſafely and victoriouſly returned home.

At ROME, about this time dyed Cardinall ALLEN, borne in *Lancaſhire* of an honeſt Family, brought up in *Oxford*, in *Oriall* Colledge. In Queene *Maries* dayes he was Proctor of the Univerſity, and after Canon of the Cathedrall Church at YORKE. Upon the change of Religion in ENGLAND, he left the Kingdome, and was Divinity Profeſſor at *Doway* in *Flanders*, and made Canon of the Church at *Cambray*. He procured a Seminary to be ſet up in *Doway*, for the Engliſh, another at *Rheims*, and a third at *Rome*; and through zeal of the Romiſh Religion, forgot whoſe ſubject he was born.

At home, at this time, dyed *John Peers* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, in whoſe place, ſucceeded *Matthew Hutton*, tranſlated from the See of *Durham*. There dyed alſo *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, being in the floure of his age, miſerably tormented, and vomiting ſtuffe of a darke ruſty colour, being thought to have been poyſoned or bewitched. There was found in his chamber a little image of wax, with hairs of the colour of his hairs, thruſt into the belly; which ſome thought was done of purpoſe, that men ſhould not ſuſpect him to be poiſoned, his vomit ſo ſtained the ſilver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out, and his body though put in ſearcloathes and wrapped in lead, did ſo ſtinck and putrifie, that for a long time none could endure to come neer where he was buried.

The Master of his Horse was much suspected, who the same day the Earl tooke his bed, took one of his best Horses, and fled away. About this time also dyed *Gregory Fines* Lord *Dacres*, a man somewhat crazed, the Son of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*, hanged in the Raign of King *Henry* the Eight.

And now Sir *William Fitz Williams* Lord Deputy of *Ireland* was called home, and *William Russell* youngest Son of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, was sent in his room; to whom presently came the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and in humble manner craved pardon of his fault, that he had not presented himself at the call of the late Lord Deputy. *Bagnall* Marshall of the Irish Forces, exhibited many Articles against him, but he so pleaded for himself with promise of loyalty hereafter, that he was dismissed. But see the subdolousnesse of this man, for he would never after be gotten to come again, though the Deputy sent for him with many kinde messages.

It was now the year 1595, and the eight and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign, when *Edmond Yorke*, and *Richard Williams* who were formerly apprehended, came to their tryall, and were executed at Tiburn, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

At this time a constant rumor was blown abroad from all parts of *Europe*, that the Spaniards were coming again against *England*, with a farre greater Fleet than that in Eighty Eight, and that it was already under sayl; whereupon, Souldiers were levyed, and placed on the Sea-coast. Two Navies were made ready; one to expect them at home in the Channell; the other, to go for *America*, under *Hawkins* and *Drake*; but when all came to all, it was but certain Spaniards, who looosed from the sea-coast of *France*, with four Gallies, which betimes in the morning landing in *Cornwall*, fired a Church standing alone in the fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, *Newlyne*, *Mousbole*, and *Pensans*, and then presently retyred, not taking or killing any one person; And these were the first and last Spaniards, that in hostile manner ever set foot upon English ground.

And now mischiefs growing daily in *France*, a great number perswaded the King, to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, and the Queen her self began to mistrust him, especially, having lately received intelligence out of the Popes Conclave, that he was received into the bosome of the Church of *Rome*, with the Popes Benediction, and that upon conditions prejudiciall to the Protestants.

And therefore at this time, were divers undertakings of the English against *Spain*; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Captain of the Guard, having defloured a Mayd of Honor (whom afterward he married) had lost the Queens favour, and was held in Prison for certain moneths; but afterward being set at liberty, though banished the Court. He undertook a Voyage to *Guyana*, setting sayl from *Plimmouth* in *February*, he arrived at *Trinidada*, where he took St. *Josephs* Town, but found not a jot of money there: From hence, with Boats, and a hundred souldiers, he entred the vast River *Orenoque*, ranging up in *Guyana* four hundred myles, but getting little, but his labour for his travell. In like manner, *Amyas Preston* and *Sommers*, Pillaged sundry Towns of the King of *Spains* in the Western parts; and three ships of the Earl of *Cumberland*, set upon a huge Caraque, which by casualty was fired when they were in fight, and these were the enterprises of private persons: but the Queen being informed, that great store of wealth for the King of *Spains* use, was conveyed to Port *Rico*, in St. *Johns* Island; sent thither *Hawkins*, *Drake*, and *Baskervile* with land Forces, furnishing them with six ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other men of War. They set sayl from *Plimmouth* the last of *August*, and seven and twenty dayes after, came upon the Coast of the great *Canarie*, which being strongly Fortified, they forbore to assault. A moneth after, they came to the Isle of St. *Dominicke*, where five Spanish ships being sent forth to watch the English, lighted upon

one

one of the ſmall Engliſh ſhips which was ſtrayed from the Company, and puzing the Maſter and Marriners upon the Rack, underſtood by them, That the Engliſh Navy was bent to *Port Rico*; whereupon they make all poſſible ſpeed to give notice thereof, that being fore-warned, they might accordingly be armed. And thereupon, as ſoon as the Engliſh had caſt Anchors in the Road at *Port Rico*, the Spaniards thundered againſt them from the ſhore; ſir *Nicholas Clifford*, and *Brute Browne* were wounded as they ſate at ſupper, and two dayes after died. *Hawkins* alſo, and *Drake*, partly of diſeaſe, and partly of grief for their ill ſucceſſe, died ſoon after. At the end of eight months, the Fleet came home, having done the enemy little hurt, fired onely ſome few Towns and ſhips, but received infinite damage themſelves; loſt two ſuch Sea-men, as the Kingdom, I may ſay, all *Europe* had not their like left. For the Spaniards having of late yeers received great harms by the French and Engliſh, had now provided for themſelves with Fortifications which were not eaſie to be won.

At this time the Queen made known to the States in the Low-Countries, the great charges ſhe had been at in relieving them ten yeers together; for which ſhe requiteth ſome conſiderable recompence: The States again alleadge the great charges they were at in Eighty Eight, in repelling the *Spaniards* in her cauſe; yet (not to fall out about the matter) they were content to allow ſome reaſonable retribution; but yet for the preſent, nothing was concluded. Likewiſe at this time, the Hanſe Towns in *Germany* make complaint to the Emperour, and the Princes of the Empire, That the Immunities from cuſtomes antiently granted them by the Kings of *England*, began to be Antiquated, and that a Monopoly of *Engliſh* Merchants was ſet up in *Germany*; to which, the Queen by Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*, firſt ſhewing the cauſe of the firſt Grant, and then the Reaſon of Queen *Maries* prohibiting it afterward, makes them ſo ſatisfactory an anſwer, that thoſe very Hanſe-Towns which complained, brought into *England* at this time, ſuch ſtore of Corne, that it prevented a mutiny, which thorough dearth of Corn, was like to have hapned in *London*.

This yeer was famous for the death of many great Perſonages, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, condemned in the yeer 1589. The Queen had all this while ſpared, but now death would ſpare him no longer, having ſince that time been wholly given to contemplation, and macerated himſelf in a ſtrict courſe of Religion, leaving one onely ſon, *Thomas*, by his wife *Anne Dacres* of *Gilliſland*. He had two brothers, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Baron of *Walden*, and King *James* afterward Earl of *Suffolk*; and *William* Lord *Howard* of the North, who yet liveth; and one ſiſter, the Lady *Margaret*, marryed to *Robert Sackvile*, afterward Earl of *Dorſet*, and father of *Edward* Earl of *Dorſet* now living; a Lady ſo milde, ſo vertuous, and ſo devout in her Religion, that if her brother macerated himſelf being in priſon, ſhe certainly did no leſſe, being at liberty; whom I the rather mention, becauſe I had the happineſſe to know her living, and the unhappineſſe to be a Mourner at her Funerall. There died this yeer alſo, *William* Lord *Vaulx*, a zealous Papiſt, and Sir *Thomas Hineage*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, whoſe onely daughter marryed to Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was no ſmall advancer of that Houſe. There died alſo *William Whitaker*, Maſter of S. *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Divinity Profeſſor: As likewiſe Sir *Roger Williams*, and Sir *Thomas Morgan*; ſo as this yeer was honoured with the deaths of two great Lords, one exquiſite Courtier, one great Schollar, and two famous Souldiers.

In *Ireland* at this time, *Ruſſell* the Deputy doubting a ſtorm of War from *Tir-Oen*, ſent into *England*, requiring to have ſome experienced ſouldier ſent to him with Forces, who though he deſired *Baskervyle* to be the man, yet

Sir

Sir *John Norris* was ſent, with thirteen hundred old ſouldiers, beſides a further ſupply; whom *Tir-Oen* hearing to be coming, ſet preſently upon the Fort of *Blackwater*, and in the abſence of *Edward Cornwall* the Governour, took it. But now being doubtfull of his caſe, in a ſubdolous manner (as he was a double dealing man) he both offereth his help to the Earl of *Kildare*, againſt the Deputies ſervants, and at the ſame time, maketh promiſe to the Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *Henry Wallope*, of loyalty and obedience; but notwithſtanding he was forthwith proclaimed Traytor, under the name of *Hugh O Neal*, baſtard ſon to *Con O Neal*. There was at this time with the Rebells in *Ulſter*, a thouſand Horſe, and 6280 Foot: and in *Connaght*, two thouſand three hundred, all at *Tir Oens* command; and the Forces of the Engliſh under *Norris*, not much fewer, with whom the Deputy himſelf joyned, and marched together to *Armagh*; which ſo terrified the Rebels, that *Tir Oen* forſaking the Fort of *Blackwater*, began to hide himſelf. Whereupon the Deputy returned, leaving *Norris* to follow the War, with the Title of Generall of the Army. But this ſatisfied not *Norris*, and therefore out of emulation betwixt himſelf & the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the ſpeaking of, and ſeemed to favour *Tir Oen*, as much as the Deputy hated him; inſomuch, as he had private conference with him (a thing not lawfull with proclaymed Traytors) and upon his ſubmiſſion, and Hoſtages given, a Truce was granted both to him and *Odonell*, till the firſt of *January*. When the Truce was expired, *Tir Oen* exhibited certain Petitions, proteſting, if they were granted, he would then perform all duties of a loyall ſubject. In conſulting about which Petitions, another Truce was concluded, till the firſt of *April*: during which Truce, *Tir Oen* dealt ſecretly with the King of *Spain* for Ayd to be ſent him, making nevertheleſſe a fair ſhew of willingneſſe to obedience, ſo far, that by the procurement of *Norris* and *Fenton*, a pardon was granted him; the which he pretended to receive more joyfully, than the Inſtrument whicd conferred the Earldome upon him; yet all this was but diſſimulation, to win the time for his own ends.

In the midſt of theſe Iriſh Affairs, *Albertus* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, and Cardinall, whom the King of *Spain* had newly ſet over the *Netherlands*, muſtered together the Spaniſh Forces, upon pretence of raiſing the Siege of *La Fere* in *Picardie*; but upon a ſudden turneth aſide, and beſiegeth *Calice*; and taking *Newnham* Fort, the very firſt day became Maſter of the Haven. The Queen informed hereof, forthwith, upon the very *Sunday*, in time of Divine Service, commandeth to leuy ſouldiers, whom ſhe committeth to the Earl of *Eſſex*; but before they could be ſhipped, certain News came, That the Town and Fort were taken by the Spaniard: Whereupon, the Queens Army was diſmiſſed, and onely ſome money lent to the French King.

But a few dayes after, a far greater, and more ſelect Army is raiſed in *England*, wherein many of Noble Houſes ſerved as Voluntaries: For the Queen, to divert the King of *Spain* from invading her Borders, thought it the beſt way to invade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred and fifty Ships was made ready; where were ſouldiers under pay, 6360; Voluntaries of the Nobility and Gentry, 1000; Marriners, 6772, beſides the Dutch-men, who brought two and twenty ſhips. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Charls Howard* Lord Admirall of *England*, were made Generalls with equall Authority; but the Admirall to hold Prerogative at Sea, *Eſſex* at Land. To theſe, for a Councell of War, were joyned, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Walter Raleigh*, *Francis Vere*, *George Carew*, and *Conyers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the Admirall commanded the firſt, *Eſſex* the ſecond, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the third, and *Raleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Army were *Francis Vere*, Serjeant Major Generall, or Marſhall;

Marshall; *John Winkfield*, Quarter-Master Generall; *George Carew*, Master of the Ordnance; *Conyers Clifford*, Serjeant Major. Colonells were, *Robert* Earl of *Sussex*, sir *Christopher Blunt*, sir *Thomas Gerrard*, sir *Richard Winkefield*; *William Winkefild* was Commander of the Voluntaries, and *Anthony Ashley*, Secretary to the Councell of War, was to Register their Acts and Consultations. The Commission being drawn, the Queen gave them private Instructions, and withall, a Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in every Ship.

This Fleet set forth from *Plimouth* at the beginning of *June*. Nigh unto *Cabo S. Vincent* they lighted upon an Irish Barque, which told them, That at *Cales* they were secure, and that in the Haven there were at Anchor Gallies, ships of War, and a great many Merchants Vessells. The twentieth of *June*, they cast Anchor on the West side of the Island; within two dayes they were agreed to set upon the Spanish ships, whereat the Earl of *Essex* cast up his Cap for joy. This businesse was alotted to the lesser ships, because the Road was too shallow for the great. The Gallyes quickly fled, and creeping along the shore, shifted away, but the Spanish ships that lay at Anchor at *Puntall*, turned their broad sides; so as the English Fight with them, lasted from break of day till noon; at which time, the Spaniards having their Gallons miserably torn, and many of their men slain, resolved to fire the the ships, or run them ashore. The Spanish Admirall, being fifteen hundred Tun of Burthen, was fired by a *Moor*, and two other ships which lay next her took the fire, and were lost likewise. When this Sea-Fight was ended, *Essex* landed eight hundred souldiers at *Puntall*, a league from the Town of *Cales*, when half a mile from the Town, the Spanish Horse and Foot shewed themselves, and presently gave back again; but straightway cometh forth a greater number: Then *Essex* commanded his Forces to make a fair Retreat; and having enticed forth their enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they forced them back into the Town. Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raised, neer the Gate, where he spyed a passage into the Town, but so high from ground, that they must leap a Spears length to get down. Yet *Evans* the Earl of *Sussex* his Lievtenant, *Arthur Savage*, and other, leaped down; and the mean while Sir *Francis Vere* broke the Gate, and rushed in, and the rest with him. In the Market place *John Winkfield* was shot in the head, and with stones from the tops of the houses divers were wounded; amongst whom, *Samuel Bagnall* received eight wounds, and *Arthur Savage* was bloody all over; which two were Knighted in the place. The next day the Castle was yeelded, upon condition, That the Inhabitants might depart with the clothes on their backs, the rest to be left for spoyl. For five hundred and fourscore thousand Duckets the Castle was to be redeemed; and for the payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be sent Hostages into *England*. Now *Raleigh* was commanded to fire the Merchants Ships lying at *Port Reall*, when they promised two Millions of Duckets to redeem them; but this the Admirall would not hear of, saying, He was sent to destroy Ships, not to dismisse them upon Composition. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great store of money privately carried away, every one shifting for himself. It was thought by the wiser sort, That the Spaniard could not be damnified lesse by this Expedition, than twenty Millions of Duckets. None of note was slain amongst the English, but onely *Winkfield*, who also slew a Spanish Captain, and now at last, threescore Military men were honored with Knight-hood. After this, having spoyled the whole Island, and demolished the Forts, they returned into *England*, much against the will of *Essex*, who would fain have bin attempting some other enterprise. The Queen received them home with much affability, giving many thanks to those of principall note, but extolling the Earl of *Essex* and the Admi-

Admirall, above the reſt. And now bethinking her ſelf of a fit man to be Governour of the *Bryll*, which was given by the States as a Caution Town for money due, ſhe made choyce of Sir *Francis Vere*, although *Eſſex* commended other to her for the place: but another thing he took with great indignation, That in his abſence ſhe had made Sir *Robert Cecill* Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great inſtance commended Sir *Thomas Bodley* to her.

And now the King of *Spain*, to recover his honour loſt at *Cales*, ſetteth forth a Navy for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great number of Iriſh Fugitives; but being at Sea, moſt of his ſhips were either run upon Rocks, or caſt away in ſtorms; ſo as this Expedition came to nothing.

But the Queen at this time, for her better ſecurity, entred a League of Defence and Offence with the French King, againſt the Spaniard, upon certain Conditions; which League, ſhe confirmed by Oath, in the Chappell at *Greenwich*, the nine and twentieth of *Auguſt*, laying her hand upon the hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bulloign*, and Marſhall of *France*; the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* holding forth the Evangeliſts, and a great company of the Nobility ſtanding round about. In *September* following, *Gilbert Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was ſent on Ambaſſage into *France*, to take the French Kings Oath, and to preſent Sir *Anthony Mildmay* for the Queens Ambaſſadour in Ordinary, in the room of Sir *Henry Unton* lately there deceaſed, and to inveſt the King with the Order of the Garter. Soon after, *Baskervile* wafted into *Picardy* with two thouſand ſouldiers; for no more were by agreement to be ſent this yeer.

It was now the yeer, 1596, and the nine and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign, when *Thomas Arundel* of *Warder* returned into *England*, from the Wars in *Hungary* againſt the Turk; whom, for his good ſervice done there, the Emperour by his Letters Patents, had created Earl of the ſacred Empire, and all and ſingular his Heirs and their Poſterity, Males or Females, lawfully deſcended from him, to be Earls and Counteſſes of the holy Empire for ever. Thoſe who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperiall Diets, May purchaſe Lands in the Emperours Dominions, May take up voluntary ſouldiers, And are not bound to anſwer any matter before any Judge, but onely in the Chamber of the Empire. At his return, a great Queſtion came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the Queens ſubjects without her privity, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl ſtuck in the ſtomacks of the Engliſh Barons, who inwardly grudged to give him place. The matter was long diſputed on both ſides, but what iſſue it had, or whether he were permitted this Honour here at home, I finde not: Certain it is, That Sir *Nicholas Clifford*, and Sir *Anthony Shirley*, whom the French King two yeers ſince received into the Order of S. *Michael*, were laid in priſon at their coming home, and charged to reſigne their Robes of the Order.

This yeer many great perſons died; *John Puckering*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom *Thomas Egerton* ſucceeded; *Richard Fletcher*, Biſhop of *London*; who for marrying the Lady *Baker* (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate) incurred the Queens diſpleaſure; and to cure his cares, fell immoderately to drinking of Tobacco, and ſo expired. *Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunſdon*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majeſties Houſe, and her Couſin German. Sir *Francis Knolls*, who marryed *Hunſdons* ſiſter, in Queen *Maries* dayes an Exile in *Germany* for the Goſpell, by Queen *Elizabeth* made firſt Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterward Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and Knight of the Garter. *Henry Haſtings*, Earl of *Huntington*, and Preſident of the Counſell in the North; who ſpent his eſtate upon Puritan Miniſters; *Francis* Lord *Haſtings*, Nephew to him by his brother

brother *George*, who ſucceeded him in the Earledome, and *Margaret Clifford* Counteſſe of Derbie, (who deſcended of the blood Royall, from *Charles Brandon*) conſulted with ſorcerers and cunning men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excluded from the Queens favour.

The Queen at this time was told, that the King of Spain was preparing a new Fleet againſt Ireland; whereupon to encounter him, ſhe alſo prepared a Navy of a hundred and twenty Ships, ſeventeene of the Queens, Three and forty leſſer Ships of Warre, the reſt for the carriage of proviſion: They were parted into three Squadrons: *Eſſex* Commanded the firſt, who was alſo chiefe Commander in the expedition; The Lord *Thomas Howard* the ſecond, and *Raliegh* the third. In this Fleet were ſundry of the Nobility and Gentry, *Charls Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy*, *Vere*, *Carew*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, the Earles of Rutland and Southampton, the Lords, *Grey*, *Crumwell*, *Rich*, and many other. The ninth of July they weighed Anchour from Plimmouth and were to direct their courſe to Ferall and the Groyne, to ſieze upon the Spaniſh Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Iſles called Azores, to intercept the Indian Fleet at their returne into Spaine; but this expedition was croſſed and overthrowne by Tempeſts, for they had not ſayled forty Leagues from Plimmouth, when they were ſhaken with ſuch a terrible Tempeſt for foure dayes together, that the Marriners themſelves were at their witts end, and the Fleet had much a do to recover Plimmouth; the Navy being mended, then hoiſe up ſayle the ſecond time, but the winde fell preſently againe ſo croſſe, that for a whole Moneths time they could not get out of the Haven, returning to Plimmouth the ſeventeenth of Auguſt they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a ſide wind hoyſe up ſayle, but before they came in view of Spaine, they were diſperſed by another horrible Tempeſt, wherein of the two great Ships which were taken at Calis, one was daſhed in pieces, the other wandered no man knew whither. At the Iſland Flores the Fleet met againe, where *Rawleigh* being diſtreſſed for water, went on ſhore without leave; and ere he had watered, had charge to follow Eſſex to Fayall: but not finding him there, hee obſerved the Port; and calling a Councell, the Commanders wiſhed him to ſet upon the place, and not let ſlippe ſo faire a booty. Upon this, *Rawleigh* with ſome of the prime Voluntaries, got to ſhoare, and wonne the Towne, but found no booty in it. The next day Eſſex came thither, whom *Merrick* informeth what *Rawleigh* had done, affirming ſpitefully, that he had done it only to prevent his Lordſhippe in the honour of the exploite: whereupon, ſome perſwaded the Earle to call a Councell of Warre and than diſplace him, others againe ; to take of his Head for going to Land, without the chiefe Commanders leave; ſaying, hee was never like for to have ſuch another opportunity to bee rid of his Adverſary; upon this, *Sidney*, *Brett*, *Berry*, and other of *Rawleighs* company were diſplaced, and layed by the heeles; *Rawleigh* himſelfe was ſent for, and entertained with a grimme looke by Eſſex and all his Party; Eſſex rebuketh him angerly, for landing his Forces, which none upon payne of death might do, without the Generalls command; *Rawleigh* made anſwer, that the Captaines indeed, Ship-maſters & the reſt were within the compaſſe of that Law; but not the Three prime Commanders, of whom himſelf was One: That he had a long time wayted his comming, and longer would have wayted, but that the Iſlanders provoked him to fight. And now the L. *Thomas Howard* mediated, that no ſeverity might be uſed againſt *Rawleigh*, & perſwaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the diſplaced Captaines were reſtored to their places, for the Earle was of a placable diſpoſition; eaſily apt to take offence, and as eaſily ready to remit it.

From hence they saile to Gratiosa, where the Inhabitants crave mercy and obtained it; & here *Essex* would have tarried, in expectation of the Indian fleet; but that Graves the Pilot diſswaded, becauſe the harbour was not good: and now ſee the unluckineſſe of ill counſell, for the Engliſh were not gone above an houre, or two, from this place; when loe, the American fleete; (wherein were forty Ships, and ſeven of them loaden with treaſure) cometh thither; which, hearing that the Engliſh were there abouts, directed their courſe to Tezcera, where they gained the haven, all but three ſhips, indifferent wealthy; which the Engliſh tooke: and then were minded to ſet upon the reſt, in the Port; but finding the attempt not forcible, they paſſed from hence, to Saint Michaells; where Southampton, Rutland, Evers, Bredon and Dockwray, were Knighted. and then Eſſex landed within ſix miles of the Towne; nigh unto Villa Franca, a faire Towne, and well furniſhed with marchandize; wine, wood, and corne; where they tarried ſix dayes: and the common ſouldiers found good booty. And now a Caraque was eſpied, coming out of the eaſt Indies; which, by a warning peece ſhot off in a Dutch ſhip, perceiveing that the Engliſh were there; run herſelfe a ſhoare, unloaded her merchandize, and then fiered herſelfe. Thus the Engliſh had ill lucke every where in this expedition: And the ninth of October they hoyſted ſayle for England; but within two dayes, a terrible tempeſt, from the northward diſperſed them; and the Spaniſh Fleete alſo at the ſame time, ſo as they never came in view of one another: one Spaniſh ſhippe was caſt upon Dertmouth, the Marriners and ſouldiers halfe ſtarved in her; who intimated, that the Spaniſh fleete intended to ſeize upon ſome haven in Cornwall, which being nigh the mouth of the channell; might be convenient to receive forces from Spaine: but the divine providence fruſtrated the deſignes both of the Spaniard and the Engliſh.

But now at his returne, the Earle of Eſſex found that done in England, in his abſence, which infinitly diſcontented him: Sir Robert Cicill made Chancelour of the Dutchy of Lancaſter; & which was more, Charles Lord Howard, created Earle of Nottingham, with relation in his patent to the Victory in eighty eight; and his good ſervice at Cales: This glory he envyed him, and beſides ſtomacked it; that he muſt now take place of him. It being enacted in the Raigne of *Henry* the eighth, that the chiefe Officers of the Kingdome, ſhould have Preſidence of all men of their degree. Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was faine to create him Earle Marſhall of England; by which he recovered his place againe.

About this time, an Embaſſadour came into England, from the KING of Poland; who, when the Queen expected he ſhould give her thanks for having procured a Peace between the King his Maſter, and the Turke, he cleane contrary expoſtulated unkindneſſe, for breach of Priviledge in trading with Spaine, requiring a preſent remedy, or elſe the King would otherways right himſelfe. The Queen not a little offended, ſuddenly replyed, how was I deceived? I expected an Embaſſadour, and behold a Herauld; ſuch a ſpeech I never heard in all my life time: And after ſome further checking of him for his boldneſſe, ſhe referred him to her Councell; and then retired into her Cloſett. The Embaſſadour afterward, in private conference with ſome of the Councell, excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, that his ſpeech was penned by others, and then given him in wrighting. To his Meſſage, the Councell gave the like anſwer; as they had given before the Hanſe-Townes, upon the like occaſion: though now againe, the Hanſe-Townes obtaine of the Emperour, to prohibite the Engliſh from trading

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in Germany, which made the Queen to prohibit the Hauſe towns from trading in England, and put them out of the Stilyard till this difference was accorded.

This yeer the Chancellor of Denmarke came into England to reſtore the Garter, which ſhe had beſtowed upon the Kings Father, and withall offering the Kings helpe, to make a peace for the Queen with the Spaniard. The Queen thanked him; but meant not to uſe his helpe for that which ſhee did not deſire, and eſpecially not now, when he had newly moleſted the King of France her Allye, and had taken Amyens the ſtrongeſt Town of Picardie: Though why ſhould the Queen be ſo tender of the French King, when now to get an aid of four thouſand Souldiers from her, he fell to Deviſes; intimating unto her, that he was now offered by the Popes Nuntio a very commodious peace, if he would but forſake her. But while theſe things were in Treaty, Amyens was recovered againe by the valour of *Baskervile* (who dyed at the ſeige) and of Sir *Arthur Savage*, as the King in His Letters to the Queene thankfully acknowledged.

About this time a Parliament was holden at Weſtminſter, where Subſidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord *La Ware* and reſtored to his blood, which by Act of Parliament in the Raigne of King *Edward* the ſixth was tainted; Alſo to this Parliament was called *Thomas* Lord HOVVARD, by the Title of Baron *Howard* of Walden.

In Ireland at this time, a great part of Ulſter, and almoſt all Connacht was in Rebellion; Whereupon *Ruſſell* the Deputy was called home, and *Thomas* Lord *Burrough* ſent in his place, a man very ſtout and couragious, but no ſouldier: This infinitely diſcontented *Norris*, who thought himſelfe ſure of the place himſelfe, and now to ſee his Rivall preferred before him, and himſelfe to be under him, Preſident of Munſter, drave him into ſuch a melancholly, that in a very ſhort time, (and as he thought to himſelfe with much diſgrace) he ended his life.

And now the Farle of *Tir-Oen* craveth, and obtaineth a moneths Truce of the new Deputy, at the moneths end, the Deputy marcheth againſt the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at Blackwater, when ſuddenly the Rebells flew themſelves upon a hill hard by, againſt whom the Earle of Kildare marcheth and puts them to flight; but yet with ſome loſſe of his owne ſide, as *Francis Vaughan* the Deputies brother in Law, *Turner* a Sergeant Major, and two *Fosters*, brothers of the Earle of Kildare, whoſe death hee tooke ſo heavily, that within a few dayes he dyed himſelf.

As ſoon as the people had fortified the Caſtle at Blackwater and withdrawne his Army, the Rebels began to beſiege it againe; (for this was the main place of their ſtrength) which cauſed the Deputy with all poſſible ſpeed to make thither, but unhappily dyed by the way. Whereupon the Rebells ſet upon the Fort more fiercely then before; but being ſtill reppelled; they comforted themſelves with this, that there was not many dayes proviſion left in the Fort; yet the admirable fortitude of *Thomas Williams* the Captain, and the Garriſon Souldiers ſaved the place, who, when their horſe-fleſh was all ſpent, fedde upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all kinde of miſery. And now the Lord *Burrough* the Deputy being dead, the Army by direction from England, was committed to the Earle of Ormond, and the Government to two Lords Juſtices, *Adam Loftheuſe* Archbiſhop of Dublin and Chancellour, and *Robert Gardyner*: To this new Lieutenant, *Tir-Oen* exhibiteth a Bill of his oppreſſions and greivances

with requeſt of pardon, and at the ſame time ſtirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion in Leinſter.

In France at this time, the French King being importuned by the Pope, and by his own Subjects, began to incline to a Peace with Spain, which the Queen underſtanding, ſhe ſent into France, Sir *Robert Cecill*, *Herbert* and *Wilks*, (who dyed at his landing in France:) The States likewiſe ſent thither, *Juſtine* of Naſſaw, and *Barnevolt*, and others likewiſe into England to diſſwade the Peace; but notwithſtanding all they could ſay, or do, the French King ſhortly after concluded a Peace, to the great diſcontentment of the Queen and the States, but to the great good, and eſtabliſhment of the French Common-wealth.

And now the Queen providing for her own and her peoples ſafety, ſent Sir *Francis Vere* to the States, to know if they were willing to joyn in a Treaty of Peace with the Spaniard; if not, what they would afford toward a Warre; and to deal earneſtly with them, about repayment of money due to her from them. At home in the mean time, a great Conſultation was holden, whither a Peace with Spain were convenient for England, or no; and many Reaſons were on both ſides alleaged. *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer was for Peace, Eſſex for Warre, and ſo vehement in it, that the Treaſurer, after a long debating, in a ſtrange manner of Preſage, reached forth the Book of the *Pſalms* to him, pointing him to that Verſe, *The bloody minded man ſhall not live out half his dayes.* Which made Eſſex afterward to ſet forth an Apology, with Reaſons for juſtification of his opinion.

But now another Conſultation was held, about a fit man to be Deputy of Ireland; The Queen intended to ſend Sir *William Knolles*, Eſſex his Uncle; but Eſſex was violent for Sir *George Carew*, whom hee had a minde to remove from the Court; and when hee could not by any means perſwade the Queen to it, hee then, forgetting himſelf and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuouſly turned his back upon the Queen, muttering certain words. Whereupon ſhee growing impatient, gave him a box on the ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance; Eſſex laid his hand upon his ſword hilt, and ſwore a great oath, That he could not, nor would not put up ſuch an Indignity; and that hee would not have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his hands; and ſo in a rage flung avvay from the Court. But afterwvard, admoniſhed by the Lord Keeper, hee became more milde, and in a ſhort time, returned into the Queens favour.

About this time, *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*, and high Treaſurer of England, finding himſelf to droop with age, (for hee was now threeſcore and ſeventeen yeers old) ſent Letters to the Queen, intreating her to releaſe him of his publike charge; whereupon ſhee went to viſit, and comfort him, but within a few dayes hee ended his life, after hee had been the principall ſtay of the Engliſh Commonwealth for many yeers together. One great good hee did to his country, a little before his death, that hee brought the States of the Low-Countries to a Compoſition, for the payment of Eight hundred thouſand pounds, by Thirty thouſand pounds yeerly; likewiſe, a new League to be concluded with them.

The King of Denmarks Subjects having lately ſeized upon ſome goods of the Engliſh as Prize, to the value of a hundred thouſand Dollers; the Queen ſent the Lord *Zouch*, and *Chriſtopher Perkins* Doctor of Law, in Embaſſage to the Dane, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Electors daughter of Brandenburg; and alſo to crave reſtitution of the Engliſh goods; who obtained, that in lieu thereof, Threeſcore thouſand Dollers were repaid. And now *George Clifford* Earl of Cumberland, having with

a Navie

a Navie of eleven ſhips, waited for Portingall Cariques, and the American Fleet, till the ſeaſon of the yeer was paſt (they not daring to ſtirre forth) he at laſt ſet upon Port-Rico and took it; but ſeaven hundred of his men falling ſick of Calentures, and dying within forty dayes, he was faine to returne home with ſome honour, but little profit.

About this time, one *Edward Squire* was Arraigned of high Treaſon, he had been at firſt an ordinary Scrivener, afterward a Groome in the Queens ſtable, and going as a Souldier in *Drakes* laſt expedition, was taken priſoner and carryed into Spaine, there he came acquainted with one *Wallpoole* an Engliſh Jeſuite, who cauſed him to be put into the Inquiſition for an Heretick, and the fellow taſting of miſery, was eaſily drawn to become a Papiſt, and afterward to attempt anything for the Catholique cauſe. His ghoſtly father perſwaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of Eſſex, and ſent him into England with a certain poyſon, wherewith to anoint the pommell of the Queens Saddle, and the chayre in which the Earl ſhould ſit, which he accordingly performed, but neither of them tooke effect, whereupon *Wallpoole* ſuſpecting *Squires* fidelity was bent to revenge it, and ſent one into England, who in generall termes ſhould lay this aſperſion upon him; whereupon *Squire* is called in queſtion, and never thinking that his Confeſſor would detect him, directly denyed all at firſt; but after ſeeing himſelf betrayed, confeſſed all the matter and was executed.

This whole yeer the Rebellion was hot in Ireland; For *Tir-Oen* notwithſtanding his pardon lately obtained, all on a ſuddain beſieged the Fort at Blackwater, to the raiſing of which ſiege, the Lieutenant Generall (for there was as yet no Deputy) ſent 13 Companies under the command of the Marſhall, *Tir-Oens* ſworne adverſary, him *Tir-Oen* ſlew, and put his whole Army to rout, and atchieved ſuch a Victory, with ſo great loſſe to the Engliſh, as they had never felt the like ſince they firſt ſet footing in Ireland; for thirteen valiant Commanders; and fifteen Hundred Common Souldiers were ſlain at this Skirmiſh, and ſoon after the Fort of Blackwater was yeelded up. And now *Tir-Oens* fame began to reſound, as the Aſſertor of the Liberty of the Nation, and upon a ſuddain all Munſter brake forth into rebellion. For the cheriſhing whereof *Tir-Oen* ſent thither *Ouny Mac-Rorye* and *Tyrell* (who originally an Engliſhman, was growne a deadly enemie to the Engliſh Nation) with four hundred *Kernes*. Againſt theſe; *Thomas Norris* Preſident of the Province, marcheth to *Killmallock* with a good force; but finding that the Iriſh Souldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was faine to diſperſe his Army and retire to Corke. Hereupon the Rebells grew inſolent, ſpoyled the Countrey, and in cruell manner put all the Engliſh to the ſword. Furthermore they declare *Fitz Thomas* to be Earl of Deſmond; but upon condition he ſhould hold of *O-Neale*, that is, of *Tir-Oen*, who now diſpatched Letters to the Spaniard, relating his victories to the full, and vowing to accept no termes of peace with the Engliſh, and yet at the ſame inſtant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proffered ſome kinde of ſubmiſſion to the Lieutenant; but withall made unreaſonable demands.

The State of Ireland being thus in combuſtion, a ſerious conſultation is holden whom to ſend to quench it, the Queen and moſt of the Counſell thought Sir *Charls Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* the fitteſt man; but Eſſex covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and beſides was too bookiſh to prove a good Commander, he ſeem'd to aym at the place for himſelf, though he made a ſhew modeſtly to refuſe it, and yet ſtill ready with his exceptions if any other were nominated: many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his hands, for his followers talked of great matters, that he (forſooth) was deſcended of the blood Royall of Scotland and England, and

and had better Right to the Crown, then any other of the Competitors. In Concluſion, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample Authority, to make Warre or conclude Peace, and pardon all offenders, even *Tir-Oen* himſelfe. An army is allotted him as great as he deſired: Indeed greater then ever Ireland had ſeen before; Twenty Thouſand Foot, and Thirteen Hundred Horſe: with theſe, and a great Retinue beſides of the Nobility, he paſſeth into Ireland; where as ſoon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commiſsion (which was to go immediately againſt the arch-Rebell) he marcheth towards Munſter, againſt the petty Rebels, taketh the Caſtle of Cahir, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoyning. His Forces being now impaired, he tarrieth to make them up; but in the mean time ſendeth directions to Sir *Coniers Clifford*, Preſident of Connacht, to ſet upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to ſever their forces) while he aſſaulted them in another; *Clifford* marcheth toward Belike, with 1500. Souldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at unawares, under the conduct of *O-Rorke*, (his Sonne that was hanged here in England) The Engliſh repell them at firſt with eaſe, and march along, but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, ſet upon them againe, and put them to flight; in which Skirmiſh, *Clifford* and many of the old Souldiers were ſlain.

Eſſex having by this time received new ſupplies out of England, and a check for neglecting the Queens Command, ſetteth forth at length toward the Borders of Ulſter, with Thirteen hundred Foot, and five hundred horſe, being come thither, *Tir-Oen* by a Meſſenger requeſteth Parley, Eſſex refuſeth ſaying, he might ſpeake with him the next morning, between the two Armyes; the next day, word is brought to Eſſex, that *Tir-Oen* craved the Queens mercy, and that he might onely be heard ſpeake, appointing the ſhallow of *Balla Clinch* for a moſt convenient place; thither came Eſſex alone, with whom *Tir-Oen* (riding his horſe up to the girts) had private conference a full houre; A while after, *Con Tir-Oens* baſe Sonne came to Eſſex, requeſting in his Fathers name a ſecond Parley, and that ſome of the chiefe on both ſides might be preſent: Eſſex conſented, ſo there came not more then ſix. At the day appointed, many words had not paſſed, but it was argued, that their Delegates ſhould Treat the next day concerning a Peace: between them it was concluded, that a Truce ſhould be held from ſix weekes to ſix weeks, till May-day.

By this time, the Qu. underſtanding that no more was done, after ſo much time and money ſpent, in a great anger taxeth the Earls proceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to ſome others that ſtood by, that he had other thoughts in his mind, then the good of his Prince and Country: And thereupon diſpatched very ſharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and letting ſlip every faire opportunity: with which Letters Eſſex was ſo netled, and chiefely troubled, that the Queen had now made *Cecill* Maſter of the Wards, which he expected himſelfe: that he beganne to caſt ſtrange Projects within his minde, and held private conſultations of returning into England with part of his Forces, to ſurprize his Adverſaries; But from this courſe, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Chriſtopher Blunt diſſwaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within a moneth, over he went, and came to the Court at Noneſuch, to informe the Queen of the State of Ireland. By the way, the Lord Gray of Welton croſsed him, but ſaluted him not; whom one of his followers offered to kill for his contempt: but Eſſex would not ſuffer him: And made ſuch haſt, that early in the Morning he was upon his Knees, before the Queen in the Privy Chamber. She enteriained him courteouſly, but not with the countenance She was wont: and after a little talke, bid him keepe in his Chamber; And ſoon after, Committed him to Cuſtody, in the Lord Privy Seales Houſe; where entring into Conſideration of his caſe, he giveth himſelfe wholy

wholly to Divine Contemplation, and writeth wonderfull Letters to his friends, of the vanity of the things of this life.

It was now the yeer one thouſand ſix hundred, and the two and fortieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Kaign, when after the departure of the Earle of *Eſſex*, *Tir-Oen* began to carry himſelfe as Monarch of Ireland, and ſendeth *Kernes* to make ſpoyle in the poſſeſſions of ſuch as continued in their loyalty to the Queene, under *Mac-Guir* their Captaine, who lighting caſually upon Sir *Warham* Saint *Leger*, thruſt him thorough with a ſpeer, and was himſelf thruſt thorough withall. Whereupon the Queen ſent Sir *Charls Blunt* Lord Montjoy, to take upon him the Deputies place, who looſeth no time, but firſt of all marcheth towards Ulſter buildeth a fort, within eight miles of Armagh, which, in honour of Sir *John Norris*, under whom he had his firſt military ſchooling, he calleth by the name of *Mount Norris*, there he placed *Edward Blanye* who kept the Rebels in awe in thoſe pares, from thence back he goeth into Leynſter, wherein the *Glynnes* he reduceth into order, *Donell-Spaniah*, *Phelim Mac-Pheoph*, and the Rebelling Nation of the *O-Tooles*, taking hoſtages of them, then back into Ulſter again, being victor whereſoever he cometh, and at Tradagh, receiveth into protection *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Cowly*, and other rebels who fell at his feet for mercy. All this and more he did in his firſt yeer, and no leſſe ſucceſſefull was *Carew* Preſident of Munſter, who drave out of the County the Titular Earle of Deſmond, and having found Munſter a turbulent Province in Aprill, he overcomed and made it ſo quiet by December following, that the Rebels maintained not one Fort in it againſt the Queen.

And now a new conſultation was holden in England, touching a peace with the King of Spaine, the which he ſought both by the French King, and by *Albertus* the Archduke, who was now returned into the Netherlands out of Spain, where he was marryed to the Infanta. The Queen conſenting to a Treaty, left it to the French King to nominate both the time and place for the meeting of the Delegates, who ſet down the Month of May, and Bulloigne in France; But now foreſeeing that a queſtion would ariſe about Precedency, ſome were appointed to ſearch Ancient Records concerning that point. Theſe men found in the Book of the Ceremonies of the Court of Rome, which (according to the Canons) giveth Rule to the reſt, as the Lady and Miſtreſſe; that amongſt Kings, the firſt place is due to the King of France, the ſecond to the King of England and the 3. to the King of Caſtile; That the Engliſh quietly held this priviledge in the Generall Counſells of *Baſill Conſtance*, and others, beſides the Kingdome of Caſtile, which is the Spaniards firſt Title, is but an upſtart in regard of England, which had Earles, but no Kings till the yeere one 1017. In like manner, that Pope *Julius* the third, gave ſentence for *Henry* the ſeaventh of England, againſt *Ferdinand*, who was then King of Caſtile.

At the day appointed, the Delegates met at Bulloign, Sir *Henry Newyll*, *Legier* Embaſſadour, Sir *John Herbert*, *Robert Beale*, and *Thomas Edmunds* for the Engliſh, and other for the King of Spaine and the Archduke. The Engliſh had Inſtructions, firſt concerning Precedency, in no caſe to give way to the King of SPAINE; yet if they contended, to put the matter to the deviſion of Lots, rather then the Treaty ſhould be diſſolved; and for the reſt, to propoſe and mention the renewing of the ancient Burgundian League, freedome of commerce, &c.

At the meeting, when the had ſeverally ſhewed their cõmiſſions; the Engliſh challenge the Precedency, the Spaniards do the like, and in ſoe peremptory a manner, that without it they would diſſolve the Treaty: Here-

hereupon the Engliſh made a propoſition, to let paſſe the queſtion of Precedency; and to tranſact the buſineſſe by wrighting, and Meſſengers between them: Or that the Treaty might be intermitted onely for threeſcore dayes, not quite brooken off; but all was to no purpoſe; And at three monthes end, they parted.

The States the meane while, were ſo farr from regarding a Peace, that at this time, they thought upon reducing the Sea Coaſt of Flanders into their command; and thereupon they landed an Army there, of Fourteen thouſand Foote, and three thouſand horſe, under the conduct of Maurice of Naſaw; and Fifteen hundered of the Engliſh under the command of Sir *Francis Vere*, and his Brother *Horatio*: At which time happened the famous Bataile of Newport, againſt the Arch-duke, wherein nine thouſand of the Spaniards were ſlaine; and the Victory by the valour of the Engliſh, fell to the Dutch, for ſo forward were the Engliſh in this Battaile, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were ſlaine and ſore wounded, eight Captaines killed, and of the reſt every man hurt.

All this year, and the year paſt, ſundry quarells and complaints aroſe betweene the Engliſh and the French, touching repriſalls of goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation: Alſo touching Cuſtomes and Impoſitions, contrary to the Treaty of Bloys, and deceit in Engliſh Clothes, to the great infamy of our Nation. In Denmarke likewiſe aroſe controverſies touching Commerce, and the Fiſhing of the Engliſh upon the coaſt of Iſland and Norway. The Queen alſo either time, for the increaſe of Navigation and Commerce, Founded the Company of East-India Merchants, allowing them large Priviledges: but whether, this hath proved beneficiall to the Common-wealth, (there having been by this meanes ſuch a maſſe of mony and great ſtore of other commodities carried out of the Kingdom, and ſo many Marriners loſt every year) wiſe men make a queſtion.

About this time alſo, Pope *Clement* the eight, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, ſent two Breeves into England, the one to the Popiſh Clergy. the other to the Layity, to ſuffer no perſon whatſoever, to take the Kingdome upon him after the Queenes death, but one that ſhould promiſe by Oath to promote with all his might, the Roman Catholick Religion, how neer ſoever otherwiſe, he were allyed to the Bloud Royall of the Kings of England.

This year by reaſon of intemporate weather, happened a great ſcarcity of Corne in England, and thereby many grievous complaints was occaſioned. The common people caſt out reprochfull ſlaunders, againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, as the granter of Lycences for tranſportation of Corne; but he appealing to the Queene, ſhee forthwith defended his Innocency, and made it knowne by open Proclamation, imputed the fault, upon the Broggers of Corne, and Foreſtallers of Markets, and gave order that the ſlanderers ſhould be reprehended and puniſhed.

The Earle of Eſſex, who had now beene Priſoner ſix moneths in the Houſe of the Lord Privie Seale, he then began to repent in good earneſt, reſolving to put away his perverſe Councellors, *Cylly Merick* and *Henry Cuffe*, and then he ſhewed ſo much patience and great ſubmiſſion, that the Queene then ſent him to his owne houſe, and to bee there confined, alwayes proteſting that ſhee would doe nothing that ſhould bee for his ruine, but onely that, which ſhould bee for his amendment. Neverthleſſe, when as the common people extolled his Innocency, ſhe could not, for the removall of ſuſpition of injuſtice, free her ſelf

and

and her counſellors, but bring him to a tryall, not in the Star-Chamber, leſt the Cenſure ſhould fall too heavy on him; but in the houſe of the Lord Privie Seal, where the cauſe ſhould have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Councell, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The objections were, That contrary to his Commiſſion, he had made the Earl of *Southampton*, Generall of the Horſe, had drawn his Forces into *Munſter*, neglecting the Arch-Rebell *Tir-Oen*, entertained a Parlee with him, againſt the Dignity of the Queens Majeſty, and the perſon of a Vice-Roy, which he repreſented; and that the ſayd Parlee was ſuſpitious, in regard it was private. Some aggravations the Lawyers added from abrupt ſentences, in his Letter to the Lord Privie Seal, written two years ſince, as theſe; *No ſtorme is more fierce than the indignation of an Impotent Prince. What? Cannot Princes erre? May they not injure their Subjects*, and ſuch like.

He falling upon his knee at the end of the Boord, profeſſed he would not conteſt with the Queen, nor excuſe the faults of his young years, either in whole, or in part, Proteſting that he alwayes meant well, howſoever it fell out otherwiſe, and that now he would bid the World farewell, withall, ſhedding many tears, ſo as the ſtanders by wept alſo. Yet could he not contain himſelf, but began to plead excuſes, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, adviſing him to proceed as he had begun, to flie to the Queens Mercy, who would not have him queſtioned for diſloyalty, but only for a contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the reſt, he pronounceth this Sentence againſt him; That he ſhould be depoſed from the office of a Privy Councellor, ſuſpended from the functions of the Earl Marſhall, and Maſter of the Ordnance, and be Impriſoned during the Queens pleaſure. She had given expreſſe charge, not to ſuſpend him from the office of Maſter of the Horſe (minding to take him ſhortly into favor) and that his Cenſure in no caſe ſhould be Recorded. After this, he made ſhew of wonderfull humility and mortification, which ſo affected the Queen, that ſhortly ſhe removed *Barkeley* his keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admoniſhing him, To make his own diſcretion his keeper, and not to come at the Court, or in her Preſence.

After this Sentence, *Cuffe*, who alwayes perſwaded the Earle to ſtand ſtoutly in his own defence, began ſo plainly to tax him of cowardize and puſillanimity; that the Earl in anger, commanded his name to be put out of the Rowl of his ſervants, yet *Merrick* the Steward did it not, as being of *Cuffes* minde himſelf.

Eſſex, being now ready to go into the Countrey, remembred himſelf to the Queen, by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in theſe words; *That he kiſſed the Rod, and the Queens hands, which had onely corrected, not overthrown him; yet he ſhould never enjoy ſolid comfort, till he might ſee thoſe bleſſed eyes, which had been his load-ſtars, whereby he had happily ſteered his courſe, whiles he held on his way at lawfull diſtance; But now he reſolved to eat graſſe with* Nebuchad-nezzar, *till it pleaſe the Queen to reſtore his ſenſes.* She being greatly joyed with theſe his ſpeeches; *Would to God (ſayd ſhe) his deeds might be anſwerable to his words; he hath long tried my patience, I muſt now make tryall of his humility.*

And now the Earl grew ſo confident of thee Queens favor, That he became a ſuitor to her for the Farme of ſweet Wines; but ſhe to try his temper, and with what minde he would bear a repulſe, made him Anſwer; That ſhe muſt firſt know what it was worth, and not give away things hand over head; and had oftentimes in her mouth, the Aphoriſme of Phiſitians, That foul bodies, the more you nouriſh them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to finde, whether the ulcer of his minde were throughly cured or no; for being not throughly cured, it would endure

dure no touching; and no more did his, but as though every denyall of a curteſie, were an injury that required revenge; his melancholy was preſently turned into choller, and now began to hearken to *Caſſe* again; telling him, That it was now plain, the Queen determined to make him as poore as *Job*, that he ſhould live of the basket, and gather crums under the Table. Hereupon he returned to *London*, *Southampton* is ſent for out of the Low-Countries, his doors are ſet open for all commers, *Merricke* his Steward receiveth to his own table decayed ſouldiers, diſcontented and audacious perſons; Sermons are made there every day by Puritan Miniſters, to which the Citizens flock, and all ſignes of popularity appeared; which matters coming to the Queens ears, Alienated her affection from him daily more and more; but eſpecially ſhe was exaſperated, that her Perſon was deſpiſed by him; for (not to ſay the worſt) he had muttered, That the Queen was now old and decrepit, and withered as well in minde as body.

note

And now again, he runneth upon deſperate counſells, for the removall of his adverſaries from the Court, ſeeketh to ſcrue himſelf into the King of Scots favour, to whom he traduceth his adverſaries, by name *Raleigh*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, *Cecill*, and the Admirall, as inclined to the Spaniſh Faction, and at one and the ſame time, ſeeketh to win to him both Puritans and Papiſts. Many were of his party, but few of his counſell; and theſe were the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charls Davers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Captain of the Garriſon of *Plimmouth*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, and ſome other. With theſe he met privately in *Drury* Houſe to avoyd ſuſpition, where he firſt giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and gentry that favoured him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they conſult, whether it were better to ſet upon the Tower of *London*, or the Queens Pallace; this latter they reſolve upon, which ſhould be done in this manner. *Blunt* ſhould keep the great Gate, with a ſelected number of men, and *Danvers* ſeize upon the Preſence Chamber: Then *Eſſex* with his company ſhould come from the *Mues*, and preſent himſelfe before the Queen. But now ſuſpitions ariſing from divers circumſtances, Secretary *Herbert* was ſent to call him before the Councell, at the Treaſurers Houſe; but he doubting the matter, excuſeth himſelfe, that he was not very well. And now the Plot of ſeizing upon the Court, which had been four moneths in contriving, was by this means quite daſhed, for they had ready at the preſent, neither Souldiers, nor muition, ſo as ſome ſpeedier courſe muſt now be thought on; at which time very opportunely cometh one to them (ſet on no doubt by *Eſſex* his Adverſaries) as if he had been ſent on purpoſe from the Citizens, to promiſe him their Ayd, which made *Eſſex* to applaud his own great good fortune.

And now were four of the Lords, namely the Lord Keeper, the Earle of *Worceſter*, Sir *William Knolles*, and the Lord Chiefe Juſtice of *England*, ſent by the Queen to *Eſſex* houſe, who could hardly be ſuffered to come, in, all their Attendants were kept out, ſave he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court, they found a confuſed number of people, and the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton* in the midſt of them. The Keeper turning himſelfe to *Eſſex*, telleth him, The Queen had ſent him and the reſt to underſtand the cauſe of this concourſe, promiſing Juſtice, if any perſon had done them wrong. *Eſſex* with a loud voice cryeth out, They lye in waite for my life, we are met to defend our ſelves. The Keeper urging *Eſſex* again to unfold ſome part of his grievance; the unruly multitude crieth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to betray you, Kill them, caſt away that Great Seal. *Eſſex* retireth into the houſe, the Lords follow him, he chargeth them to make the doors faſt, and turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while (ſaith he) I muſt go into the City, to diſpatch a little buſineſſe with the Maior and Sheriffs, I will return preſently.

There

There the Lords are kept priſoners; *Eſſex* maketh haſte into the City, with a Troop of 200 men at his heels; the E. of *Bedford*, the L. *Cromwell*, and other Lords meeting him by the way, joyn themſelves: coming into *London*, he cryeth out aloud, *For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my life.* The Citizens came running to gaze, but not ſo much as one perſon took Arms to take his Part. Paſſing along the City, he came all in a ſweat to the Sheriff *Smith*'s houſe, who ſhifteth himſelf forth at a back door, and goeth to the Lord Maior. By this time, certain of the Nobility entred the City with a Herald, declaring *Eſſex* and his adherents Traytors. Hereupon, hearing alſo that the Lord Admirall made towards him with an Army, he began to be diſheartned; *Gorge* taketh care for himſelf, requeſteth he might be ſent to releaſe the Counſellors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, whiles the iſſue was yet doubtfull. The Earl content, that *Popham* only ſhould be freed; but he refuſed, unleſſe the Keeper alſo might be diſmiſſed. Then *Gorge* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

Now when *Eſſex* thought to return, he found a Chain faſtened croſſe the ſtreet, at the Weſt end of *Pauls*, and men in Arms on the other ſide: then he began to draw his ſword; and having once given the word, *Blunt* letteth fly at them, ſlew one of them incontinent, himſelf being ſorely wounded and taken. *Eſſex* himſelf had his Hat ſhot thorow; whereupon retiring, he took Boat at *Queenhythe*, and went to *Eſſex* Houſe; where finding the Counſellors all diſmiſſed, he grew extreme angry and diſmayed, and caſt certain papers into the fire, ſaying, They ſhould tell no tales. By and by the Admirall beſiegeth the houſe, commanding them to yeeld. *Southampton* offereth, if the Admirall would give Hoſtages to ſecure them, they would preſent themſelves to the Queen. The Admirall anſwereth him by *Sidney*, That Rebells are not to profer Conditions. Within an hour, *Eſſex* finding the caſe deſperate, reſolved to ruſh forth; and the Lord *Sands* (the moſt aged in the company) greatly urged it, ſaying, It were better to die valiantly, than by the hands of a Hang-man. But *Eſſex* his minde, upon a little deliberation altering, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their weapons to the Admirall, when it was ten a clock at night. *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two more were ſlain with Musket Shot, and as many of the Beſiegers. The next day, *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Company of Souldiers in *Ireland*, who to one *Croſſe* a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimated, how noble an exploit it were, for ſix ſtout fellows to go to the Queen, and compell her forceably to releaſe *Eſſex* and *Southampton*, was preſently apprehended, examined, found guilty and executed. *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were carryed firſt to *Lambeth*, to the Archbiſhops houſe, becauſe it was a dark night; but anon were ſent to the Tower, by the Queens direction; and with them, *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Danverſe*, and *Bromley*, the reſt were put in common priſons.

On the nineteenth of *February*, *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were called to their Arraignment, before their Peers in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, where *Buckhurſt* Lord Treaſurer, was appointed Lord High Steward of *England* for that time. The Peers being ſeverally called by their names, *Eſſex* demanded, If it were not lawfull for them to except againſt ſome of the Peers, as private perſons might do againſt the Jurors. The Judges made anſwer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of *England* was preſumed to be ſuch, that in Tryalls they were not bound to take an Oath, nor are they lyable to any exception. Then were they joyntly indited of High Treaſon; namely, That they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To ſurprize her in her very Palace; And that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by impriſoning the Counſellors of the Kingdom, By exciting the *Londoners* to Re-bellion with vaine Fictions; By aſſaulting the Queens loyall Subjects in the City, and by defending of *Eſſex* Houſe againſt the Queens Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty.

Eſſex withall averring, That they had done nothing but of neceſſity, and the Law of Nature. *Yelverton* aggravateth the ſpecialties; and *Edward Cook* Atturney, argueth, That the Earl could not excuſe himſelf from the Law of Nature, ſeeing Majeſty is not to be affronted for private revenge. The Earl of *Eſſex* with great confidence made anſwer, That to his Prince and Countrey, he alwayes had and would bear a loyall affection. Then *Francis Bacon* (one that was little expected to ſpeak againſt *Eſſex*, by whom he had been raiſed) in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecill*, and *Raleigh*, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of *England* was ſold to the Spaniard: wherto *Eſſex* replyed, that he heard indeed, that *Cecill* the Secretary ſhould ſay to one of the Lords of the Councell, That the Right of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Kingdom of *England*, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this *Cecill* (who ſtood by as an Auditor) ſteppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beſeecheth the Steward that with his good leave, he might quit himſelf from this foul aſperſion: which leave being granted him, he provoked *Eſſex*, if he durſt, to name the Counſellor; but he would not: therefore (ſaith *Cecill*) It is a Faction: ſtill *Eſſex* averreth it. Then *Cecill* turning himſelf to *Southampton*, beſought him, by all manner of Obteſtations, to name the man. He referreth it to the Honorable Aſſembly, and to *Cecill* himſelf, if in Honour and good Reaſon he ought to do it: they affirming, He might, *Southampton* nameth Sir *William Knolles*, *Eſſex* his Unkle. He being ſent for, at *Cecills* intreaty, ſaid, That *Cecill* two yeers ſince told him, that one *Dolman*, in a Book, had aſſerted the Right of the *Infanta*, and had ſpoken no otherwiſe than ſo.

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alleadged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aſide: Then the Peers roſe, and went apart, and having conſulted about an hour, returned to their ſeats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of high Treaſon. Then the high Steward, adviſing *Eſſex* to implore the Queens mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff and departed.

The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Edmund Baynham*, *Littleton*, *Cluff*, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Chriſtopher Wright* and *Orell* an old Souldier, were called to their Tryall: but the Queen (informed by Sir *Fulk Grevill*, That moſt of them were drawn unwittingly into the danger) commanded that onely *Littleton*, *Baynham*, and *Orell* ſhould have their Tryall, the reſt to be ſent back to priſon. Theſe were all condemned, but their lives ſpared, which favour, *Raleigh* (for a good ſum of money received of *Baynham*) procured.

Eſſex in the mean while, requeſted he might ſpeak with ſome of the Counſellors, to whom he reconciled himſelf, and to *Cecill* eſpecially; and then intimated, That the Queen could not be in ſafety while he lived; he requeſteth he might be executed privately in the Tower: He grievouſly inveigheth againſt ſome of the Conſpiracy, and wiſhed to ſpeak with ſome of them, but ſpecially with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*; whom as ſoon as he ſaw, he brake forth into theſe words; *O Cuffe, ask pardon of God and the Queen, for thou haſt chiefly provoked me to this diſloyalty.* Alſo he intimated Sir *Henry Nevill*, ordinary Ambaſſadour in *France*, to have been acquainted with the Conſpiracy; and that other in *Scotland*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, Deputy of *Ireland*, knew of his purpoſe, and other in *England*; who being many in number, and the Lord *Mountjoy* ordering the Affairs of *Ireland* in good faſhion, the Queen wiſely would take no notice of it.

The five and twentieth day of *February*, which was to be the fatall day, there were ſent to the Earl divers Miniſters, to give him ghoſtly comfort. The Queen now wavering in her ſelf, one while remembring the

ancient kindeneſſe ſhe had ſhewed him, ſhe commanded he ſhould not be executed; then again, thinking of his ſtubbornneſſe, That he would not once ask her mercy, and had ſaid openly, That he could not live, but ſhe muſt periſh; countermanding her former word, ſhe gave order that he ſhould be executed.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard, where a Scaffold was erected, and ſundry of the Nobility preſent, amongſt whom *Raleigh* alſo; but being told, It was an inhumane thing to ſtand by and behold the death of his adverſary, he withdrew himſelf into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy. *Eſſex* being aſcended the Scaffold, uncovered his head, caſt up his eyes towards Heaven, and cryed God mercy for the manifold ſins of his youth, but this laſt ſpecially, which he ſaid was a bloody, crying, and contagious ſin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Councellors, commended his Spirit into the hands of God, and had his head taken off at the third blow, though the firſt bereft him both of ſenſe and motion.

The fifth of *March*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gyllie Merrick*, and *Cuffe*, were brought to their Tryall in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, before the Queens Delegates. The Heads of their Inditements, were the ſame which were objected to *Eſſex* and *Southampton*. The others ſaid little in their defence, onely *Cuffe* ſtood upon theſe two Anſwers; Whereas (ſaith he) I am challenged of Treaſon, becauſe I was in *Eſſex* houſe the day of the Rebellion; by the ſame Argument the Lion in the Celler might be indited; all that day I lamented the Earls Fortune, and dealt with him to flie to the Queens mercy. And as for the Conſultation in *Drury* Houſe, it is no more to be called High Treaſon, than an Embryon may be accounted a perfect man. The Lawyers on the other ſide demonſtrated, That no neceſſity lay upon him to tarry in the Houſe; and that the Conſultation in *Drury* Houſe was it ſelf a Treaſon, though it had never broke forth into act. *Merrick* ſaid onely this, The Earl of *Eſſex* raiſed me, and he hath overturned me.

The thirteenth of *March*, *Merrick* and *Cuffe* are drawn to Tyburn, where *Cuffe* entring into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then, after prayers to God, and deſiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was caſt from the Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boyſterous and turbulent diſpoſition. In the ſame manner died *Merrick*.

The fifteenth of *March*, Sir *Charles Davers*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* were beheaded on the Tower-Hill; albeit *Davers* offered ten thouſand pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetuall Impriſonment. The Earl of *Southampton*, and the Sheriff *Smith*, were kept priſoners; though *Smith*, after ſome time, was upon ſureties ſuffered to go at large. The eighth of *July*, Sir *Henry Nevill* was cited before the Lords of the Counſell, where it was laid to his Charge, That he was preſent at the Conſultation in *Drury* Houſe, yet had not revealed their ſiniſter purpoſes; and had imparted to *Eſſex* the ſecrets of his French Ambaſſage. He confeſſed, That at the Earls intreaty, he ſhewed him the Commentaries of the French proceedings, was preſent at one of their Conſultations onely, but contemned their counſells, yet durſt not be an Informer againſt ſo great Perſonages. Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and was committed to priſon.

One Act of the By, is not here to be omitted. *Eſſex* at his Arraignment had complained, That his hand-writing was counterfeited. It happened, the Counteſſe of *Eſſex* being fearfull in her husbands behalf, gave a Letter which ſhe had received from him, to the cuſtody of one *Ribove*, a Dutch-woman that waited on her: this Dutch-womans husband, named *Daniell*, lighted by chance upon the Letter, and perceiving ſome paſſages in it which might bring the Earl of *Eſſex* into danger, got a cunning fellow to draw a counterfeit Copy of the ſaid Letter; with this he cometh to the fearfull

Lady,

Lady, who was newly brought to bed, threatning to give the same to her husbands adversaries, unlesse she would presently give him three thousand pounds. She to shun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and seventy pounds at the very instant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy only, meaning to make use of the true one, to get another sum of the Earls adversaries. This imposture being found out, he was censured to perpetuall Imprisonment, condemned in three thousand pounds (two of which were to go to the Countesse) and his ears nayled to the Pillory, with this Writing over his head; *A notorious Cheater.*

Soon after, a Parliament was assembled, wherein grievous complaints being tendred to the lower House touching Monopolies, the Queen, by way of prevention, sendeth out Proclamations, declaring the said Licenses and Patents to be voyd in part, leaving some part to the discussion of the Laws: which thing was so acceptable to the Lower House, that they presently sent 80 selected persons, together with the Speaker, to give the Queen thanks; and she on the other side, gave them thanks, for being such faithfull Monitors to her, to recall her from an errour, whereinto through ignorance, not wilfulnesse, she was fallen.

In *Ireland*, the Deputy, at the entry of the Spring, draweth his Forces together, and driveth *Tir-Oen* from where he had fortified himself; *Carew*, President of *Munster*, taketh the titular Earl lurking in a Cave, and receiveth intelligence, That the Spaniards, invited by *Tir Oen*, had a purpose to land in *Munster*, yet could not perswade the Deputy they had any designe for *Ireland*; but in the midst of *September*, certain news was brought, The Spaniards were in sight, who wanting winde to carry their Fleet to *Cork*, put in to *Kinsale*, the three and twentieth of *September*, and land their Souldiers without resistance. *Richard Percy*, having but few Souldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away, and leave *Kinsale* to the Spaniards, into which they enter with Ensignes displayed, and by the Magistrates and Inhabitants, were bidden welcome.

D'Aquila, who commanded the Spaniards, publisheth a Declaration, wherein he sheweth, That Queen *Elizabeth* was deposed from her Kingdom by sentence of the Pope, her subjects absolved from their Allegiance; And that the Spaniards were now come to deliver *Ireland* from the Jaws of the devill. *Tir Oen* joyneth his Forces with them, so as they were now six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and promised themselves assured Victory, the English being not neer so many. The four and twentieth of *December*, a Battell is joyned; where, after a long Fight, the Victory inclined to the English. *Tir Oen*, *O donell*, and the rest, cast away their Weapons, and save themselves by flight. *Alphonso O Campo*, chief Leader of the Spaniards, together with three other Captains, was taken prisoner, and six Ensigne-bearers, twelve hundred were slain, nine Colours taken, whereof four belonged to the Spaniards: of the English not many were slain, but a great number wounded.

After six dayes, *D'Aquila* sendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requesting that some person of account might be sent to him, with whom to confer; Sir *William Godolphine* is sent, to whom he complained of cowardise, and (he feared) treachery of the Irish; and therefore, although he wanted nothing to hold out the Siege, and did daily expect great Forces from *Spain*, yet was willing to make a Composition: whereupon, at last it was agreed, The Spaniards should yeeld up *Kinsale* to the Deputy, as also the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bere-Haven*, and *Castle-haven*, and should depart with life and goods, and Colours displayed. The English, at a reasonable price, should furnish them with Ships and provision into *Spain*; and that they should not carry Arms against the Queen of *England*, till they were arrived in *Spain*, &c.

And

And now the Spaniards being driven out of *Ireland*, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, ſendeth out Sir *Richard Leviſon*, and Sir *William Monſon*, with eight Ships of her own, and ſome ſmaller Ships of War, to attempt ſomething upon the Coaſt of *Spain*. On the nineteenth of *March*, *Leviſon* hoyſeth Sayl, and *Monſon* afterward, having in vain tarryed behinde, for ſome Dutch Ships to joyn with them. *Leviſon* in the mean time lighted upon the Spaniſh Navy of eight and thirty Ships, which brought the Treaſure from *America*, and ſet upon them, but to no purpoſe. When *Monſon* was come with the reſt of the Fleet, they had certain notice, That a mighty Indian Caraque of ſixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coaſt of *Portugall*. There indeed they found it, but it lay cloſe under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies; and the Caraque it ſelf appeared as big as a Caſtle; yet they reſolved to fire it, if they could not take it. The next day, they thundered ſo violently againſt the Gallies, that within ſeven hours the Marqueſſe of St. *Croſſe*, together with *Portugall* Gallies which he commanded, withdrew themſelves; two of them were taken and fired; and in them was great ſtore of Powder, which was going for the *Low-Countries*. And now *Leviſon* ſignified to the Captain of the Caraque, That the Gallies which they truſted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refuſed mercy, they muſt expect none hereafter. After much ſpeech to and fro, it was at laſt agreed, That the Caraque, with the Ordnance and Merchandiſe, ſhould be yeelded up. Thus the Engliſh, having a fair winde, returned homeward with a Booty, to the value of a Million of Duckets, by the *Portugall* account, and not paſt five of their men loſt in the Voyage.

At this time there aroſe a Conteſtation amongſt the Popiſh Clergy here in *England*; for the Jeſuites and the Secular Prieſts, made bitter Invectives in their writings, one againſt the other. The originall of the Prieſts quarrell was, That *Blackwell*, one wholly at the beck of the Jeſuites, was ſet over them as Arch-Presbyter, who firſt of all deſpoiled them of their Faculties; and when they appealed to the Pope, cauſed them to be declared Schiſmaticks and Hereticks. They in ſundry Books extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealt mildly alwayes with the Catholikes, till ſuch time as they ſet all in a combuſtion in *England*; and by their Treaſons, cauſed moſt ſevere Laws to be enacted againſt the Catholikes. *Parſons* they traduced, as a Baſtard, an Equivocator, and a Traytor. Whether they contended thus in good earneſt, or in jeſt only, is hard to ſay; but the Biſhop of *London* politickly nouriſhed the contention; and all he gained, was this, That the Queen and her Councell, finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one and the other, upon Penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom preſently.

In *France*, the Marſhall *Biron*, for entring into dangerous attempts againſt the publike Peace, was arraigned, and loſt his head. His confeſſion brought ſome other into danger; and amongſt them, the Duke of *Bulloign*, of the Proteſtant Religion, that when he was cited, he durſt not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Hereupon the King of *France* ſendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining that the Duke held his Marriage unlawfull, and the Popes Diſpenſation nothing worth, pronouncing his ſon Illegitimate; had deſtined the Prince of *Conde* to the Succeſſion of the Crown, and conſpired the deſtruction of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her Legier Ambaſſadour, adviſeth the King not too credulouſly to entertain thoſe reports, as doubting theſe ſuggeſtions might proceed from ſome of the Spaniſh Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, ſaying, The Queen held a better opinion of the Duke then he deſerved, and that he was one of the chief Architects of *Eſſex* his Treaſon; and being queſtioned by the King about it,

was

was not able to deny it. About this time alſo, the Duke of *Savoy*, by cunning ſlights, and open force, practiſed againſt the State of *Geneva*; and the Queen relieved them with a great ſum of money, gathered amongſt the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

And now the Earl of *Tyrone*, perceiving himſelf in a deſperate eſtate, reſolved to ſue for mercy, and promiſed at laſt to ſubmit his life and Fortunes to the Queens pleaſure, abſolutely without condition. Hereupon, being admitted to the preſence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the room, he fell on his knees; and then paſſing on a few ſteps, proſtrated himſelf again, ſaying, I confeſſe and crave pardon for my great fault, againſt God, and a moſt bountifull Prince, my dread Soveraign: I fly to the Queens mercy, as a ſacred Anchor, permitting her to diſpoſe of my life and Fortunes at her pleaſure. Upon this his ſubmiſſion, the Deputy commanded him to go aſide, and the next day took him along to *Dublin* with him, meaning to bring him into *England*, that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royall pleaſure: But before he could come into *England*, the Queen died.

Her TAXATIONS.

IN a Parliament holden the firſt yeer of her Raign, a Subſidy was granted, of two Shillings eight pence the pound of Goods, and four Shillings of Lands, to be paid at two ſeverall Payments, of every perſon Spirituall and Temporall. In her ſixth yeer, in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, one Subſidy was granted by the Clergy, and another by the Laity, together with two Fifteenths and Tenths. In her eighth yeer, in a Parliament then holden, there were offered to her four Subſidies, upon condition ſhe would declare a Succeſſor; but ſhe refuſed their offer, and directly remitted the fourth Subſidy, which they had granted, ſaying, It was all one, whether the money were in her Subjects Coffers, or in her own. In her thirteenth yeer, in a Parliament then holden, towards her charges of repreſſing the Northern Rebellion, there was granted her by the Clergy, a Subſidy of ſix Shillings in the pound: and by the Temporalty, two fifteens, with a Subſidy of two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound. In her ſix and thirtieth yeer, a Parliament was holden, wherein was granted by the Clergy, two whole Subſidies, and by the Laity, three, beſides ſix Fifteens and Tenths; but it was put into the Act, That this great Contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, ſhould not be drawn into Example. In her fortieth yeer, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, were granted her by the Clergy, three entire Subſidies, and by the Laity, as many, with ſix fifteenths and Tenths. In her two and fortieth yeer, to furniſh her ſelf with money towards the Iriſh War, ſhe delegated certain Commiſſioners, to confirm the Crown Lands to the poſſeſſors, that held any of controverted Titles, and to take money for the Confirmation, thereby to take away the troubles by concealers, who at this time were very buſie.

Of her LAWS *and* ORDINANCES.

IN a Parliament holden in her firſt yeer, an Act was made, That every perſon ſhould go to Divine Service upon Sundayes and Holy-dayes, or elſe pay twelve pence to the poor. Alſo it was enacted, That Biſhops ſhould not let the Lands of the Church, longer then for one and twenty yeers, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Succeſſors. In her third yeer, Proclamation was made, That the Teſton, coyned for twelve pence, and in the Raign of King *Edward* embaſed to ſix pence, ſhould not be currant but for four pence, the Groat, but for two pence, and the piece of two pence, but for a penny: And not long after, all the ſaid baſe Moneyes were called in, and fine Sterling money was allowed for them, after the Rate.

For

For *Ireland* alſo, ſhe coyned Sterling money; where nine pence in *England*, went for twelve pence there. The Queen was the firſt that brought certain Counties to deliver Proviſion at a certain rate, that ſo they might be freed from the Purveyors: Alſo the firſt that granted allowance to Judges for their Circuit. In her ſixth yeer, in a Parliament then holden, it was made Treaſon to refuſe taking the Oath of Supremacy; yet with this limitation, That by it the blood ſhould not be diſhonoured, nor goods confiſcate; nor the Oath to be required of any Baron of the Kingdom. Alſo this yeer, by a Common Councell in *London*, It was enacted, That all ſuch Citizens as from thenceforth ſhould be conſtrained to ſell their houſhold-ſtuff, Leaſes of houſes, or ſuch like, ſhould firſt cauſe the ſame to be cried thorow the City, by a man with a Bell, and then to be ſold by the common Outcryer appointed for that purpoſe, and he to receive one farthing upon the ſhilling for his pains. In her three and twentieth yeer, ſhe repreſſeth by Proclamation exceſſe in apparell, Gold Chayns, and Clokes which men wore down to their heels. The length of Swords was limitted to three Foot, and Daggers to twelve Inches, beſides the Hilts. Buildings likewiſe in the Suburbs were reſtrained, In-mates forbidden, and expreſſe charge ſet forth, That no dwelling houſe ſhould be new built within three miles of any of the City Gates, under pain of impriſonment, and loſſe of the materialls. In her time was ſet on foot by Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Law made for the ſerving of Colledges with proviſion, to the great benefit of thoſe Scholaſticall Societies. In her two and fortieth yeer, ſhe ſetteth forth Proclamations againſt the Tranſportation of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that caſe provided. This yeer alſo ſhe founded the Company of the Eaſt India Merchants, and allowed them ample Priviledges. In her three and fourtieth yeer, all Monopolies are called in by Proclamation. In her four and twentieth yeer, ſevere Laws are made againſt Papiſts, ſome inflicting death, ſome fine and impriſonment. In her eight and twentieth yeer, a Proclamation was ſet forth, prohibiting to ſow Woad within eight miles of any of the Queens Houſes, and four miles off any Cities or Towns Corporate.

AFFAIRS *of the* CHURCH *in her time.*

ON *Sunday* the firſt of *January*, next after the Queens coming to the Crown, by vertue of her Proclamation, the Engliſh Letany was read accordingly as was uſed in her Graces Chappell, in all Churches thorow the City of *London*, and likewiſe the Epiſtle and Goſpel of the day, begun to be read at Maſſe-time in the Engliſh Tohgue. Alſo in a Parliament holden in her firſt yeer, the firſt Fruits and Tenths were reſtored to the Crown, and the Supreme Government over the State Eccleſiaſticall, and the book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Engliſh Tongue was reſtored, and by degrees the Proteſtant Religion was eſtabliſhed. The Biſhops that refuſed the Oath of Supremacy, were all removed, and Proteſtant Biſhops placed in their room. It was enacted alſo, That all perſons ſhould go to Divine Service upon Sundayes and Holy-dayes, and a Fine of twelve pence impoſed upon every one that ſhould be abſent, and the ſame to be given to the poor. In her fourth yeer, the Queen was ſolicited by Pope *Pius*, to ſend her Orators to the Councell of *Trent*, which ſhe refuſed, as not acknowledging it a lawfull Councell. In a Parliament holden in her eighth yeer, it was enacted, and by a generall conſent declared, That the Election of the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops in *England*, together with their Conſecration, Confirmation, and Inveſtiture (which ſome perſons ſlanderouſly called in queſtion) was lawfull and Canonicall, and that they were rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the

Kingdom, choſen and conſecrated. In her eleventh yeer, there aroſe in *England* two contrary factions in Religion: on the one ſide, *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders*, and other Divines that had fled out of *England*, began to exerciſe the Epiſcopall Juriſdiction upon the Queens Subjects, which they had derived from the Sea of *Rome*: On the other ſide, *Colman*, *Burton*, *Hallingham*, *Benſon*, and other, making profeſſion of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, together with the Church Liturgy, and the very Calling of Biſhops, as ſavouriug too much of the Romiſh Religion, proteſting in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of *Rome*; and uſed all diligence to have the Church of *England* reformed in every point, according to the Rule of the Church of *Geneva*. Theſe, although the Queen commanded to be committed to priſon, yet it is incredible how upon a ſudden their followers encreaſed, known by the envious name of Puritans. This ſect ſo mightily encreaſed, that in her ſixteenth yeer, the Queen and Kingdom was extremely troubled with ſome of the Clergy, who breathing out nothing but Evangelicall parity, cryed down the Eccleſiaſticall Form of Government (as a thing polluted with Romane dreggs) and ſetting forth Books likewiſe, Intituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and the *Defence of the Admonition*: they refuſed to reſort to the Divine Service publikely in uſe, and framed to themſelves other Rites. Whereupon, the Queen, to ſuppreſſe them, whom by no means ſhe liked, commanded every where the ſeverity of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common-Prayer, to be put in execution, and thoſe books, upon pain of Impriſonment, to be delivered into the hands of the Biſhops, or ſome of the Queens Councell. And this yeer were taken at Maſſe in their ſeverall houſes, the Lord *Morley*'s Lady and her children, the Lady *Guildford*, and the Lady *Browne*, who being thereof indited and convicted, ſuffered the penalty of the Law in that caſe provided. Untill the twentieth yeer of Queen *Elizabeths* Raign, the Papiſts in *England* were mercifully conniv'd at, while they ſolemnized their own Rites within their private houſes (though that alſo were againſt the Laws) but when as that Thunder-bolt of excommunicating the Queen came abroad, then was the Law enacted againſt thoſe who brought into the Kindome any *Agnos Dei*, or hallowed Beads, or reconciled any of the Queens ſubjects to the See of *Rome*; yet for ſix whole yeers together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papiſt, till *Cuthbert Mayne*, a Prieſt, and an obſtinate maintainer of the Popes Authority againſt the Queen, was executed at *Launſton* in *Cornwall*, and the Gentlemans goods that harboured him confiſcate, and himſelf adjudged to perpetuall Impriſonment. In her three and twentieth yeer, divers Prieſts and Jeſuites came into *England*; amongſt whom, *Robert Parſons*, and *Edmund Campian*, Engliſh-men and Jeſuites, being now bound for *England*, to promote the Catholike Cauſe; at which time a Proclamation was ſet forth, That whoſoever had any children beyond the Sea, ſhould by a certain day call them home; and that no perſon ſhould receive or harbour any Seminary Prieſt or Jeſuite. At this time alſo, there aroſe up in *Holland* a certain Sect, naming themſelves, *The Family of Love*, who perſwaded their followers, That thoſe only who were adopted into that Family, were elected, and no other could be ſaved, but were all reprobates, and damned, and that it was lawfull for them to deny upon oath whatſoever they pleaſed, before any Magiſtrate or whomſoever, that were not of their Family. Many of their books were printed, under theſe titles, *The Goſpel of the Kingdom*, *The Lords Sentences*, *The Propheſie of the ſpirit of love*,

The

The publication of Peace upon earth, by the Author *H. N.* but who this Author was, they would by no means reveal: at laſt) he was found to be *Henry Nicholls* of *Leyden*, who blaſphemouſly preached, That he was partaker of the Divinity of God, and God of his humane Nature: all which books were by Proclamation commanded to be burnt. In a Parliament holden the eight and twentieth yeer of her Raign, ſome, out of a deſire of a Reformation, began to pick quarrells at the Clergy, deſiring to paſſe Laws for the reſtraint of Biſhops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of holy Orders, Eccleſiaſticall Cenſure, and the Oath *Ex officio*. They complayned likewiſe of the non-reſidency of Miniſters, and the like. But the Queen, who alwayes hated Innovation (which for the moſt part changeth for the worſe) would give no ear unto them; conceiving beſides, That theſe proceedings in Parliament in Eccleſiaſticall Affairs, derogated from her Prerogative. In her ſix and twentieth yeer, the Queen gave a ſpeciall charge to *Whitgift* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, to ſettle an Uniformity in the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline, according to the Laws, which through the connivence of Biſhops, and perverſeneſſe of the Puritans, lay now almoſt gaſping, Whereupon, he provided three Articles, to which every Miniſter ſhould ſubſcribe:

The firſt, *That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all perſons born within her Dominions, of what condition ſoever they were; and that no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Civill or Eccleſiaſticall, within her Realms and Dominions.*

The ſecond, *That the Book of Common-Prayer, and of the Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be uſed; and that they will uſe that, and none other.*

The third, *That the Articles agreed on in the Synod holden at London, in the yeer 1562, and publiſhed by the Queens Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be conſonant to the Word of God.*

It is incredible, what reproaches the Arch-biſhop incurred by ſetting forth theſe Articles, both from factious Miniſters, and from ſome alſo of the Nobility; yet by his patience and conſtancy, he brought at laſt Peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur*. Neither did theſe at home onely diſturb the Peace of the Church, but others alſo from abroad, as *Robert Brown*, a young Student of Divinity in *Cambridge*; from whom came the Sectaries called Browniſts; and *Richard Harriſon*, a petty School-Maſter. Theſe preſuming to judge matters of Religion by their own private ſpirit, by books ſet forth in *Zealand*, and diſperſed at this time over *England*, condemned the Church of *England* for no Church, and enſnared many in the nets of their new Schiſm. Neither could they be reſtrayned, though their books were prohibited by the Queens Authority, and ſoundly confuted by ſundry learned men; and one or two of the Ring-leaders executed at S. *Edmunds Berry*. In her one and thirtieth yeer, theſe Puritans flames brake forth again, Books are written by the names of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and *A Demonſtration of the Diſcipline*, by *Penry* and *Udall*, againſt the Government of Biſhops; and nothing would pleaſe them, but the Diſcipline of *Geneva*: Many Abettors they had, *Knightly* and *Wigſtone*, Knights, beſides *Cartwright* (the father of them) *Snape*, *King*, *Pradlow*, *Payn*, and others; who though called in queſtion, fined and impriſoned, could never be reclaimed. In her ſix and thirtieth yeer, the Queen cauſed the ſeverity of the Laws to be executed upon *Henry Barrow* and his Sectaries, for diſturbing the Church, and the publike Peace, by ſcattering of their monſtrous Opinions, condemning the Church of *England* as no Chriſtian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

WORKS *of Piety in her time.*

THis Queen converted *Weſtminſter* Abbey into a Collegiate Church, and there ordained a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Maſter, Uſher, and forty Schollars, Vicars, Singing-men, and twelve Almſ-men. In her third yeer, the Merchant-Taylors, founded a notable Grammar-School, in the Pariſh of S. *Lawrence Pountney* in *London*. Alſo this yeer, *William Harper*, Maior of of *London*, founded a Free-School in the Town of *Bedford*, where he was born. In her ſeventh yeer, on the ſeventh of *June*, Sir *Thomas Greſham* laid the firſt ſtone of the Royall Exchange in *Cornhill*, which in *November* the yeer after, at his own charges was finiſhed, being the yeer 1567. In her tenth yeer, the Citizens of *London* builded a new Conduit at *Walbrook* corner, neer to *Dowgate*, the water whereof is conveyed out of the *Thames*. Alſo this yeer, Sir *Thomas Roe* Maior of *London*, cauſed to be encloſed within a wall of Brick, one Acre of ground, neer unto *Bedlam*, without *Biſhops-Gate*, to be a place of Buryall for the dead of ſuch Pariſhes in *London* as lacked convenient ground within their Pariſhes: He alſo builded a convenient room in *Pauls* Church-Yard, on the South ſide of the Croſſe, to receive a certain number of Hearers at the Sermon time. Sir *William Peter*, having himſelf been born at *Exceter* in *Devon*-Shire, he gave to *Exceter* Colledge in *Oxford*, a hundred pounds Lands a yeer: He alſo builded at *Ingerſtone* in *Eſſex*, Almſ-houſes for twenty poor people, and giving them ſome competent maintenance. Sir *Thomas Greſham* had his dwelling houſe in *Bread-ſtreet London*, which he dedicated to the profeſſion of the Liberall Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinity, Civill Law, Phyſick, Geomitry, Aſtronomy, Muſick, and Rhetorick, alotting to the Profeſſors very competent allowance. In her ſeventeenth yeer, died *Matthew Parker*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who founded a Grammar School in *Rochdale* in the County of *Lancaſter*: He alſo procured to *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Cambridge*, thirteen Schollarſhips, and built two Chambers for Schollars, and the inward Library of the ſame Colledge, and procured to it the Patronage of S. *Mary Abchurch* in *London*, with many other works of like kinde. Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, gave for ſix Schollars to be found in *Benet* Colledge in *Cambridge*, three pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight pence a piece for ever. *Edmund Grindall* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, founded a Free-School in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and gave many Penſions to both Univerſities. *Frances*, Counteſſe of *Suſſex*, ſiſter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, founded *Suſſex-Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*: As likewiſe Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, founded *Emmanuell* Colledge in the ſame Univerſity. Sir *Thomas Bodley* erected and furniſhed the famous publike Library at *Oxford*. *Alexander Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, endowed *Braſen noſe* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he was brought up, with two hundred pound *per annum*, and died in the yeer 1602. Sir *Roger Manhood*, chief Baron of the Exchequer, built ſeven Almſ-houſes in *Canterbury*, giving to every Almſ-man four pounds yeerly: and our worthy Countrey-man *William Lambard* built an Almſ-houſe at *Greenwich*, which he called, *The Colledge for the poor of Queen Elizabeth.*

CASUALTIES *in her time.*

IN the firſt yeer of her Raign, died Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, of whom it is reported for certain, That his Pulſe did beat more then three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as ſtrongly as if he had been ſtill alive. In her third yeer, there was found neer *Keſwrick* in *Cumberland*, a moſt rich Veyn of pure and native Braſſe, which had lain neglected a long time: Alſo the Stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is of great uſe in Braſſe Works, was firſt brought into *England* at this time, and that in moſt plentifull manner. Likewiſe this Queen was the firſt that cauſed Gun-Powder to be made in *England*, which before was had from forraign parts, and at dear rates. In her third yeer, the Spire of the Cathedrall

Church

Church of *Pauls*, being five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and ſixty from the ſquare Steeple where it was placed, and was made of wooden materialls, but covered with Lead, was with lightning burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the ſpace of five hours; the Roofs were after re-edified, but the Spire is yet wanting. The Queen gave towards it a thouſand Marks in money, and a thouſand load of Timber; and the City granted a Benevolence, and three Fifteens; and the Clergy alſo contributed towards it. Alſo this yeer there were many monſtrous Births: A Mare brought forth a Foal with two heads, and a long tayl growing out between the two Heads. A Sow farrowed a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one Head. A man-childe was born at *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*, having arms and legs like to an Anatomy, the Breſt and Belly monſtrous big, about the neck a great coller of fleſh and skin, growing like the ruff of a Shirt. In her ſixth yeer, upon the returning of the Army from *Newhaven*, the Peſtilence was brought into *England*, but eſpecially into *London*; where in one yeer there died one and twenty thouſand and five hundred. This yeer alſo, in the Month of *December*, was driven on the ſhore at *Grimſeby* in *Lincoln*-ſhire a monſtrous Fiſh, in length nineteen yards, his tayl fifteen foot broad, and ſix yards between the eyes. Twelve men ſtood upright in his mouth to get the Oyl. In her ſeventh yeer, on the one and twentieth of *December* began a Froſt, ſo extreme, that on *New-yeers* Even people paſſed over the Thames on foot; ſome played at Foot-ball, ſome ſhot at pricks, as if it had been firm ground. Yet this great Froſt, the third of *January* at night began to thaw, and by the fifth day, there was no Ice at all to be ſeen; which ſudden thaw cauſed great Inundations. In her eighth yeer, within the ſpace of ten Months, there died in *London* ſeven Aldermen, namely, *Edward Banks*, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sir *Martin Bowes*, Sir *Richard Mallory*, Sir *William Hewet*, Sir *Thomas White*, and *Richard Lambert*, one of the Sheriffs for that yeer. The ſame yeer alſo, in the Town of *Oſſeſtry* in *Wales*, two hundred houſes, in the ſpace of two hours, were conſumed with fire. In her tenth yeer, were taken in *Suffolk*, at *Downham* Bridge neer to *Ipſwich*, ſeventeen monſtrous Fiſhes; ſome of them being ſeven and twenty foot in length: And in the ſame yeer, many Dutch flying into *England*, to avoid the perſecution of the Duke *D'Alva*, were the firſt that brought into *England* the Art of making Bayes, Sayes, Serges, and ſuch woven ſtuffs, both Woollen and Linnen. In her time a rich Veyn of Copper was found in the Earl of *Northumberlands* Grounds, which ſhe by her Prerogative ſeized upon. In her thirteenth yeer, a prodigious Earthquake happened in the Eaſt parts of *Hereford*-ſhire, at a little Town called *Kinnaſton*. On the ſeventeenth of *February*, at ſix of the clock in the evening, the earth began to open, and a hill with a Rock under it (making at firſt a great bellowing noyſe, which was heard a great way off) lifted it ſelf up a great heighth, and began to travell, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheep-folds, and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the ſame time. In the place from whence it was firſt moved, it left a gaping diſtance forty foot broad, and fourſcore Ells long; the whole Field was about twenty Acres. Paſſing along, it overthrew a Chappell ſtanding in the way, removed an Ewe-Tree planted in the Church-yard, from the Weſt into the Eaſt: with the like force it thruſt before it Highwayes, Sheep-folds, Hedges and Trees, made tilled ground Paſture, and again turned Paſture into Tillage. Having walked in this ſort from *Saturday* in the evening, till *Munday* noon, it then ſtood ſtill. In her fifteenth yeer, in the Month of *November*, a new Star, or rather a Meteor (but that it was found to be above the Moon) was ſeen in *Cathedra Caſſiopea*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightneſſe, and in that place was carryed with the Diurnall motion of the Heavens ſixteen Months together, though after eight Months it was perceived

perceived to grow leſſe and leſſe. In her ſixteenth yeer, was a great Dearth, ſo as Wheat was ſold at five and ſix ſhillings the Buſhell, and other things in proportion. In her ſeventeenth yeer, a vaſt mighty Whale was caſt upon the Iſle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, twenty Ells long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the back bone, and eleven foot between the eyes. One of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more then a Cart with ſix horſes could draw; the Oyl being boyled out of the head, was *Parmaſittee*. This yeer alſo, the River *Thames* ebbed and flowed twice within an hour: and in the Month of *November*, the Heaven ſeemed to be all on fire. Alſo on the four and twentieth of *February*, being a great Froſt, after a Flood which was not great, there came down the River of *Severn* ſuch a ſwarm of Flyes and Beetles, that they were judged to be above a hundred Quarters; the Mills thereabout were dammed up with them for the ſpace of four dayes, and then were cleanſed by digging them out with Shovells. In her three and twentieth yeer, in the beginning of *April*, about ſix a clock after noon, happened an Earthquake not far from *York*, which in ſome places, ſtrook the very ſtones out of Buildings, and made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The night following, the earth trembled once or twice in *Kent*, and again the firſt day of *May*. In her ſix and twentieth yeer, being the yeer 1583, the like Prodigie happened in *Dorſet*-ſhire, as in the yeer 1571 had happened in *Hereford*-ſhire; A field of three Acrees in *Blackmore*, with the Trees and Fences, moved from its place, and paſſed over another Field, travelling in the High-way that goeth to *Herne*, and there ſtayed. In her eight and twentieth yeer, Tobacco was firſt brought out of the Weſt Indies into *England*, by *Ralph Lane*. In her five and thirtieth yeer, there was ſo great a Drouth, that not onely the Fields, but the Springs themſelves were dried up, and many Cattell every where died for want of water. The River of Thames likewiſe did ſo fail, that a horſe-man might ride over at *London* Bridge. In her ſix and thirtieth yeer, was a great Plague in *London*, ſo as there died this yeer, in *London* and the Suburbs, ſeventeen thouſand eight hundred and ninety, beſides the Lord Maior, and three Aldermen; and *Michaelmas* Term was holden at S. *Albons*.

Of her PERSONAGE *and* CONDITONS.

SHe was of ſtature indifferent tall, ſlender and ſtraight, fair of Complexion, her hair inclining to pale yellow, her fore-head large and fair, her eyes lively and ſweet, but ſhort ſighted; her noſe ſomewhat riſing in the midſt, the whole compaſſe of her countenance ſomewhat long, yet of admirable beauty, but the beauty of her minde was far more admirable: She had been a ſubject, which taught her to rule; ſhe had been in miſery, which taught her to be mercifull; and indeed, never Prince ruled with more Juſtice, and with her Juſtice mingled more mercy. She had more Valour in her then was fit for a woman, but that ſhe was a Ruler over men; and more Humility in her then was fit for a Prince, but that ſhe meant to be a Preſident to women. She delighted in nothing ſo much, as in the love of her People, which ſhe procured by ordaining good Magiſtrates, and forbearing Impoſitions. Her way not to need them, was frugality; and her way to have them when ſhe needed them, was liberality. She made Honour in her time the more honourable, by not making it common; and indeed, knowing it to be an influence from her ſelf, ſhe kept it, as her ſelf, a Virgin, and would not proſtitute it to unworthy perſons. She declined being a mother of children, to the end ſhe might be a mother of her Countrey; and indeed, no mother ever loved her children more, then ſhe did her people; and therefore never children loved a mother more, then her people did her. She coveted not ſo much to be an owner of riches, as of rich Subjects; for ſhe thought money did as well in their Coffers, as in her own: and indeed,

ſhe

ſhe never wanted it, when they had it; and they alwayes had it, when ſhe needed it. Never Prince had a wiſer Counſell then ſhe, yet never Prince needed it leſſe; for ſhe was her ſelf a Counſellor to her Counſell. In ſum, whatſoever may in flattery be ſaid of a wiſe, juſt, mercifull, religious, and learned Prince, may truely be ſaid of her; in all which, if ever ſhe had an equall, yet ſhe never certainly had a ſuperiour. In playing her game of Fortune, ſhe loved not an after-game; for ſhe liked Preventions, better then Remedies. She was admirable in expreſſing her minde, both by ſpeech and writing: and if collection could be made of her Apophthegms, and extemporall Orations, it would certainly excell any thing extant in that kinde: And for her writing, Sir *Henry Savile* affirms, That he had ſeen ſome Tranſlations of hers, which far exceeded the Originalls. Never Prince kept greater State with leſſe ſtatelineſſe: Her Penſioners and Guard were alwayes the talleſt and goodlieſt Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Kingdom: her maids of Honour, and other women about her, the faireſt and moſt beautifull Ladies of the Realm; and yet her ſelf a *Diana* amongſt her Nymphes; inſomuch that a great Lord of *France* being entertained at Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked her Ladies, made anſwer, It was hard to judge of Stars, in preſence of the Sun.

Of her DEATH *and* BURYALL.

IT was now the yeer 1602, when ſhe feeling ſome Infirmities of Old-age and Sickneſſe, retired her ſelf at the end of *January*, to *Richmond*; at which time, in a ſad Omen, ſhe commanded the Ring to be filed off her finger, wherewith ſhe was ſolemnly at the firſt inaugurated into the Kingdom, and ſince that time had never taken it off, it being grown into the fleſh in ſuch manner, that it could not be drawn off without filing. At the beginning of her ſickneſſe, the Almonds of her Jaws began to ſwell, and her appetite by little and little failed her; withall ſhe gave her ſelf wholly to ſadneſſe and heavineſſe, which ſome imputed to her care for the loſſe of the Earl of *Eſſex*; others, becauſe ſhe heard, That divers of the Nobility ſought the favour of the King of Scots, adoring him as the Sun riſing, and neglecting her: but howſoever, in *March* a kinde of benummedneſſe ſeized upon her, with a deep melancholly, ſo as ſhe would ſit ſilently, refrain her meat, and not admit of any conference, but with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with whom ſhe prayed fervently, till ſuch time as her ſpeech failed her, which failed her a day before ſhe died. She being in this caſe, it was thought fit the Admirall and Secretary ſhould go to her, to know her minde concerning a Succeſſor; to whom ſhe gave this anſwer; My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not a mean perſon ſhould ſucceed me. The Secretary requeſting her to ſpeak more plainly, I will (ſaid ſhe) have a King ſucceed me; and what King, but the King of Scots, my neereſt Kinſman? After this, the Arch-biſhop exhorting her to think of God, That do I (ſaid ſhe) nor do my thoughts ever wander from him. And when her tongue no longer ſerved her, it was evident by the lifting up of her hands and eyes, that her thoughts were fixed upon him. And ſo on the four and twentieth day of *March*, being the laſt day of the yeer 1602, ſhe yeelded up her ſoul to God, when ſhe had lived threeſcore and nine yeers, ſix months, and ſeventeen dayes, Raigned four and forty yeers, four months, and ſeven dayes. Her Body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, and brought to *White-hall*, from whence on the eight and twentieth of *April* following, in great ſolemnity, it was carried into the Collegiate Church of S. *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*, and there interred in the Vault of her Grand-father, K. *Henry* the ſeventh, in his magnificent Chappell, where our renowned Soveraign K. *James* hath built her a Princely Monument, inſcribed with Epitaphs to her eternall glory. At her Funerall were ſaid to be Mourners in black, to the number of one thouſand and ſix hundred perſons.

MEN

MEN of NOTE in her time.

THe Ocean is not more boundleſſe, then the number of men of note in her time; but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet ſome of them muſt not be omitted. And to begin with Sateſ-men: An exquiſite Stateſ-man for his own ends, was *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*; and for his Countries good, Sir *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh*; as alſo Sir *Francis Walſingham*, that great underminer of Conſpirators. Famous Sea-men, were the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterward Earl of *Suffolk*: and of meaner Rank, Sir *John Hawkins*, Sir *Martin Forbyſher*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Cavendiſh*, *Preſton*, *Ryman*; and, to name the worthieſt laſt, Sir *Francis Drake*, who though he were but a ſhort ſquare bodied man, yet his great Acts have made the Spaniards believe that he was ſome goodly Perſonage. Great Commanders by Land, were *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *Roger Williams*, *Baskervile*, *Savage*; and the Honour of his Family, and our Engliſh Nation, Sir *John Norris*. Learned Gentlemen and Writers, were Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, employed by Queen *Elizabeth* as her Ligier in *Spain*, who wrote five books of the reſtoring of the Engliſh Common-wealth, in elegant Verſes, while (as he ſaid) he lived in a Stove in Winter, and in a Barn in Summer: *Roger Askam*, born in *York*-ſhire, notably skilfull in the Greek and Latin Tongues, who had ſometime been School-maſter to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the Latin Tongue; but taking too great delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting, he both lived and died in mean eſtate, yet left behinde him ſundry Monuments of Wit and Induſtry. Sir *Thomas Smith*, born at *Saffron Walden* in *Eſſex*, ſometime Secretary to K. *Edward* the 6, who wrote an imperfect Work of the Engliſh Common-wealth, a ſingular Book of the Orthography of the Engliſh Tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the Greek; the firſt man that ſet on foot the Law for ſerving the Colledges with Proviſion. Sir *Henry Savill*, Provoſt of *Eaton*, and Reader to Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſet forth all S. *Chryſoſtomes* works in Greek, and by tranſlating of *Cornelius Tacitus*, deſerved as much of the Engliſh Tongue, as he of the Latin: But above all, the admirable ſir *Philip Sidney*, who by writing in a light Argument, ſhewed how excellently, and beyond all compariſon he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were *John Jewell*, born in *Devon*-ſhire, a Student in *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, in Queen *Maries* time an Exile, by Queen *Elizabeth* made Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who wrote an Apologie for the Proteſtant Doctrine, and died at ſcarce fifty yeers of age, in the fourteenth yeer of Queen *Elizabeth*. *John Whitaker*, Maſter of S. *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, who learnedly anſwered all the books of *Bellarmine*. *Bilſon*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſometimes Fellow of New Colledge in *Oxford*, who, amongſt his other learned Works, hath written notably of Chriſts deſcent into hell. *Richard Hooker*, Preacher at the Temple, who with too much meekneſſe ſmothered his great Learning, yet hath ſomething diſcovered it in his five Books of Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline, and died in the yeer 1599. *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of *Pauls*, who forbearing deeper Works, ſet forth a Catechiſm, according to the Doctrine of the Engliſh Church, and died in the yeer 1602. After ſuch men, it might be thought ridiculous to ſpeak of Stage Players; but ſeeing excellency in the meaneſt things deſerves remembring, and *Boſcius* the Comedian is recorded in Hiſtory with ſuch commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with ſome of our Nation. *Richard Bourbidge*, and *Edward Allen*, two ſuch Actors, as no age muſt ever look to ſee the like: and, to make their Comedies compleat, *Richard Tarleton*, who for the Part called the Clowns Part, never had his match, never will have. For Writers of Playes, and ſuch as had been Players themſelves, *William Shakeſpeare*, and *Benjamin Johnſon*, have ſpecially left their Names recommended to poſterity.

THE

THE RAIGNE OF King Iames.

IAMES the fourth King of *Scotland*, marryed *Margaret* eldeſt daughter of *Henry* the 7 K. of *England*, by whom he had *Iames* the 5, who had one only child *Mary* Q. of *Scots*, who had one only ſon *Iames* the 6, who from *Iames* the fourth had undoubted right to the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and from *Margaret*, King *Henry* the 7 eldeſt daughter (the male line being cleane extinct) unqueſtionable title to the Crown of *England*: whereupon Q. *Eliz.* being dead about 10 a clock in the morning, K. *Iames* the 6, K. of *Scotland* was the very ſame day (M. Secretary *Cecill* himſelf reading his Title, and Q. *Eliz.* Will) proclaimed K. of *Eng. Scot.* and *Ireland*, by ſound of Trumpet, firſt at *White-Hall*, and then in *Cheapſide*, in preſence of all the Lords and the Counſell, and other of the Nobility, with a generall acclamation of all ſorts of people, that we may truly ſay, ſorrow was never more deceived than at this time; for where upon the death of Q. *Eliz.* It was expected there would be nothing for a long time but ſorrowing and lamenting. Now that very ſorrow was ſwallowed up of joy, her death bringing with it no other alteration but only of ſex, in all other points in a manner the ſame, the like wiſdome, the like learning, the like Iuſtice, the like religiouſneſſe in them both: only bettered in this, that we changed a Q. of 70 years old, whom we could not look to keepe long, for a K. of 36, whom we might well hope to enjoy many years.

Q. *Eliz.* was not ſooner dead. but Sir *Robert Cary* a younger ſon of the Late L. *Hunſdon*, poſted away unſent, to K. *Iames* in *Scotland*, informing him of the accident; for bringing which news, the K. afterwards rewarded him with making him a Baron of the Realm, and L. of *Leppington*. But though it were ſufficient for the K. information that he heard the news by Sir *Robert Carye*; yet it was not ſufficient for the Lords of the Counſell in diſcharge of their duty, if he heard it not from them, and therefore within a very few dayes, as ſoon as they could provide fit men, they ſent firſt Sir *Charles Percy* and Mr. *Thomas Somerſet*, and after them Sir *Thomas Lake* Clerk of the Signet, a man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdome, both to acquaint him with the generall applauſe of all the Realme, to receive him for their Sovera igne, and alſo informe him in what termes the State of the Kingdom ſtood, that ſo he might not come altogether a ſtranger when he came into it.

Q. *Elizabeth* indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without incombrance; No wars abroad, no ſedition at home, and not only ſo, but a kingdom furniſhed with all the fruits of Peace, plenty of all things neceſſary, and of all neceſſary things: the chiefeſt a wiſe Couſell, for ſhe left Sir *Thomas Egerton* L. Chanſelor, *Thomas* L. *Buckhurſt*, L. Treaſurer: *Charles* E. of *Nottingham*, L. Admiral & Sir *Rob. Cecill* principall Secretary. Foure ſuch men that the meaneſt of them were ſufficient to ſit at the Helme of any Kingdom. Yet to theſe

and divers other beſides (all whom the K. now by his letters authorizeth to exerciſe their ſeverall places, as formerly they had done) he addeth certaine new ones of his own chooſing, as namely the E. of *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, the L. *Tho. Howard*, and then after the L. *Henry Howard*; the one the brother, the other the ſon of the late D. of *Norfolk*, who had ſuffered ſo much, that at laſt, he ſuffered for the Q. his mother. But although the calling of theſe two laſt to ſuch place, was done (no doubt) out of favour to that houſe; yet one of them being known, the other doubted to be a Papiſt, it was preſently apprehended, as a favour to that ſide; and the Catholicks were not a little confident of his good inclination to them all in generall. And it was indeed but neceſſary they ſhould at this time have ſuch a conceit, for in the late Q. ſicknes, a little before her death, Pope *Clement* the 8, had written two Brieves to the *Catholicks* in *England*, to admit of none to ſucceed in the Kingdom, when that miſerable woman ſhould happen to dye (ſo he pleaſed to ſtile the moſt glorious Q. that ever lived) but ſuch a one, of whoſe good inclination to the See of *Rome*, they ſhould at leaſt be well perſwaded. And now K. *James* having ſetled the Government of his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and made convenient preparation for his journey: on the 5 of *Aprill* 1603, he ſet forward, and rode that day from *Edinburgh* to *Dunglaſſe*, and from thence the next day to *Berwick*; who having ſtayed two days, the 8 of *Aprill* he rode to *Witherington*, a houſe of Sir *Robert Caries*, from thence the 9 to *Newcaſtle*, where he ſtayed Sunday and heard the Biſh. of *Durham* preach, and ſo joyfull were the Townſmen of his being there, that all the time of his ſtay they bore the charge of his houſhold. The 13 of *Aprill* he ſet forward to *Durham*, and from thence the 14 to *Walworth*, the 15 towards *York*, where his traine encreaſed to ſuch a multitude, that he was faine to publiſh an inhibition of the peoples reſort, and flocking to him. At *York* it was a queſtion to whom it belonged to beare the ſword before the K. in that place, for both the E. of *Cumberland* claimed it, as hereditary to his Houſe, and the Preſident of the North claimed it as belonging to his place, but it was adjudged to *George* E. of *Cumberland*, who accordingly did it. From *York* the 18 day the K. rode to *Grimſton*, to a houſe of Sir *Edw. Stanhopes*, the 19 to *Pomfret* and ſo to *Doncaſter*, where he lodged at the ſigne of the Beare and Sun: The 20 of *Aprill* he rode towards *Worſupp*. a houſe of the E. of *Shrewſburies*, from thence the 21 to *Newark* upon *Trent*, where a Cutpurſe being taken in the faſt, was by the K. warrant hãged, a moſt unſeaſonable delinqent, who would force the K. to commit Iuſtice at a time when hee intended nothing but mercy, the 22 to *Beaver* Caſtle, a houſe of the E. of *Rutlands*, hunting all the way as he rode: From *Beaver* the 23 to *Burleigh*, who having ſtayd 2 or 3 days, the 27 he removed to *Hitchinbrook*, a houſe of Sir *Oliver Cromwels*, where the heads of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* met him: From thence he rode towards *Royſton*, and as he paſſed thorough *Godmanchiſter* a Town cloſe by *Huntington*, the Bayliffes of Town preſented him with 70 Teeme of horſe, all traced to faire new Ploughs, at which the K. wondring, they ſaid, it was their ancient cuſtome ſo to do, when any K. of *England* paſſed thorough their Town, and by which as being the K. tenants they held their Land. At *Royſton* he lodged that night at M. *Cheſters* houſe, at his own charge, which he had not done before, ſince his comming into *Eng.* The 30 of *Aprill* he rode to *Standon*, a houſe of S. *Thomas Sadlers*, where he ſtayd Sunday, and heard the Biſh. of *London* preach. The 2 of *May* he removed to *Broſbourne*, a houſe of S. *Henry Cocks*, cofferer to the late Q. and now to the K. where met him the L. *Keeper*, the L. *Treaſurer*, the L. *Admirall* & divers other Lords: The 3 of *May* he came to *Theobalds*, a houſe of Sir *Robert Cecils*; when all the Lords of the late Queenes moſt honorable Privy Counſell; preſented themſelves, and there the Lord Keeper made a grave Oration. At this houſe, the fourth of *May*, the King made diverſe Noblemen of *Scotland*, of his Privy Counſell here in *England*; namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earle of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Home*, Treaſurer of *Scotland*, S. *James Elphingſton* his Secretary

and

and the Lord of *Kinloſſe* made afterward Mr. of the Rolles. Saterday the ſeventh of *May*, he rode towards *London*, where by the way, the Sheriffe *Swymmerton* and the Aldermen met him; and by their Oratour Mr. *Richard Martin*, made him an eloquent Oration; and then he rode on to the *Charter-houſe* neere Smithfield, a houſe belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he ſtayed foure dayes: and at his departing from thence made the Lord *Zouche*, and the Lord *Burgley*, of his privie Counſell. But wee muſt here omit, that from the Kings firſt ſetting forth of *Scotland*; as hee was in all places received with moſt Royall entertainment and rich preſents; ſo he againe carryed himſelfe moſt affable, and diſtributed his favours in moſt plentious manner: in ſome places, diſcharging all priſoners, but ſuch as lay for Treaſon or murther: but ſpecially in conferring the order of Knighthood, of which ſort the firſt he made, was Mr. *John Peyton*, ſon to Sir *Iohn Peyton*, Leiutenant of the Tower. After him divers *Scots* in ſundry places at *Theobalds*, eight and twenty, (of which number the compiler of this worke, though the unworthieſt was one,) at *Charter-houſe* above foureſcore: and not many dayes after, no fewer than at leaſt a hundred, and before the yeare went about, God knowes how many hundreds; that one would wonder what the King would doe with ſo many *Milites*, having no warre to ward. But it was indeed fit to give a vent to the paſſage of Honour, which during Queene *Elizabeths* Raigne had been ſo ſtopped, that ſcarce any County of *England* had Knights enow in it to make a Iury.

Before we goe further, it will not be amiſſe, to ſhew what great men attended King *Iames* out of *Scotland*; as namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earle of *Marre*, the Lord *Hame* and many other great Lords: and many other whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his ſpeciall favour; firſt Sir *George Hame*, made afterward Earle of *Dunbarre*: then Sir *Thomas Erſkin*, made Earle of *Kelly*; then Sir *Iohn Ramſey* made Earle of *Holderneſſe*; (which two laſt had the fortune to come firſt in to his reſcue againſt the *Gowries*) then Sir *Iames Hay*, made afterward Earle of *Carlile*; and then Sir *Richard Preſton* made Earle of *Kildare* in *Ireland*; but whoſe great fortune by marrying the Heire of that Earledome, was afteward the occaſion of his great misfortune; for comming out of *Ireland* he was unfortunately caſt away and drowned.

But though King *Iames* was now ſafely come himſelfe to *London*; yet he accounted himſelfe but halfe come, untill his Queene and children were come to him; and therefore there are now appointed to goe to conduct them, of Lords, the Earle of *Suſſex*, the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, and Sir *George Carow* Knight, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*: of Ladies the Counteſſe of *Worceſter*, the Counteſſe of *Kildare*, the Lady *Anne Herberts* daughter to *Henry* Earle of *Pembrooke*; the Lords *Scroopes* Lady, the Lady *Rich* wife to the Lord *Rich*, and the Lady *Walſingham*, one of the late Queenes bedchamber: But although theſe only were appointed to goe, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went of themſelves to attend her Majeſty, as the Counteſſe of *Bedford*, the Lady *Haſtings*, the Lady *Cecill*, the Lady *Hatton*, the Lady *Harington*, and divers other: and with this Princely attendance, the Queene with two of her children, namely Prince *Henry* of the age of nine yeares, and the Lady *Elizabeth* on the eleventh of *June* came to *Yorke*: where reſting themſelves ſome few dayes, on the ſeven and twentieth of *June* they came to *Eaſton* in *Northamptonſhire*, a houſe of Sir *George Fermors*, where the King met them at dinner: and afterward they rode together to a houſe of Sir *Iohn Forteſcue*, and ſo to *London*. The Kings younger ſonne, *Charles* Duke of *Albany* came not at this time, as being not three yeeres old, and therefore not thought able to endure ſuch a journey, but the yeare following falling ſick of a feavor, Doctor *Atkins* one of the Kings Phyſitions was ſent to conduct him, who in ſix weekes cured him of his feavour; and the firſt weeke of *October* brought him ſafe to *Windſor*, where the King then lay; for which ſervice he was ſo well rewarded, that together with the gaynes of his uſu-

all practice; hee grew to a greater wealth then was usuall for Physitions.

King *James* had distributed the meaner Order of *Knighthood* very plentifully; now he thinks fit to raise his *distributions* to a higher degree, and thereupon on the twentieth of *May*, he made Sir *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Essindon*; Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Pensburst*; Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Greyes*; and Sir *Edward Wooten* Baron of *Morley*: and not long after hee made the Lord *Henry Howard* Earle of *North-Hampton*; and *Thomas Sackvile* Lord *Buckhurst*, he made Earle of *Dorset*.

The King had by this time found the love and affection of his own people; but the affection of neighbouring Princes towards him stood yet in suspence, when now to take away that doubt came first in the beginning of *June*, an Embassador from the *Palsgrave* of *Rhyne*; presently after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*; another from the Arch-Duke of *Austria*; another from the King of *Spaine*; from the *Seignory* of *Venice* another; another from the Duke of *Florence*; and lastly on the eight of *Iune*, Monsieur *de Rhosny* from the King of *France*: all congratulating his happy comming to the Crowne of *England*, for entertainment of which Embassadors, and all other that should come after; the King had erected an Office by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, allowing him two hundred pounds a yeer Fee, and the first that had the place was Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*: a Gentleman, who besides other good parts was very skilfull in the neighbouring languages.

Vpon the seventeenth of *May* this yeere, were made fourteene Serjeants at Law: whereof eleven had received Writs the last yeare of Queene *Elizabeth*: namely, *Thomas Coventry*, *Robert Haughton*, *Lawrence Tanfield*, *John Crooke*, *Thomas Foster*, *Edward Philips*, *Thomas Harris*, *Iames Altham*; *Henry Hubbard*; *Augustine Nicholls*; and *Robert Perker*; to whom the King added three new; *John Sherley*; *George Snygge*; and *Richard Hutton*, who all kept their Feast together in the Middle Temple Hall.

One would thinke that by this time, all Offences against Queene *Elizabeth* had been forgotten: but King *Iames* more tender of wrongs done to her than to himselfe, would not suffer *Valentine Thomas* so to escape; who after he had lyen many yeeres prisoner in the Tower, was on the fourth of *June* arraigned at the Kings *Bench-Barre*; and for conspiracy against the late Queene and some of her Counsell, was on the seventh of *June* after six a clock at night, drawne to St *Thomas Waterings*, and there hanged and quartered.

About this time the Honourable *Charles* Lord *Montjoy*, returned out of *Ireland*; bringing alone with him *Hugh O Neale*, Earle of *Teroen*; at whose comming to the King, the Lord *Montjoy* was sworne of the Kings Privie Counsell, and the Earle of *Teroen* who had beene the cause of so much *English* bloud shed, was yet pardoned; and Proclamation made, that by all men he should be used with respect and honour.

All this while the King had moved within his own Spheare, and had done nothing out of the Realme; his first Imployment abroad was now in *June*, to his brother the King of *Denmark*, to whom he sent in Embassage the Earle of *Rutland* upon two occasions: the one to be Godfather to his sonne, who was named *Christianus*, the other to present him with the Order of the Garter, upon the like imployment; soone after, he sent the Lord *Spencer* to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtenberg*; which Lords, saw the said Princes Invested with the Garter, and after honourable entertainment returned home.

It was now a time that every man might sit under his Vine: and enjoy the happinesse of a peaceable Government: when suddenly like a storme in a faire Somers day, brake forth a Treason of a strange Composition: for where in all Treasõs commonly they are all of some one Faction in this, there were people of all sorts; Priests and Laymen, Papists and Protestants, Noblement, Knights and Gentlement; that one would think it should be a well manaaged Treason, and yet was the shalloweſt that was ever set on foot; so shallow, that it could scarce

be obſerved, either what the Authors of it ayled, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great favour which King *James* at his firſt comming to the Crown, ſhewed to the Earle of *South-Hampton*, was like to breed no good blood in thoſe that were his opoſites; and it was ſaid (how true I know not) that as the King had ſent to enlarge the Earle of *South-Hampton*, and apointed him to meet him upon the way: So when he heard of an Intention that the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Ralegh* had to meet him; he ſent them word they ſhould ſpare their labour. But why there it were ſo or no, it ſeemes they found ſome cauſe of diſcontentment, and diſcontentment will never want Complyces; and by this meanes was the compoſition of this Treaſon made up, and thereupon were apprehended *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, and *George Brook* his brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham* Knights, *Bartholmew Brookesby* and *Anthony Copley* Gentlemen, *William Watſon* and *William Clerke* Prieſts: But though they were apprehended in *July*, yet they come not to their arraignment till *November* following; for by reaſon of the ſickneſſe, which was then hot in *London*, the Terme was put off till *Craſtino Martini*, and then to be kept at *Wincheſter* in *Hamp-ſhire*, only the Courts of the Exchecker, Wards, Liveries and the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* were kept in the Kings Mannour at *Richmond* in the County of *Surrey*; and ſo in the fourth of *November* following, all the foreſaid Delinquents were removed from the Tower of *London* and other Priſons, by ſtrong Guards to *Wincheſter*, and there arraigned; whoſe Indictment was for Conſpiring,

1 To kill the King.
2 To raiſe Rebellion.
3 To alter Religion.
4 To ſubvert the State.
5 To procure Invaſion by Strangers.

Concerning the firſt Point, it was proved, that the Lord *Grey* intended to obtaine the levying of two thouſand men, for defence of the *Low-Countreyes*, and with them to ſeize udon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Counſaile in their chambers. For the other Points, It was proved, that the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, met at S. *Martins* in the Fields; and there conſulted about raiſing Sedition, mooving Rebellion, altering Religion, ſubverting the State, and to ſet up the Lady *Arbella*. And particularly for the Point of ſubverting the State: It was proved, that *Watſon* was deſigned to be Lord Chancellor, *George Brooke* Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary, and the Lord *Grey* to be Maſter of the Horſe, and Earle Marſhall of *England*, and for effecting of theſe Treaſons, It was proved that *Waſton* the Prieſt had deviſed Oaths in writing, by which all parties were bound to keep them ſecret. And for the laſt point, It was proved, that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was appointed to treate with Count *Aramberg* for ſix hundred thouſand Crowns, and the Lord *Cobham* to go to the Arch-Duke and to the King of *Spaine*, to perſwade them to aſſiſt the Lady *Arbella*. Theſe things being proved againſt them, on the dayes in which they were ſeverally Indicted, the moſt which was replied in mitigation of their fault, was firſt by *Watſon*, who affirmed it could not be Treaſon, becauſe the King was not yet Crowned; and then by the Lord *Grey*, that it was but a verbal matter and never took effect, and therfore could be no Treaſon, but theſe aſſertions being both refuted; they were al (except Sir *Edw: Parham*, who only was acquitted) on their ſeverall dayes of inditement, found guilty of Treaſon; and had Judgement accordingly. The Prieſts *Watſon* and *Clerk* were executde at *Wincheſter*, the nine and twentieth of *November*: *George Brooke* was beheaded the fift of *Decemb.* but then the hand of Iuſtice ſtayed: and this was the courſe which the K. held in ſhewing mercy. After the death of the three before named he ſigned three other warrants for the execution of the late L: *Cobham*, the Lord

Gray

Grey, and Sir *Griffin Markham*, on a certain day then following; but before that day came he privately framed another warrant, written with his own hand to the Sheriffe, (who was then Sir *Benjamin Tichburne*,) by which he countermanded the former Warrants: and that there might be no notice taken of it: he sent it by Mr. *Iohn Gybbe*: a *Scotch-man*: and one utterly unknown to all the company, appointing him to deliver it so, that it might not take effect, til after their severall confessions, and at the very point of their Execution, which was accordingly performed: At which time it was a wonderfull thing to see how the Delinquents falling on their knees, lamented their misdoings, and most of all how they extolled the Kings unspeakable mercy. But though thus pardoned: yet were they carryed back to the *Tower*, where the L: *Grey* not long after dyed, and in him was extinct that *Barony*, which had formerly brought forth many valourous & worthy men. Sir *Griffin Markh̄* after some time was set at liberty & passed beyond sea, wher he lived long after in meane account. The Lord *Cobham* likewise was afterward discharged of imprisonment, but deprived of his Estate, lived divers years after in great pennury; and in him ended that noble Family, which had flourished in great honor many Ages. Sir *Walter Ralegh* was kept in the *Tower*, where to his great honour he spent his time in writing, and had bin a happy man if he had never beene released. But such is our state, that no mans fortune is understood, whether it be good or bad, untill it be discovered by the Event.

But in this meane time many things had passed, for his Majesty having deferred the Feast of St. *George* untill his being at some of his owne houses: held now the said Feast at *Windsor*, the second of *Iuly* where the Prince was installed Knight of the Garter; as also the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earle of *South-Hampton*, the Earle of *Marre*, and the Earle of *Pembrooke*; and at the same time were elected the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Wirtenberg*: though their investing have been spoken off before.

And now was preparation made for the Kings Coronation, and for a preparative unto it, he first restored the Earle of *South-Hampton*, and then raised in honor these following: Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellour, he made Baron of *Ellesmere*; Sir *William Russell*, Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Grobye*; Sir *John Peter* Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantsey*; Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Baron of *Gerards Bromely* in the County of *Stafford*; and Sir *Robert Spenser*, Baron of *Wormeleyton*. After this he conferred inferiour Orders, and made Knights, all the Iudges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerkes of the Signet: all his Gentlemen Vshers and divers other: and lastly made Knights of the *Bathe* threescore and two, most of them Noble mens sons, and the rest Gentlemen of speciall worth. These things done, on the five and twentieth of *Iuly* being St. *Iames* day; the King and Queen were together crowned, and anoynted at *Westminster* by the hands of *Iohn Whitegift* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in presence of the Nobility and other, namely Sir *Robert Lee* Lord Major of *London*, in a gowne of Crymson Velvet, his brethren the Aldermen in gownes of Scarlet, and twelve principall Citizens admitted to attend on them: all other Citizens stayed from passing thither, either by water or by Land, by reson of the sicknesse; and the first of *August* following, all suitors were by Proclamation forbidden to repayre to the Court till the winter following.

At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had, which though it were had in *Scotland*, yet he would have notice of it taken in *England*, which was his deliverance from the conspiracy of the *Gouries*, on the fift day of *August* three yeares before, and thereupon Friday being the fift of *August* was by commandement appointed to be kept Holy day, with Morning Prayer, Sermons, and Evening Prayer that day, and Bonfires at night which was then, and after during his life solemnely observed.

King *Iames* had in him as it were two Persons, one as he was King of *Scotland*; and in this he was in perfect amity with the King of *Spaine*, another as he was King

of

of *England*, and in this he had some difference with *Spaine*; but he, as *Rex pacificus*, tooke the best from both, and was altogether for the Olive branch, and thereupon when at his comming into *England*, he found letters of Mart granted against Spaniards: he first caused them all to be called in, and then consented to a Treaty of perfit reconcilment: In which Treaty handled at *London*, the 18 of *August* 1604: The Commissioners for the King of *England* were *Thomas* Earle of *Dorset*, *Charles* Earle of *Nottingham*, *Charles* Earle of *Devonshire*, *Henry* Earle of *North-Hampton* and *Robert* Viscount *Cranbourne*: For the King of *Spaine*, *John de Velasco* Constable of *Castile*, *John de Tassis* Earle of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidius* Professor of the Law in the Colledge of *Millaine*: For the Archdukes, *Charles* Count of *Aramberg*, *John Richardot* President of the Privy Counsaile, and *Lodowick Verreikin* principall Secretary: by whom a Peace being concluded and contained in many Articles. The Somer following, the King of *Spaine* sent Don *John de Velesco* Constable of *Castile* and Duke of *Frias*, also *Pedraca de la Syerra*, his great Chamberlaine: accompagnied with diverse Marquises, Earles and Barons, who comming into *England*, were by the Earle of *Devonshire* on the nineteenth of *August* brought to the Court, where the King in his Chappell in the presence of the Commissioners and other *English* Lords, (the Duke of *Frias* holding the Kings hands between his) tooke his Oath upon the holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League agreed upon, and in *March* following, being now the third yeare of King *James*, *Charles* Earle of *Nottingham*, Lord high Admirall of *England* was sent into *Spaine* to take in like manner the King of *Spaine's* Oath: who accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen and other, to the number of six hundred and fifty, the fifteenth of *Aprill* arrived at *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted to *Valledalid*, three hundred miles off, where the King of *Spaine* then kept his Court, entertained in all places as he passed, at the King of *Spaine's* charge, with so great provisions and such demonstration of love and gladnesse: that it plainly shewed the Spaniards were as glad of our friendship as we of theirs. The Lord Embassadour being come to Court: He caused *Thomas Knoll* Esquire, to deliver the presents sent from the King of *England*, which were six goodly Horses, with saddles and saddle cloaths very richly imbrodered, whereof three for the King, and three for the Queen: two crossebows with sheafes of arrows: foure fowling pieces, inlaid with plates of Gold: and a couple of Lyme hownds, of singular qualities: which the King and Queen in very kind manner accepted, and then on the thirtyth of *May*, the Lord Embassadour being sent for, the King came forth into a large room: where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix: The Archbishop of *Toledo* read the Oath, at the reading whereof, the Lord Embassadour held the Kings hands between his and the King kneeling down, layd his hands upon the Book, and after his Oath, subscribed to the Articles formerly concluded. Whilst the E. of *Nothingham* was thus imployed in *Spaine*, the right honorable *Edward* Earle of *Hartford*, was likewise sent Embassador to *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Archdukes of *Austria*, to take their Oaths, for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at *Bruxell* the first of *May* with great State and solemnity: After which, as the Earle bestowed on the Archduks servants, to the full summe of three thousand pouns, So the Archduke at his departy, bestowed upon the Earle, a Iewell worth nine hundred pounds, and a suite of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his charges all the time of his stay at *Bruxels*. And now was King *James*, truly *Rex Pacificus*, Peece and amity with all Princes of Christendome, which few of his Aunce stors ever were

A little before this, in the Month of *August*, in the yeare 1604, the strong Town of *Ostend* in *Flanders*, after above three years siege, and the slaughter of a hundred and twenty thousand men of both sides, and in defence whereof, Sir

Francis

Francis Vere Generall, and his brother Sir *Horatio Vere* had ſhewed great Valour, was by the Marquis *Spinola* taken; for which Service, the King of *Spaine* made him Duke of *Santa Severina*, and Lord Generall of all his Forces in the *Low-Countryes*.

It was now the third yeare of King *James* his Reigne, when he kept Saint *Georges* Feaſt at *Greenwich*, and there made two new Knights of the Garter; namely, the High and Mighty Prince Duke *Ulrick*, heire of *Norway*, and brother to our gracious Queen *Anne*: and the right Noble Lord *Henry Howard*, Earle of *North-Hampton*. And upon the Saturday following, in the Hall at *Greenwich*, being richly hanged with Arras, he created three Earles, one Viſcount and foure Barons: namely, Sir *Robert Cecil* Viſcount *Cranbourne*, he created Earle of *Salisbury*: *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burley* his eldeſt brother, he created Earle of *Exceter*, and Sir *Philipe Herbert*, yonger brother to the Earle of *Pembrooke*, he created Earle of *Montgomery*: then *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penſhurſt*, Lord Chamberlaine to the Queen, he created Viſcount *Liſle*: Sir *John Stanhope*, Vicechamberlaine to the King, he made Lord *Stanhope* of *Harington*: Sir *George Carew* Vicechamberlaine to the Queen, he made Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*: Maſter *Thomas Arundell* of *Devonſhire*, he made Lord *Arundell* of *Wardez*: and Maſter *William Cavendiſh*, he made Lord *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*.

About this time a ſtrange fancy poſſeſſed the braines of a profeſſed Phyſition, one *Richard Haidock* of new Colledge in *Oxford*, who pretended to preach at night in his ſleep, in ſuch ſort, that though he were called aloud or ſtirred and pull'd by the hands or feet, yet would make no ſhew of either hearing or feeling: And this he did often, in the preſence of many honorable perſons, that came to heare him; ſo as within a ſhort time, his fame was ſpread thorough the land, by the name of the ſleeping Preacher. At length the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where his Majeſty ſate up the moſt part of a night to attend the event: when at laſt, *Haidock* making a ſhew to bee a ſleepe, began to Pray; then taking a Text, made his Diviſion; applying it to his purpoſe, for in his Preaching his uſe was to Inveight againſt the Pope, againſt the Croſſe in Baptiſm and againſt the laſt Canons of the Church of *England*; and having ended his Sermon ſeemed to continue ſleeping. His Majeſty having well obſerved the manner of his cariage; after a few days, called the ſaid *Haidock* before him, and in Conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable ſagacity in diſcovering of Fictions) made him confeſſe, that all he did was but impoſture: and thereupon to fall upon his knees, and aske forgiveneſſe, which the King granted, upon condition, that in all places he ſhould openly acknowledge his offence; becauſe many were brought into beliefe, that his nightly preaching was either by inſpiration or by viſion.

We may not here think it unworthy the relating, ſeeing King *James* thought it not unworthy the ſeeing, thereby to obſerve the nature of the *Lyon*, and made a ſolemne matter of it: for on *Munday* the 3 of *June* (taking with him the Duke of *Lenox*, and diverſe Earles and Lords) he went to the Lyons Tower and cauſed two Lyons a male and a female, to bee put forth, and then a live Cock to bee caſt before them; which they (as being their naturall ennemy) preſently killed and ſucked his bloud. Then a live Lambe to bee put downe to them, which the generous Lyons (as having reſpect to its Innocency) never offered to touch, though the Lamb was ſo bold to go cloſe unto them. Then the King cauſed thoſe Lyons to be taken away and another Lyon to be put forth, and two Maſtifs to be put into him, who preſently flew upon the Lyon and turned him upon his back, and though the Lyon were ſuperior to them in ſtrength, yet it ſeemes they were his matches in courage and ſo much ſuperior, as that they were the firſt aſſailants, with whom otherwiſe, perhaps the Lyon would not have offered to meddle.

On *Friday* the 4 of *January* in the Kings ſecond yeare, *Charles* Duke of *Albany* the

the Kings ſecond ſon being then but 4 yeares old, was created Duke of *Yorke*; which, becauſe it was done with extraordinary ſolemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it, here related. Firſt were appointed Knights of the Bathe, the Duke of *Albany* himſelfe, then the Lord *Willowby*, the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, *William Cecill*, ſonne and heire to the Viſcount *Cranbourne*, *Allan Percy*, brother to the E. of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Somerſet* ſecond ſon to the Earle of *Worceſter*, *Francis Manners* brother to the Earle of *Rutland*, *Thomas Howard* ſecond ſon to the Earle of *Suffolk*, and *John Harington* ſon and heire to the Lord *Harington*, the Earles of *Oxford* and *Eſſex* were Eſquires to the Duke of *Albany*; all the Knights tooke their lodging that night in the firſt Gate-houſe going to *Kings* ſtreet, where they ſupped, and had Bathes provided for them. The next morning being *Saturday*, they went out into the Parke in their Hermits weeds, the Minſtrels playing and the Heraulds going before them into the Court, and ſo into the Chappel, where every Knight with his Squires went to the Altar, and there offered (the Deane of the Chappell, in a rich Cope, holding the Baſon. After this they went up into their lodgings, and there new attired themſelves in robes of Crimſin Taffaty, with hats and white feathers, and ſo went back to the great Chamber: where by the King they were girded with the ſword, and had gilt ſpurs put upon them. This done, they were ſolemnly ſerved at dinner, and after went again to the Chappell, and there offered their ſwords. The next day being *Sunday* and *Twelfe* day in robes of purple Sattin, with Doctors hoods on their ſhoulders and hats with white feathers, they iſſued out of the Reveſtry, with the Duke of *Albany* (being then to be made Duke of *York*) into the Hall, where the King ſate under the cloath of Eſtate, and then the Heraulds going before, the Knights of the Bath followed, and then the Earle of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain came alone, then followed *Henry Howard* Earle of *North-Hampton* and *Charles Blunt* Earle of *Devonſhire*, carrying the robes of Eſtate, for the Duke of *York*, after whom *Wriothſley* Earle of *South-Hampton* carried the Coronet, *George Clifford* Earle of *Cumberland*, the Golden Rod, the Earle of *Worceſter* the Cappe of Eſtate, and the Earle of *Nottingham* bore the Duke of *Albany* in his Armes, ſupported by the Earles of *Dorſet* and *Northumberland*, who all comming in this order before the King; the Duke of *Albany* was after the Patent read Created Duke of *York*, with the Robes and Coronet put on him and the Golden Rod, delivered into his hand: all which performed, they went to dinner, and the ſolemnity ended.

About this time on the fifteenth of *June*, *Thomas Dowglas* a Scotch-man, was committed to the Tower and had Irons put upon him, being ſent hither, but three dayes before, from the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*. His offence was, that he had counterfetted the Kings Privy Seale to divers Princes of *Germany*; One to the Archbiſhop of *Cullen*, another to the Archbiſhop of *Tryer*, another to the Duke of *Cleve*, another to the Archbiſhop of *Moguntia*, and a fifth to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, whereof being examined and convicted, he was drawn on a hurdle into *Smithfield*, and there hanged and quartered:

And now was a ſecond Parliament appointed to be held at *Weſtminſter*, on the nineteenth of *March* following, when foure dayes before the day of ſitting, The King, the Queen and Prince rode ſolemnly in great ſtate thorough the City of *London*, where in diverſe places were erected Pageants: Preſents given, Orations made and all demonſtrations of love and obſervance; and then the Parliament begioning, the King made a long and loving Speech to the Houſe, wherein he ſignified the cauſes of his calling it; but in the time, when it ſhould have proceeded, there was ſuddenly diſcovered a Plot of Treaſon (ſo damnable and foule, that poſterity will hardly thinke it true, when they ſhall heare it) the Plot was, to blow up with Gun-powder, both Houſes of Parliament at a time, when the King, Prince and all the Nobility ſhould be ſitting in the upper Houſe, and all the Knights and Burgeſſes in the Lower.

The principall contriver of this Plot was *Robert Catesbie*, a Gentleman of great account in *Northampton-shire*, descended from that *Catesby* who had been a speciall Counseller of King *Richard* the third, to whose family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a disastrous period. This *Catesby* not able to performe the worke himselfe alone, drawes in many to assist him, as namely, *Thomas Percie*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, *Guido Fawkes*, and at last Sir *Edward Digby*, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret; For effecting of this plot, they hired a house close adjoyning to the Vpper house of Parliament, where they were to dig thorow a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About *Candlemasse* they had wrought the Wall halfe thorow: when suddainly they heard a noyse in the next room which made them feare they had beene discovered: but sending *Guy Fawkes* (who went now under the name of *John Iohnson*, as Master *Percies* man) to see what the matter was, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-Coles had beene layd, and were now a selling, and the roome offered to bee let for a yearely rent. This roome therefore as most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament House, Master *Percie* presently went and hired, laying into it twenty barrells of powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, for being discovered. Thus the first part of the plot was put in a good readinesse. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the blow should be given: for though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of *York*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* should still be safe, and so they should bee no nearer their end than now they were. This work therefore for surprizing the D. of *Yorke*, *Percie* undertook, and for surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a match of hunting neare to *Dunchurch*, under colour whereof they would draw company together, and surprize her at the Lord *Haringtons* house in *Warwick-shire*, where she then lay, and then proclaime her Queen, and so be sure to have all things done, as they would themselves. Thus farre their bloudy plot went fairely on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued onely bloudy; but now a tendernesse of heart tooke some of them, lest their friends should perish together with the rest, and this tendernesse overthrowes them; for to prevent such promiscuous slaughter, a Letter was framed, and sent to the Lord *Mounteagle*, sonne and heire to the Lord *Morley*, brought him by one of his Foot-men, which hee received from an unknowne man in the street. The Letter was this. *My Lord, out of the Love I beare to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your life, to forbeare your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time: And thinke not slightly of this Advertisement: for though there bee no appearance of any stirre; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurts them. This Councell is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is past, as soone as you have burnt this Letter; and I hope you will make good use of it.*

My Lord having read the Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at *White-hall*, (the King being then a hunting at *Royston*) and delivered it to the Earle of *Salisburie*, principall Secretary of State, and the Earle having read it, acquainted first the Lord Chamberlaine with it, and then the Lord Admirall, the Earle of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, who as soon as the King was returned from Hunting, acquainted him with it: the Earle of *Salisburie* telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a foole, or by a mad man, because of those words, (*for the danger is past as soone as you have burnt this Letter*) for if the danger were so soone past, what needed any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some suddaine danger

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by blowing up with powder; and thereupon commanded, that diligent search should be made in the Parliament house, and all other roomes and lodgings more adjoyning: which search was made by the Lord Chamberlaine, accompanyed with the Lord *Mountaigle*, who entring the Cellar under the upper house, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr. *Percie* owne provision: but then (it being considered why such store should be laid in for Mr. *Percie*, who used to make but little stay in Towne) and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrells of powder: and after that all the rest, being six and thirty; together with other instruments fit for their purpose, and then spying the said *Fawkes* to stand suspitiously, they apprehended him, and found in his pocket a peece of Touch-wood; a Tynder boxe to light the Touch-wood, and a Watch, which Mr. *Percie* had bought the day before, to trie the short and long burning of the Touch-wood, which he had prepared to give fire to the traine of powder. The plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the confederates met at *Dunchurch*, as they had agreed, where they divulged many detestable untruths against the King and State: signifying withall, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholike cause; hoping thereby to have drawne many to joyne with them in their Rebellion: but this availed them nothing: for first Sir *Richard Verney* high Sheriffe of *Warwick-shire* chased them from thence; and then Sir *Richard Welsh*, Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, knowing them to be entred into Master *Littleton's* house at *Walbach*, beset them round, where *Catesbie* and *Percie* issuing forth, were both slaine with one shot of a Musquet; and after them, both the *Wrights*, *John* and *Christopher* were likewise slaine outright; *Thomas Winter* was taken alive: all which time, *Francis Tresham* remained still about the Court, offering his service for their suppression: but being suspected, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confest all, and within a few dayes after dyed of the Strangurie. On the seven and twentieth of *Januarie* following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Iudges of both Benches, for tryall of the rest of the Confederates: namely, of *Thomas Winter*, *Guydo Fawkes*, *Robert Keyes*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodington* in *Warwick-shire* Esquire, *John Graunt*, late of *Torthbrook*, in the Countie of *Warwick* Esquire, *Ambrose Rookwood*, late of *Stanningfield* in *Suffolk* Esquire, Sir *Edward Digby*, late of *Gothurst*, in *Buckingham-shire*, Knight, who were all condemned, and had judgement to dye, and on the thursday following Sir *Edward Digbie*, *Robert Winter*, *Graunt* and *Bates*, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered, at the west end of *Pauls* Church in *London*, and on the friday, the other foure; namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Keyes*, *Rookwood*, and *Fawks* were executed in the Parliament yard at *Westminster*. Of all whom, none was so much lamented as Sir *Edward Digbie*, and indeed worthily; for he was a goodly personage, and of excellent parts, and had it seemes beene cunningly drawne in, and bound to secresie by Oath, when he little thought of any such treason. The seventh of *November* the Earle of *Northumberland*, upon suspition of being acquainted with the plots, was first commanded to keep his house, and after a while committed to the Tower. And thus was this great plot discovered, and the Plotters punished, to the great rejoycing of all people: insomuch, that even the King of *Spain's* and Arch-dukes Embassadors made Bonfires, and threw money amongst the people in token of joy. And at this time, on the fourth of *Januarie*, the Spanish Embassador delivered a Present to the King from the King his Master: namely six Iennets of *Andalusia*, with saddles very richly imbroydered, and saddle-cloathes of cloth of *Tissue*: One of which Iennets was snoe white, and had a Maine which reached to the ground. But this was a Present sent before any knowledge had of the Powder Treason: but as soone as that was knowne, there was presently another Present sent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, of purpose to congratulate the Kings happy delive-

fance from the intended Powder Treason; and the Present was brought by *Don Iohn de Mendoza*, which was a Roave of Murrie Sattin, imbroydered all over with Amber leather, and upon the leather, in every seame and skirt twice imbroydered about with gold; the fore-part whereof was set with eight and forty tagges three inches long of beaten gold, hollow within, and filled with Amber-greece; also two large Chaines of Amber-greece, Two Carkanets of Amber-greece, a velvet Cappe with gold Buttons, curiously enammeled, and a girdle suteable to the Buttons; all which were presented together in a large vessell of gold, in forme of a Bason; so as it seemes there was none rejoyced more for the overthrow of this plot for the Catholike cause, than the Catholike King himselfe. And now King *Iames*, not to be unmindfull to the Lord *Monteagle*, for being the meanes of discovering this treason, he gave unto him in Fee Farme of Crowne land 200 *l.* a yeare to him and his heires, and 500. *l.* a yeare besides, during his life: and not to be unthankfull to God for the deliverance, he caused the fifth of November, being the day of the discovery, to be kept holy, whith Prayers and Thanksgiving to God, which was then solemnly performed, and hath beene since, and is likely for ever to be continued.

But in the midst of this great joy, there was suddenly spread a rumour of greater sorrow, for on *Saturday* the two and twentieth of *March*, newes was brought to the Court for certaine, that the King was slaine at *Oking*, twentie miles from *London*, stabbed with an invenomed knife; whereupon the Court gates were presently shut, and double guard set in all places about *London*, and all mens mindes were infinitely distracted; but within two houres all these clouds were cleane dispersed, and the Sun began to shine out againe; and it was certainly knowne, that the King was safe, and in perfect health: for which a Proclamation was presently set forth to signifie it to the people; and that afternoone the King came himselfe to *White-hall*, where thousands of people, ravished with joy, came flocking to see him; and so generall was the rejoycing, that the *Spanish* Embassador, gave Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Mr. of the *Ceremonies*, a chaine of gold of good value for bringing him the newes: Though afterward it was thought by some, that this rumour was but politickly devised to make the Parliament and people more tender of the Kings safety, and by making them more sensible what a treasure they had of his life, to make them more willing to part with their treasure for his living, as indeed this Parliament they did, giving more Subsidies then are usuall.

The eight and twentieth of *March* following, *Henry Garvet* Provinciall of the *English* Iesuites, was arraigned in *Guild-hall*, for concealing the foresaid treason, where he had Iudgement to be hang'd, drawne, and quartered, and accordingly on the third of *May*, was drawne from the Tower to the west end of *Pauls* Church, and there executed. At his death, he confessed his fault, asked forgivenesse, and exhorted all Catholikes never to attempt any treason against the King or State, as a course which God would never prosper.

On *Tuesday* the twentieth of *May*, were enstalled at *Windsor* Knights of the Garter, *Robert Cecill*, Earle of *Salisburie*, and *Thomas Howard Viscount Byndon*, both of them honourably attended, but the Earle of *Salisburie* beyond ordinary proportion.

There was yet a Fag end of the late powder treason behind to be examined: whereupon two Barons of the Realms, namely, *Henrie* Lord *Mordant*, and *Edw.* Lord *Sturton*, were brought from the Tower, to the Star-Chamber: and there, not charged indeed with any poynt of the treason, but onely reflectingly, because they neglected to appeare at the Parliament, according to their summons, for which neglect onely, without any further charge, they were fined to pay to the King, the Lord *Mordant* ten thousand Marks, and the Lord *Sturton* six thousand, and to be prisoners during the Kings pleasure. But on the 27. of *June Henrie* Earle of *Northumberland* was likewise brought from the Tower to the

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Starr-Chamber, and more directly charged with circumstances concerning the Treason, specially in regard of *Thomas Percie*, whom hee had admitted to bee one of the Kings Gentlemen Pentioners, without ministring unto him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recusant; for which, and some misprisions, he was fined to pay to the King thirty thousand pounds, to forfit all his Offices, and to be kept prisoner during the Kings pleasure, as indeed hee continued many yeares, and at last released, was yet confined.

It was now the 4. yeare of King *James* his Reigne, and was a time of Princely visitation; for this Summer, the 17. of *July*, *Christianus* King of *Denmarke*, brother to the Queen, having beene long expected, with eight ships came into the River of *Thames*, and Anchored before *Graves-end*; to whom the next day, King *James*, with Prince *Henrie*, and divers of his Lords went by Barge, and conducted him to *London*, where he stayed till the twelfth of *August* following: in which time, he was entertained with all the magnificence that could be devised; the King and he riding in great state thorow the City; where Pageants in many places were erected; and after he had beene shewed the chiefe places about *London*: as namely, the old *Exchange*, the *Tower*, the Monuments at *Westminster*, and had gone up to the top of *Pauls*, had beene feasted by the *King*, by the Earle of *Salisburie* foure dayes together at *Theobalds*, had seene Tilting, Fencing, wrastling, and many other pastimes, on the twelfth of *August*, conducted by the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many other great Lords, he departed to his ships, and in eight dayes arrived at home: A hapy thing when Princes can converse together like private persons, and are not kept asunder with jealousies of State.

After the King of *Denmarks* departure, on the 23. of *September*, arrived at *London Francis* Prince of *Vaudemount*, third sonne to the Duke of *Lorraine*, accompanyed with seven Earles, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of quality, and fiscore common persons; who all the five and twentieth of *September* went by Coach to the King at *Hampton Court*, where foureteen dayes together they were feasted and royally entertained, and then returned.

But these Festivalls were follwed with a little disturbance, for in *May*, the yeare after, great Assemblies were gathered together in *Northampton-shire*, *Warwick-shire*, and *Leicester-shire*, throwing downe Inclosures, at first, without any particular head: but at last rose up a base fellow, called *John Reynolds*, whom they named Captaine *Pouch*, because he had a great leather Pouch hanging by his side, who affirmed to the Company, that in that Pouch he had sufficient to defend them against all cummers: but when hee was afterward apprehended, and his Pouch searched, there was nothing found in it but a piece of green Cheese. Proclamation was made, commanding them to surcease their disorder: But this prevailed nothing, till the King sent *Henrie* Earle of *Huntington*, *Thomas* Earle of *Exceter*, *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, and Sir *Edward Cooke* Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England* to suppresse them by force of Armes, and to punish the Levellers according to the nature of their offences; some by Death, as for Treason; some by Fines, as for Routs: but Captaine *Pouch* was made exampler.

On *Friday*, the twelfth of *June*, his Majesty attended with divers Lords, dyned with the Lord Major, Sir *Iohn Wats*, who after dinner presented him with a purse full of Gold, and humbly besought his Majestie, that he would be pleased to bee free of his Company, the *Cloath-workers*: To which, the KING graciously condiscended; and thereupon called to Sir *William Stone*, Master of the Company, and said, *Stone* give me thy hand; and now I am a *Cloath-worker*: And in token of my speciall favour to this fraternity, I doe here give to this Company a brace of Bucks yearely for ever, against the time of the Election of the Master and Wardens: at which time also many Lords and Gentlemen were made Free of the *Cloath-workers*.

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On *Thursday* the 16 of *July*, the King and Prince with many Lords, dined at Merchant *Taylors-Hall*, where the Master and Warden of that Society, presented the King with a Purse of Gold, giving him humble thankes for gracing their Fraternity with his Royall presence; and therewithall shewed him a Roll, wherein were Registred the names of seven Kings, one Queene, 17, Princes, and Dukes, two Dutchesses, one Archbishop, one and thirty Earles, threescore and six Barons, seven Abbots, seven Pryors, with a great number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which His Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, that he himselfe was already free of another Company: but the Prince his son should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his head: whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, that not only Himselfe would bee free of the Merchant Tailors, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like, all which was performed with great solemnity.

The fourth of *July* this yeare, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament by the name of Baron of *Estrick*, the next day Sir *Iulius Cæsar*, Chancelor of the Exchecker was sworne a Privy Counsellor; and the sixteenth of *November* fallowing Sir *Iervis Clyfton* Knight, was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the name and title of Baron of *Layton Brameswold*, whose only daughter and heire, was soon after married, to *Eysme Steward*, Baron of *Aubigny* in *France*, sole brother of the Duke of *Lenox*; whom he afterward succeeded in that Dignity.

About this time, *Hugh* Earle of *Tervon*, most ungratefully and utterly forgetfull of the Kings great clemency to him, together with *Tenreonell*: *Hugh* Baron of *Dungannon*, and divers other Irish Lords, fled into the parts beyond Sea, with a purpose to solicite forreign Princes against the King, and to offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope, which was presently signified to the Realm by Proclamation.

On the Eleventh of *Aprill* this year, *George Iervis* a Seminary Priest, and the three and twentieth of *June* following: *Thomas Garnet* a Iesuit, were both executed at *Tyburne*, *Thomas Garnet* having the favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegeance, which he refused.

The nineteenth of *Aprill* at *Whitehall*, died *Thomas* Earle of *Dorset* Lord Treasurer, whose death (because he dyed suddenly as he sate at the Counsell-Table) was by some untowardly interpreted; but being dead and his head opened, there were found in it certain little bags of water, which whither by the strayning of his study the night before, in which he sate up till eleven a clock, or otherwise by their own maturity, suddenly breaking and falling upon his braine, caused his suddain death. So certain it is that death comes not always by determinate steps; but sometimes *per saltum*, and we all cary about us the causes of suddain death, though unsensible of them till we be unsensible. This Lord was of excellent parts, and in his place exceeding Industrious, and I have heard many Checker men say, there never was a better Treasurer, both for the Kings profit and the good of the subject.

The twentith of *May* at *Windsor*, were made two Knights of the Garter, *George* Earle of *Dunbarre*, and *Philip* Earle of *Montgomery*; but the Earle of *Dunbarre*, within a yeare or two after left both his honor and his life; but not his life without honour, having been a faithfull servant, and a wise Counsellor to the King, and was honorably Interred in the Church at *Westminster*.

About this time were many famous English Pirates that stuck not some of them to turne Turks and lived in great state at *Tunis*, of whom the chiefe were *Ward*, *Bishop*, Sir *Francis Verney* and *Gibbons*, whom after many depredations and outragious acts at Sea, partly the King of *Spaine* suppressed, and partly the King of *Eng.* and 19 of their associates being taken, were hanged at *Wapping*.

Alſo at this time, in the *Straid* on the North ſide of *Durham* houſe, where ſtood an old long ſtable: *Robert* Earle of *Salisbury* now Lord Treaſurer of *England*, cauſed to be erected a ſtately Building; which upon *Tueſday* the tenth of *Aprill*, in the yeare 1609, was begun to be richly furniſhed with wares; and the next day after, the King, the Queene, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies came to ſee it: and then the King gave it the name of *Britteines Burſe*.

On the eight of *May* this year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all forreine Nations, that after *Auguſt* they ſhould not fiſh upon any of the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*, nor the Iſles adjacent, without the ſpeciall Licence from the Commiſſioners in that behalfe Ordained.

At this time the making of *Allum*, which heretofore with great charges, had been fetched from forreigne parts, was by diverſe that laboured in it, and now laſtly by Sir *John Burchier*, brought to perfection in *England*, and therupon the King prohibited upon paine of confiſcation, any *Allum* to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole traffick therof to himſelf.

And now the King according to an ancient cuſtome, had ayde of His Subjects thorough *England*: for making his eldeſt ſonne Prince *Henry* Knight, which yet was Levied with great moderation, and the Prince to ſhew himſelfe worthy of it: performed His firſt Feates of Armes at *Barriers*, with wonderfull skill and courage: being not yet full ſixteene yeares of Age.

It was now the eight yeere of King *James* His Reigne; being the yeare 1610, when Prince *Henry* being come to the age of ſeventeen yeares; It was thought fit, He ſhould be Initiated into Royalty: and thereupon the thirtieth of *May* this yeare, He was Created Prince of *Wales* in moſt ſolemne manner; which was this; *Garter* King at Armes, bore the Letters Patents, the Earle of *Suſſex* the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earle of *Huntington* the Traine, the Earle of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earle of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earle of *Darby* the Rod, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* the Cape and Coronet, the Earle of *Nottingham* and *North-Hampton* ſupported the Prince: being in His Surcoate only and bare-headed: and in this manner being conducted to the King, attended on by the Knights of the Bathe, five and twenty in number, all great men, and great mens ſons: The Earle of *Salisbury* principall Secretary, read the Letters Pattents: the Prince kneeling all the while before the King: and at the words accuſtomed, the King put on him, the Robe, the Sword, the Cape and the Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then kiſſed him on the cheeke, and ſo the ſolemnity ended.

After this, it was thought fit, he ſhould keep his Court by himſelfe: and therupon Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governour, was now made his Lord Chamberlaine, Sir *Edw. Philips* his Chancellor, and all other officers aſſigned him, belonging to a Princes Court: wherein he ſhewed himſelfe ſo early ripe for Majeſty, that he ſeemed to be a King, while he was yet but Prince: And all mens eyes began to fix upon him.

King *James* had long ſince ſhut up the Gates of *Janus*, and was in Peace with all Princes abroad; his only care now was how to keep Peace at home; and to this end, the three firſt dayes of *June*, in his own perſon he heard the differences between the Eccleſiaſticall and the Temporall Iudges, argued touching Prohecttions out of the Kings Bench and Common-Pleas, to this end, the eight, ninth, & tenth of *June*, he heard the manifold complaints of the abuſes of the Victuallers, & other Officers of his Navy Royall, to this end, the 9 of *June*, 1610, he once again by Proclamation, commanded all Roman Prieſts, Seminaries and Ieſuits, as being the chiefe Incendiaries of troubles, to depart this Kingdome by the 5 of *July* next, and not to returne upon pain of ſeverity of the Law: alſo all Recuſants, to returne home to their Dwellings, and not to ramaine

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in *London*, not to come within ten miles of the Court, without speciall Licence; after which Proclamation, the Oath of Allegeance was presently ministred to all sorts of people, and their names certified to the Lords of the Counsell, that refused to take it; and this Hee the rather did out of consideration of the bloudy fact, committed lately by one *Ravillack*, upon the person of the renowned K. of *France*, *Henry* the fourth, & whereas Queen *Elizabeth* in her 43 years had granted her Letters Pattents to continue for 15 years, to the *East India* Merchants, now upon their humble petition, the King was pleased to enlarge their Patents, giving them a charter to continue for ever, enabling them thereby to be a body Corporate and Politick, which so encouraged the Merchants, that they built a ship of twelve hundred tun, the greatest that was ever made in this Kingdome by Merchants; which the King and Prince honored with going to *Deptford* to see it; and then named it, *The Trades encrease*: and at this time gave to Sir *Thomas Smith*, (Governour of that Company) a faire chaine of Gold, with a Iewell, wherein was his Picture. But this great Ship having been in the Read Sea, and returning to *Banthem*, was there lost and most of her men cast away. But then the King himselfe builded the goodliest Ship of War, that was ever built in *England*, being of the burthen of 1400 tun, and carrying threescore and foure pieces of great Ordnance, which he gave to his son Prince *Henry*, who named it after his own dignity, *The Prince*.

And now whereas a Parliament had been holden this year, and was Prorogued to a certain day; the King perhaps, not finding it to comply with his designes, or for some other cause known to himself, on the last day of *December*, under the great Seale of *England*, dissolved it.

Before this time, one Sir *Robert Carre*, a Gentleman of *Scotland* or of the borders, being a hunting with the King, chanced with a fall off his horse to breake his leg; upon which mischance, he was forced for some days to keep his bed, in which time the King was sometimes pleased to come and visit him: and then it was first perceived that the King had begun to cast an eye of favour upon him: and indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman and very wise) many great favours were heaped upon him: So as on *Easter* Munday, in the yeare 1611, he was Created Viscount *Rochester*. On the two and twentieth of *Aprill*, 1612, was sworne a privy Counsellor. On the fourth of *November* 1613, was Created Earle of *Somerset*, and the tenth of *July* following, made Lord Chamberlaine.

But this Sun-shine of Fortune lasted not long; yet not by any inconstancy in the King, but by the Earles own undeserving, which thus fell out: The Right Honourable *Robert* Earle of *Essex*, had before this time married the beautifull Lady *Francis Howard*, daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Suffolk*, who upon causes judicially heard, were afterward Divorced and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce, this great favorite (the Earle of *Somerset*) takes her for wife, the King gracing their marriage with all demonstrations of love and favour; and the Lords gracing it with a stately Masque that night, and a few dayes after, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with most of the Nobility of the Kingdome were Feasted at Merchant Taylors Hall, by the Lord Major and Aldermen. But see how soon this faire weather was overcast: For it hapned, that one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a very ingenious Gentleman, and the Earles speciall friend, who had written a witty Treatise of a *Wife*: and it seemes, not thinking the Lady in all points answerable to his description, had been an earnest disswader of the Match, and to strengthen his disswasion, layd perhaps some unjust imputation upon the Ladyes Fame, which so incensed them both against him; that a lesse revenge could not give them satisfaction, than to take away his life: So true is that saying,

Improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

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Upon this, they finde pretences to have the ſaid Sir *Thomas* committed to the Tower, and there by their Inſtruments effect their revenge: ſome ſay by a poyſoned Tanſey ſent him to eat, ſome by a poyſoned Glyſter miniſtred unto him, but howſoever effected it was, for which Fact Sir *Jervis Elvis* then Lieutenant of the Tower, and three or foure other of inferiour condition were put to death, the Lady and Earle themſelves were arraigned and condemned; but thorough the Kings great clemency had their lives ſpared, but in ſuch a ſort ſpared, as was to them no leſſe grievous than death it ſelf, being never after ſuffered to ſee the Kings face, nor to come neere his Court.

This Favorite being thus out of favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for indeed King *James* was of ſo ſociable and loving a nature, that he could not be long well without an *Alter idem*; a boſome friend with whom to communicate his *Internos ſenſus*, and upon whoſe ſhoulders he might ſometimes lay a burthen, which he was not willing to beare himſelfe; and this new friend was Mr. *George Villers*, a Gentleman of a good Houſe, but a younger brother, but of ſo delicate a compoſure of body, and withall of ſo excellent parts of mind, as if nature had framed him of purpoſe to be a Kings Favorite. And indeed never any man was partaker of the Royall Influence like to him, made firſt a Knight, and Gentleman of the Kings Bed-chamber, ſoone after made a Viſcount and Maſter of the Horſe; a while after erected Earle of *Buckingham*, then Marquis of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admirall: Laſtly, made Duke of *Buckingham*, the greateſt Title of Honour that a Subject is capable of, and yet his Title not greater than his Power: for all matters of Grace paſſed from the King by him, and to grace him the more, his Mother (who after his Fathers death) had marryed a younger ſonne of the Lord *Comptons*, was created Counteſſe of *Buckingham*, his ſiſter who had marryed a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family: had her husband made Earle of *Denbigh*, his two brothers were made, one of them Viſcount *Berbach*, the other Earle of *Angleſey*; beſides many other of his friends and kindred highly advanced; For this Lord affected not an advancement that ſhould bee only perſonall, but rather bee in common to all his Family, and was not of the diſpoſition of ſome, who like to great Oakes, love to keep all that are neer them underwood; though it be in truth both againſt Nature and Policy to ſtand alone, when they would be leſſe ſubject to the violence of windes, if more ſtood together. And though never any man had juſter cauſe to be envyed than hee, yet never any man was leſſe envyed; becauſe though his Honours made him great, yet they made him not ſwell, but he retained the like temper of affable carriage after his advancement, as he had done before.

But before all theſe favours were heaped upon him, many other great paſſages had intervened; for firſt, after the death of *Thomas* Earle of *Dorſet*, *Robert* Earle of *Salisbury* had beene Lord Treaſurer, and after him *Thomas* Earle of *Suffolke*. But this Lord, though of a moſt noble diſpoſition: yet as having had his trayning up another way, ſeemed leſſe ready in diſcharging the place, and whether for this, or for his Ladies taking too much upon her by his indulgence; the ſtaffe was ſoone after taken from him; after whom there came in, ſuch a ſequence of Treaſures as no Age before had ever ſeene: all wiſe and able men indeed; but yet in whom the Office ſeemed an imployment, rather to ennoble the Officer than to enrich the King. For firſt Sir *Henry Montague* was taken from the Kings Bench: and on the fourth of *December* 1620. made Lord Treaſurer, and preſently upon it Earle of *Manchester*, and before the yeere went about put off. After whom Sir *Lyonell Cranfield*, from Maſter of the Wards was made Lord Treaſurer, and ſhortly after, Earle of *Middleſex*: and then not only put off, but fined to pay the King fifty thouſand pounds: After him Sir *James Lee* from chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench was made Lord Treaſurer, and ſoone after Earle of *Marleborough*; and then having made a good returne of his Place,

put it off himselfe. After him Sir *Richard Weston*, from Chancelour of the *Exchequer* was made Lord Treasurer, and soone after Earle of *Portland*: so as within the compasse of little more than foure yeares, foure Treasurers in a row were made foure Earles; enough to make a præscription for all Treasurers hereafter, to clayme a Right of being made Earles, which yet I speake not as derogating from those worthy men. whose memories I reverence, but as observing, *Fataque Fortunasque Virum*; so rare as that there was never any President of the like.

Also the five and twenteth of *Iune*, 1612. the Lord *Sanquer* a Nobleman of *Scotland*, having in a private revenge suborned *Robert Carlile*, to murther *Iohn Turner* a Master of Fence, thought by his greatnesse to have borne it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Iustice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for villany, but according to the Law; on the nine and twenteth of *Iune*; the said Lord *Sanquer* having been arraigned and condemned by the name of *Robert Creighton* Esquire; was before *Westminster* Hall gate executed, where he dyed very penitent.

About this time, the King in speciall favour for the present Plantation of *English Colonies* in *Virginia*, granted a Lottery to be held at the West end of *Pauls*; whereof one *Thomas Sharplys* a Taylour of *London* had the chiefe Prize, which was foure thousand Crownes in faire Plate.

At this time also the Corps of *Mary* late Queene of *Scotland*, the Kings Mother was translated from *Peterborough*, to St. *Peters* Church in *Westminster*, and from thence was carryed to the Chappell Royall there, where it was interred in a Royall Tombe, which the King had erected for her.

About this time also Sir *Robert Sherley*, third sonne of Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Sussex* Knight, who fixteene yeares past had betaken himselfe to travaile: and had served diverse Christian Princes for the space of five yeares; but chiefly *Rodolphus* the Roman Emperour; who for his service, made him an Earle of the Empire, hee afterward went into *Persia*, and served the Persian ten yeares, who made him Generall of the Artillery: and held him in so great account, that hee gave him the Lady *Teresia* in marriage, whose sister was one of the Queens of *Persia*, after which the Persian imployed him to sundry Princes of *Europe*; and sent him in speciall Embassage into *England* to King *James*, to whom he delivered his Letters, and shewed his Commission, all which signified the Persians great love and affection to his Majesty: with franke offer of free Commerce to all his Highnesse Subjects, thorough all the Persians Dominions: After a yeares stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a sonne, to whom the Queene was God-Mother, and Prince *Henry* God-Father; hee left the child here in *England*, and then with his Lady departed into *Persia*.

It was now the yeare 1612. and the tenth of King *Iames* his Raigne, when the Illustrious Prince *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*; with whom a Treaty of marriage had been before, with the Lady *Elizabeth*: on the sixteenth of *October* arrived at *Gravesend*, to whom the Duke of *Lenox* and diverse other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to *White-Hall*, and from thence into the great Banquetting-House, where the King, the Queene, Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* entertained him in all kind manner, and after by Barge conducted him to *Essex* House, appointed for his lodging. It was many yeares since any Kings Daughter had beene marryed in *England*; which now happening, and to so Illustrious a Prince, was just cause of Triumph and rejoyceing, but see the misery of Humane Affaires; joy can no sooner be setting forth, but sorrow will be sure to follow her at the heeles, as now indeed it happened: for on the nine and twentieth of *October*, the Prince *Palatine*, with all the great Lords of the Kingdome in most joviall manner, dining at *Guild-Hall*: Prince *Henry* who was also invited and expected, could not come, being newly fallen exceeding sick of a popular malignant feavour, which raigned that yeare

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in moſt parts of this Land : whereof on the ſixth of *November*, between ſeven and eight a Clock at night, at his Court of St. *James* he dyed. But hee being infinitly beloved of the people, and one that had given great hope of proving an Heroick Prince. It cauſed ſuſpition in many mens heads, that his death was not without violence offered to Nature; ſome ſaid, by bunches of Grapes given him to eate: ſome by gloves of a poyſoned perfume, given him for a preſent : but theſe were but idle rumours and conceits: It ſeemes the Divine Providence had ordained it ſhould be ſaid of him ; *Hanc tantum terris oſtendent Fata nec ultra, eſſe ſinent* : whoſe death would have given a great blow to the happineſſe of this Kingdome, if there had not beene another Prince left of a milder ſpirit perhaps, but ſo accompliſhed with all excellent endowments, that there could be no great want of Prince *Henrie*, as long as there was left Prince *Charles*. The Corps of Prince *Henrie*, who dyed at the age of eighteene yeares, eight moneths, and ſeventeene dayes, was drawne in a Chariot to the Abbey Church at *Weſtminſter*, and there interred in the Chappell Royall, on the ſeventh of *December* following.

This Accident ſomething appealed the generall joy, but yet triumphs went on. Vpon Saint *Thomas* day, the *Palſgrave* and *Grave Maurice* were Elected Knight of the Garter ; and the ſeven and twentieth of *December*, the *Palſgrave* was betroathed to the Lady *Elizabeth*. On *Sunday*, the ſeventh of *Februarie*, the *Palſgrave* in perſon was enſtalled Knight of the Garter at *Windſor*, and at the ſame time was *Grave Maurice* enſtalled by his Deputy, Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*. On the fourteenth of *Februarie*, being *Shrove-Sunday*, and Saint *Valentines* day, this happy marriage of the *Palſgrave* with the Lady *Elizabeth* was ſolemnized in the Chappell at *White-hall* : The Bride was led to Church by two Batchellors, her brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earle of *Northampton*, Lord Privie Seale : ſhe was attired all in white, having a rich Crowne of Gold upon her head, her haire hanging downe at length, curiouſly beſet with Pearles and precious ſtones, her Train ſupported by twelve yong Ladies in white Garments : The King gave her in marriage, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie* married them, the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells* preached the Bridall Sermon : which ended, the Bride was led home by two married men, the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earle of *Nottingham*, Lord Admirall. This marriage was ſolemnized the firſt night with a ſtately Maſque of Lords and Ladies : the ſecond night with a magnificent Maſque of the Gentlemen of the middle Temple, and Lincolnes Inne : The third night with a ſumptuous Maſque of the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple, and Graces Inne, provided indeed then, but was not performed till the ſatturday night following, by reaſon the concourſe of people was ſo great, it would have hindred the Show. After this, the Lord Major and Aldermen gave the Bride a Chain of Orientall Pearle, valued at two thouſand pounds : and now when all things had beene done for honouring their marriage, which either love and obſervance could device, or Art and Magnificence could performe : On the tenth of *April*, the Bride-groome with his Bride tooke leave of the King and Queene at *Rocheſter*, (who had by Barge conducted them thither) and there taking Ship : On the nine and twentieth of *April* they arrived at *Flaſhing*, from whence the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earle of *Arundell*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, and the Lord *Harington*, waited upon them to their chiefe City of *Heydelburgh*; in all places as they paſſed, being received with all State and magnificence : but then on the foureteenth of Iune, the *Engliſh* Lords returning home, the Lord *Harington* dyed by the way at *Wormes*, whoſe Corps was brought over, and buried in *England*. And here it will not be amiſſe, to ſhew of what extent and largeneſſe the *Palſgrave's* Countrie is, becauſe of the iniquity of ſome that ſeeke to diſgrace it. It is in length about two hundred *Engliſh* miles, taking the lower and upper Countrie. In the lower hee hath ſix and twenty walled Townes, beſides an infinite number of faire Villages, and two and twenty

houſes of reſidence. In the vpper, not ſo many walled Townes, and houſes, but thoſe that are generally fairer than in the lower, eſpecially *Amberg*, and *New-market*.

But it is now time to looke home; in the yeare 1609. the King having care for the quietneſſe of *Ireland*, had granted to the City of *London* the preſent poſſeſſion and Plantation in the Province of *Ulſter*: whereupon afterward in the yeare 1612. they ſent thither about three hundred perſons, of all ſorts of handy-crafts men, chiefely to inhabite the two Cities of *London-Derrie* and *Coleraigne*: where they ordained Alderman *Cockaine* for their firſt Governour. And for the advancing of this, or the like Plantation in *Ireland*, King *James* about this time began a new Order of Knights, which are called Baronets, becauſe they take place next to Barons younger ſonnes; and hee appointed certaine Lawes, to make them capable that ſhould be admitted. Firſt that they ſhould maintaine the number of thirty foot ſouldiers in *Ireland*, for three yeares, after the rate of eight pence a day, and to pay the wages of one whole yeare, upon the paſſing of their Patent: Then that they ſhould bee Gentlemen of Bloud of three Deſcents; and laſtly, ſhould have land of Inheritance, in poſſeſſion or immediate Reverſion, to the value of a thouſand pounds *per annum*: And to keep the Order from ſwarming, he ſtinted it within the number of onely 200. and as the iſſue ſhould faile, the Order to ceaſe. But he that will look, how wel the end of the Inſtitution, and the Laws of it have bin obſerved ſhall perhaps find it to be here, as it was in the Order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at firſt there were none admitted, but Princes and Emminent perſons: but afterward, all ſorts of men, without any difference, were admitted, that it came almoſt to bee doubted, whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace the perſons, or the meaneſſe of the perſons diſgrace the Order: and indeed, when the Lawes of an Inſtitution are not in ſome meaſure obſerved, it ſeemes to make a kind of nullity in the collation.

About this time, on Sunday the 24. of *October*, an exemplar pennance was impoſed upon Sir *Peckſall Brockas* Knight, which was to ſtand at *Pauls* Croſſe in a white ſheet, holding a ſtick in his hand, having been formerly convicted before the high Commiſſioners, for many notorious Adulteries with divers women.

This yeare 1614. in the month of *July*, *Chriſtianus* King of *Denmark*, (out of his love to his ſiſter, and King *Iames*) came the ſecond time into *England*, but as being now ſecure of himſelfe, privately, and with a ſmall company, ſo as he came to the Queen at *Somerſet* houſe unexpected, and before any knowledge was had of his comming; but K. *Iames* being then in progreſſe in *Bedford-ſhire*, and hearing of it, came preſently back, and after he had entertained him here, with Hunting, Hawking, running at Ring, Bear-baiting, Plays, Fire-works, and Fencing, on the firſt of *Auguſt* Prince *Charles* brought him aboard his Ship, who then took his leave, and returned home.

In *Octob.* this yeare was a call of Sarjeants at Law, being 11. in number, namely, *George Wild*, *Wil Towes*, *Rich. Bawtrie*, *Henry Finch*, *Tho. Chamberlain*, *Francis Moore*, *Thomas Attow*, *John Moore*, *Francis Harvie*, *Charles Chibbourn*, and *Tho. Richardſon*, and in *Trenity* Terme before there had two other been called, namely, Sir *Randal Crew* of *Lincolns* Inne, and Sir *Robert Hitcham* of *Grayes* Inne, Knights.

About this time an Embaſſador came from the young Emperour of *Ruſſia* to King *James*, deſiring his continuall love and amity, and to be a means of making attonement, between him and the K. of *Swethland*, and withall preſented him with a rich preſent of Furs: which was no ſmal honour to the K. of great *Britain* to have ſo great a Potentate as the Emperor of *Ruſſia* ſolicit him to be his mediator.

Though King *James* out of all naturall goodneſſe was addicted to peace, yet out of providence he neglected not to be prepared for war, and thereupon in the yeare 1610. had granted priviledges to a ſociety called of the *Millitarie* Garden;

Garden; and this year 1614, cauſed a Muſter of men to be preſented before him, which was performed to his great liking, and to the great commendation of the City.

About this time a memorable Act was performed by M. *Hug. Middleton*, Citizen and Gold-ſmith of *London*, and borne in *Denbigh-ſhire*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite coſt and indefatigable labour, brought water to the City of *London*, from the two great ſprings of *Chadwell* and *Amwell* in *Hartfort-ſhire*, having cut a Channell from thence to a place neere *Iſlington*, whither he conveyed it, to a large Pan, and from thence in pipes of young Elmes to all places of the City: for as the Poeth ſaith: ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ.

Nothing is ſo commodious for the life of man, as water.

Another memorable Act was about this time done on the North ſide on *Lon.* called *Moore-fields*, which being before invironed with deep ſtinking ditches and noyſome common ſhowers, was now, not only made faire & ſweet, but ſo levelled into walkes and ſet with trees, that it is the pleaſanteſt place of all the City.

The next yeare being 1615, another memorable Act, for the benefit and beauty of the City of *London*, was performed; for *Smith-field*, which was before a rude dirty place, was now paved all over, and ſtrong railes ſequeſtring the middle part of it, were ſet up, to make it a faire walking place, and fit for Market or any other uſe.

The Lady *Arbella* a neare kinſewoman of the Kings, had ſometime before, without the Kings privity, ſecretly married Maſter *William Seymour*, younger ſon of the Earle of *Hartford*, now Earle of *Hartford* himſelfe; for which they were both committed to the Tower: and now this yeare, on the ſeven and twentieth day of *Sep.* ſhe ended her life there, and was buried in the Chappell Royall at *Weſtminſter*.

This yeare alſo in *July*, were Enſtalled Knights of the Garter, *Francis* Earle of *Rutland*, Sir *George Villers* Maſter of the Horſe, and Sir *Robert Sidney* Viſcount *Liſle*: and in another kind of Honour, the Earle of *Arundell*, the Lord *Carews*, and Doctor *Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely*, were ſworne Privie Counſellours.

Wales by the death of Prince *Henry*, had been a good while without a Prince, and now to ſupply that place, Prince *Charles* is Created Prince of *Wales*: In Ioy whereof, the Town of *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire*, and the City of *London*, performed great Triumphs: and the more to honour his Creation: There were made five and twenty Knights of the Bathe; all them Lords or Barons ſons, and yet more to honour it, there were forty ſelected Gentlemen of the *Innes of Court*, that performed a ſolemne Iuſts at Barries, with great magnificence.

This yeare was a Cenſure of divers great Delinquents, for firſt Sir *Edward Cooke*, was upon diſpleaſure diſcharged from being Lord *Chiefe Juſtice of the Kings Bench*; and two dayes after his diſcharge, Sir *Henry Montague* the Kings Sergeant at Law, was placed in his room: Next to him the Lord *Egerton*, whyther diſabled by ſickneſſe or age, to exerciſe the place, or upon diſpleaſure alſo, had the Seale taken from him, which was delivered to Sir *Francis Bacon* the King's Attourney, he made firſt Lord Keeper, and the Lord *Egerton* dying ſoon after, Lord Chancellour. Not long after him Sir *Henry Yelverton* the Kings Attourney, for adding new priviledges to the *Londoners* Charter, without the Kings privity, was in diſpleaſure put from his place; and in his room was placed Sir *Thomas Coventry*, the Kings Sollicitor. But awhile after, Sir *Henry Yelverton*, was made a puny Iudge of the Common Pleas; having indeed the reputation of an excellent Lawyer.

And yet this work of Cenſuring ſtayed not here, for much about this time; *Thomas* Earle of *Suffolk* Lord Treaſurer of *England*, had the ſtaffe of his Office taken from him; which was ſoon after delivered to Sir *Henry Montague* Lord Chiefe

Chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench. If Sir *John Benet*, Iudge of the Prerogative Court, had made a little more haſte, he mihght have made one in this number of Delinquents: but he came ſhort three or foure yeares; and then being charged by his own ſervant with brybery, he was put from his place and cenſured in the *Starre-Chamber* to pay twenty thouſand pounds: and in his roome was placed Sir *William Byrde* a man of more integrity.

Though King *James* upon the death of Queene *Elizabeth*, came to reſide in *England*, yet he forgot not that *Scotland* was his native Countrey; and therefore after he had ſpent ſome yeares in *England*, to acquaint himſelfe with the State of the Kingdome. In *March* this yeare one thouſand ſix hunderd and ſixteenth, he made a Iourney into *Scotland*: for though he had left very able men to ſit at the Helme there in his abſence: yet he knew, that as it is the Maſters Eye, that makes the Horſe fat: So it is the Prince's preſence ſometimes that keeps out many diſtempers in a State, that would otherwiſe creep in; and now, when in his ſtaying ſix Months there, he had ſeen all things well ſetled, both in the Eccleſiaſticall State and in the Temporall, and made it appeare, that he reſided not in *England* out of any neglect of *Scotland*; but to the end, he migt be in the place of moſt conveniency to both Kingdoms: on the fifteenth of *September*, he returned to *London*, not more to the griefe of the *Scots* to leave him, than to the joy of the *Engliſh* to receive him, ſo much was King *James* as a juſt and wiſe Prince, beloved of both the Nations.

Now comes to be related a matter of ſpeciall obſervation; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had lived a condemned man many yeares in the Tower, and now his Deſtiny brought him to his end (by liberty) which it could not do by impriſonment, for out of a longing for liberty; he propounded a project to the King, upon which (as he was a well ſpoken man and of a great capacity) he ſet ſuch coulours of probability; eſpecially guilding it over, with the Gold he would fetch from a Mine in *Guyana*; and that without any wrong at all to the King of *Spaine* (if he might be allowed to go the Iourney) that the King, if he gave not credit that he could performe it, at leaſt gave way that he ſhould undertake it: and thereupon with diverſe ſhips, accompanied with many Knights and Gentlemen of quality, he ſet forward on the Voyage; but when after long ſearch, or ſhew of ſearch, no ſuch place of Treaſure or no ſuch treaſure could be found, whether it were, that he thought it a ſhame, to returne home, with doing nothing: or that his *Malus Genius* thruſt him upon the Deſigne: He fell upon Saint *Thome*, a Towne belonging to the King of *Spaine*: ſacked it, pillaged it, and burnt it: and here was the firſt part of his Tragicall Voyage acted, in the death of his eldeſt ſon: the laſt part was Acted in his own death at his returne. For *Gundomore* the *Spaniſh* Lieger, did ſo aggravate this fact of his to the King, againſt him; that it ſeemed nothing would give ſatisfaction but *Rawleigh's* head, without which he doubted there would follow a breach of the League between the two Nations. *Rawleigh* excuſed it, by ſaying that he was urged to it by the *Spaniards* firſt aſſaulting of him; and beſides, that he could not come at the Myne, without winning this Town: but *Gundomor* was too ſtrong an Adverſary for him; and the King preferring the publique Peace, before the life of one man, already condamned, gave way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon, brought to the Kings Bench Barre: he was not newly Arraigned or Indicted, as being already *Mortuus in Lege*, but only hath the former Sentence averred againſt him, and ſo carryed to the Gate-houſe, and from thence the next morning to the Parliament Yard: a Scaffold was there erected, upon which after fourteen yeares reprivall, his head was cut off: at which time, ſuch abundance of bloud iſſued from his veines, that ſhewed he had ſtock of Nature enough left to have contiqued him many yeares in life: though now above threeſcore yeares old, if it had not been taken away by the hand of Violence.

And

And this was the end of the great Sir *Walter Rawlegh*: great ſometimes, in the favour of Queene *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great ſcourge and hate of the *Spaniard*, who had many things to be commended in his life; but none more, than his conſtancy at his death, which he tooke with ſo undaunted a reſolution that he might perceive, he had a certaine expectation of a better life after it: ſo farre he was from holding thoſe Atheiſticall opinions; an aſperſion whereof ſome traducing perſons had caſt upon him.

About this time King *Iames* made a progreſſe to the Vniverſity of *Cambridge*, who delighted with the Diſputations and other ſcholaſticall exerciſes: he ſtayed three whole dayes, and could have been content to have ſtayed as many yeares: for next being a King, he was made to be a Scholler.

In the yeare 1619. being the ſeventeenth yeere of King *Iames* his Raigne, that knot of love which above twenty yeares had beene tyed, betweene him and his Queene was by death diſſolved; for on Tueſday this yeere the ſecond of *March*, Queen *Anne* dyed at *Hampton* Court, whoſe Corps was brought to *Denmark* houſe, and from thence conveighed to *Weſtminſter*: wherein the Royall Chappell, with great ſolemnity it was interred: a Princeſſe very memorable for her vertue, and not a little for her Fortune, who beſides being a Queene, was ſo happy as to be Mother, of ſuch admired children, as ſhe brought into the World. But the diſſolving of this knot caſt the King into an extreame ſickneſſe; and after ſome recovery, into a Relaps: from which notwithſtanding, it pleaſed God to deliver him, as having yet ſome great worke to doe.

This yeare on Munday the third of *May*, one Mr. *Williams* a Barriſter of the Middle Temple, was arraigned at the Kings Bench, for civilling, and for writing Bookes againſt the King: and upon Wedneſday following was hanged and quartered at *Charing Croſſe*.

But an action of another nature was performed this yeare, the ſeventeenth of *July*; not unworthy the relating, which was this; that one *Bernard Calvert* of *Andover*, rode from St. *Georges* Church in *Southwarke* to *Dover*, from thence paſſed by Barge to *Calice* in *France*, and from thence returned back to Saint *Georges* Church the ſame day, ſetting out about three a clock in the morning, and returned about eight a clock in the Evening, freſh and luſtie.

In the yeare 1621. a Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter*; wherein two great examples of Iuſtice were ſhewed; which for future terrour are not unfit to bee here related: One upon Sir *Gyles Montpeſſon*, a Gentleman otherwayes of good parts; but for practiſing ſundry abuſes in erecting and ſetting up new Innes and Alehouſes, and exacting great ſummes of money of people, by pretence of Letters Patents granted to him for that purpoſe, was ſentenced to bee degraded; and diſabled to beare any office in the Common-wealth, though he avoyded the execution by flying the Land; but upon Sir *Erancis Michell*, a Iuſtice of Peace of *Middleſex*, and one of his chiefe Agents, the ſentence of Degradation was executed: and he made to ride with his face to the horſe tayle, thorough the City of *London*. The other example was of Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viſcount, St. *Albans* Lord Chancelour of *England*, who for bribery was put from his place, and committed to the Tower: but after ſome few dayes enlarged: in whoſe place Doctor *Williams* Deane of *Weſtminſter* was made Lord Keeper.

The Count *Palatine*, being now ſtrengthned with the allyance of the King of Great *Brittaine*, was thought a fit man to be King of *Bohemia*, and accordingly was elected, by the States of that Kingdome, but he was no ſooner inveſted in the Crowne; but the Emperour with great Forces aſſaulted him in *Prague*, and not only drove him with his wife and children from thence, but tooke from him alſo his owne Patrimony the *Palatinate*: ſo as though now a King, he was fayne to flye to the States of the Low Countries for a place of reſidence, King *Iames* though he had never given his conſent to the *Palſegraves* taking upon him that Kingdome, as foreſeeing in his great judgement what the event will bee; yet

in this diſtreſſe, he could not forbeare to take care of his daughter, and thereupon ſent Sir *Richard Weſton* the ſame that was after Lord Treaſurer in Embaſſage to the Emperour to ſolicite the reſtoring of the *Palatinate* to the *Palſegrave*; but he returning without ſucceſſe; the King had then conference with Count *Gundomar* the King of *Spaines* Ligier in *England*, what courſe might bee taken to procure the reſtoring it: who made him anſwere, there could be no better courſe than to make a marriage, betweene his ſonne the Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infant* of *Spaine* which he ſaid would eaſily be effected, if the Prince might have leave to make a Iourny into *Spaine*. King *Iames* though he conſidered the inveterate grudges betweene *Spaine* and *England*, and as dangerous it might be, to put the heire of the Kingdom into the *Spaniards* hands, yet grounding himſelf upon the ſaying: *Fide lem ſi putaveris, facies*: and drawne on by the inſinuating ſpeeches of Count *Gundomar*, not perhaps without ſome Indinction in the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was contented at laſt the Prince ſhould goe. And ſo Prince *Charles* ſending his ſhips about, and taking along with him only the Marquis of *Buckingham* (who in the time of his being in *Spaine* was created Duke of *Buckingham*) *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*: (two that were well acquainted with the Language and affaires of *Spaine*) he tooke his Iourney by the way of *France*, went to *Paris*, and ſecretly in diſguiſe to the Court there, where he had the ſight of that Lady, that might well have ſtayed him from going further, but yet on he went.

In the meane time *Gundomar* a cunning man, and one that beſides his Maſters had ends of his owne, and could play his Game no leſſe for his owne profit than his Maſters Honour; as he had perſwaded the King of the facility of the Match with *Spayne*, ſo he perſwaded a certainty of it, eſpecially amongſt Catholick Ladies, by which meanes he brought no ſmall ſtore of Griſts to his owne Mill, receiving from one Lady three hundred pounds to bee made Groome of the Stoole, when the Spaniſh Princeſſe ſhould come; of another a good round ſumme to be made Mother of the Maydes, and of diverſe other the like for other places.

But the Prince being arrived in *Spayne*, was received indeed with all the demonſtrations of love and kindneſſe that could be deviſed, ſo as the charge of his entertainment was ſaid to ſtand the King of *Spayne* in nine and forty thouſand Duckats; but yet his acquaintance with the Lady was much reſtrained, for in all the time of his ſtaying in *Spayne*, which was no leſſe than eight moneths, being from *February* to *October*) he ſaw her but very ſeldome, and that at good diſtances, never ſpake with her but twice, and that before company, beſides that his ſpeeches were limited, how much and what he ſhould ſay, farre from any meanes of tying the knot betweene them which was pretended, what the cauſe ſhould bee was much in obſcurity; ſome thought that a difference betweene the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Count *Olivares*, the King of *Spayne's* great Favorite was a great hinderance of the proceeding: but other, and more likely that the *Spanyard* indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawne the Prince into *Spayne* for other Ends: but what thoſe ends were, was no leſſe uncertaine; (one thought it was done to hold the Prince in a treaty of marriage with a Daughter of *Spayne*, till the Daughters of *France* ſhould bee beſtowed, thereby to keepe him from that allyance, but others and more likely, that the King of *Spayne* entertayned this Treaty with the King of great *Brittayne*, meaning to ſpinne it out till he had compaſſed ſome deſignes in the *Low-Countries*, and the *Palatinate*, at leaſt to make King *Iames*, moſt vigilant for thoſe parts.

But when much time had beene ſpent in protracting, upon pretence of difficultities in obtaining the Popes diſpenſation, King *Iames* partly wearied with delay, but chiefely angred with deluſion, ſent to the Prince, with all ſpeed to returne into *England*; which the Prince preſently ſignified to the King

of

of *Spaine*, and had his leave to depart; but upon promiſe to continue the treaty of the marriage ſtill. Though it was ſaid, the Prince was gone but a few dayes on his journey, when a Poſt was ſent to have ſtayed him, if he had been overtaken. But whether it was ſo or no, it was Gods providence that he came ſafely to his ſhips, and in them ſafely into *England*; arriving at *Portſmouth*, where he was beheld of the people, with no leſſe gladneſſe, than the Sunne after a long Eclipſe: and now his ſafe returning did both juſtifie King *Iames* his judgement in ſuffering him to goe, and the King of *Spaines* juſtice, in ſuffering him to come back: and was cauſe, that the people began to have a better opinion of the Spaniſh faith, than they had before. But now it preſently brake out, that this match with *Spaine* could never take effect: for King *Iames* having received Declarations of the Articles touching the marriage, found many very ſtrict and large for exerciſe of the Catholike Religion: but none at all for reſtitution of the *Palatinate*; which made him ſo much diſcontented, that he preſently brake off all treaty of the marriage; and ſignified as much, not onely to the King of *Spaine*, but to divers other Princes of Chriſtendome: Vpon which breach, two great Points were preſently had in conſultation: One for preparing forces, for recovering the *Palatinate* by way of Armes, which could not be done by a way of friendſhip: and for this purpoſe, a Councell of warre was called, and a propoſition reſolved on both of men and money, for undertaking the enterpriſe: as alſo a great contribution by way of benevolence was collected; towards which, the compiler of this worke, gave himſelfe fifty pounds: as many other farre greater ſummes, though the collection went not thorow the whole Land; by reaſon there was hope given of a peaceable reconcilement: ſo as many that were not over-haſty in their payments eſcaped without contributing at all. The other point was for providing a fit wife for the Prince, in ſome other place. It was ſaid, the States of *Holland* offered a very great portion in marriage to the Prince, if hee would match with ſome Lady of that Countrie: but matches are made in heaven, and there was a young Lady of *France* deſtined to his bed: and for this purpoſe, the Earle of *Carlile*, and the Earle of *Holland* were ſent into *France*, to treat of a marriage with a younger daughter, of the Great *Henrie* the fourth, King of *France* deceaſed, and ſiſter to the preſent King *Lewis*; which marriage afterward took effect, but was not accompliſhed in King *Iames* his dayes; who dyed ſoon after the agreement.

It was now the yeare 1623. in which in *Michaelmas* Terme, there was a Call of fifteene Sarjeants at Law, who kept their Feaſt in the Middle-Temple Hall.

Some Paſſages of ſmall moment I confeſſe are omitted by me, in this Raigne of King Iames, *as whereof, for want of knowing the particulars, I dare not venture upon making the Relation: which if ſome men would have done, the truth of our Chronicles ſhould not have been mingled with ſo many falſities.*

Of his TAXATIONS.

IN his ſecond yeare, in the moneth of *September*, he ſent Privie Seales, to the wealthieſt Citizens of *London*, for monies to bee borrowed of them: and in October following, the cuſtomes of Merchandiſes, both outward and inward were raiſed, and then were letten out to Farme. In a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, the third yeare of his Reigne, there were given him three entire Subſidies, and ſix fifteens by the Temporalty, and by the Clergie foure entire Subſidies. This yeare alſo *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, convicted in the Star-

Chamber, for divers miſpriſions, was fined to pay ten thouſand Marks, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton* for the like offence to pay ſix thouſand Marks, and *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* for offences laid to his charge, to pay thirty thouſand pounds, and ſome yeares after Sir *John Bennet*, Iudge of the Prerogative Court was fined to pay twenty thouſand pounds. In his fourth yeare he repayed threeſcore thouſand pounds to the Citizens of *London*, which the *Londoners* had lent to Queen *Elizabeth*, three yeares before her death; an act by which he got more love, than hee payed money. In his ſeventh yeare hee had ayd throughout *England*, for making his eldeſt Son Prince *Henrie* Knight: which though levied with great moderation, brought him in great ſummes of money. In his eighteenth yeare, in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, the Temporalty gave him two Subſidies, and the Clergie three: and in another Parliament, in the yeare 1623. the Temporalty gave him three ſubſidies; and three fifteens, the Clergy foure Subſidies. Beſides theſe Subſidies hee ſent abroad many great Privie Seales, and had alſo a benevolence throughout the Realme: not without ſome grudging, but without any juſt cauſe; for it ſhould have been remembred, that he took it not out of covetouſneſſe to gather wealth, but out of very neceſſity to ſupply wants: For by his imploying many Embaſſadours in Ordinary, many Extraordinarie, by his neceſſarie bounty to his followers, and by his charge of keeping ſeverall Courts; none of all which hee could avoyd: His expences were farre greater than any of his Predeceſſors had ever beene.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

THE day of his removing from *Charter-houſe*, at his firſt comming into *England*, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that all Monopolies and Protections ſhould ceaſe; as likewiſe all oppreſſions done by Salt-Peeter men, by Purveiers, and Carters. On the 26. of *May* following hee ſet forth a Proclamation, reſtraining all perſons under great penalties from killing of Deere, or any kind of Fowle uſed for Hawking. The ſeventeenth of *May*, Proclamation was made againſt Robberies on the borders: and on the nineteenth of *May*, another for uniting the people inhabiting about the borders of *England* and *Scotland*, to live in love and quietneſſe. In this firſt yeare, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, that neither Arch-biſhop, nor Biſhop, ſhould Alienate, Grant, or Demiſe, or in any ſort convey, no not to the King himſelfe any of the Honours, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcell of the poſſeſſions of his Arch-biſhop, or Biſhoprick: and if any were, it ſhould be utterly voyd, and of no effect, notwithſtanding any former Law, Act, or Ordinance to the contrarie. He then alſo, cauſed himſelf by Proclamation to be Enſtyled King of *Great Britaine*, that the diviſion of *England* and *Scotland* might be no more remembred. In his ſecond yeare, by his Letters Patents he incorporated the Felt-makers of *London*, by the name of Maſter, Wardens, and Communalty of the Art or Myſterie of the Felt-makers, granting them divers privileges and liberties, for their good government of their Corporation. In *Novem.* of his ſecond yeare, were Proclaimed in *London* certaine new pieces of coyne, both of gold and ſilver, with the true valuation and weights of them, according to the Mint of both Nations, *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh*. In a Parliament holden the 3. year of his Reigne, the Oath of Allegiance was deviſed and ordained, and ſoon after miniſtred to all ſorts of people.

This yeere alſo hee made Proclamation to redreſſe the miſimployment of Lands, or goods given to charitable uſes. Alſo this yeare, he ſet forth a Proclamation for bearing of Flags in Ships to be in this manner, that from thenceforth all the Subjects of great *Britaine* ſhould beare in their mayne top, the *Red-Croſſe*, commonly called the Saint *Georges Croſſe*, and the *White Croſſe*, commonly called St. *Andrewes Croſſe* joyned together, and the Subjects of *South-Britaine*

should carry in their Foretop only the red Cross as they were wont; and the Subjects of North-Britaine only the White-Crosse. In this fourth yeare of his Raigne he set forth a Proclamation, commanding all Iesuits, Seminary Priests and Fryers to depart the Realme before the first of August following, and never to returne upon paine of death, according to diverse Statutes in that behalfe provided. In his second yeare he had set forth a Proclamation against Inmates and increase of new buildings, which being little regarded, Now in his fourth yeare he renewed the said Proclamation, adding withall that the Foretops and windowes of all new buildings should be either of Brick or stone; for disobeying whereof, many were called in the Star-chamber, and there fined. In his fifth yeare, he gave order for planting of Mulberry Trees, and breeding of Silke-wormes, that England might be a Country as well of silke as Cloath. In his seventh yeare, he instituted the Order of the Baronets, which hath much degenerated since his institution, and thereby having been devised for the benefit of England, hath caused but little contentment unto England. This yeare also the King himselfe in person came to the Star-chamber, where he had appointed the Lords then to meet, and there, for the better keeping of Coynes of Gold within the Realme, he raised the prizes of them, ordayning the price called the Vnity, which went before but for twenty shillings, to bee currant now for two and twenty, the double Crowne and all other peeces to encrease in the like proportion. In his fifteenth year, he granted to the Apothecaries of London to be a Corporation for themselves, and their successours for ever, and by Letters Patents made them a Body Politick and corporate. In his time by his appointment a strict decree passed in the Star-chamber against Duells and single Combats, and a strict Law was made in Parliament against stabbing with a dagger or knife, making it to be wilfull Murther.

Affayres of the Church in his time.

THe King as a Religious Prince, desiring nothing so much as to settle Peace in the Church, and hearing of some dissentions of his Divines in points of Religion, in the very first yeare of his Raigne, appointed a Conference to bee holden before himselfe at Hampton Court, to which were called diverse Bishops, Deanes, and Doctors of one side, and of the other, foure eminent Divines, namely, Doctor Reynolds, Doctor Sparkes, Mr. Knewstubbs, and Mr. Chaderton: who all meeting before the King the 14 day of January: the King first signified, the cause of his calling them together, and then told them he was there ready to heare, what they could object or say against the present Government of the Church, whereupon Doctor Reynolds being their Foreman, reduced all matters disliked, or questioned to these foure Heads.

1. First that the doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to Gods Word,
2. That good Pastours might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.
3. That the Church Government might be sincerely administred, according to the Word of God.
4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more encrease of Piety.

Out of these Heads, he drew and moved divers points: One that Confirmation might not be by Bishops only, but that every Pastour in his Parish might Confirme, but this was thought to trench too much upon the Iurisdiction of Bishops, and to be a step to bring in a Presbiterian government, which the King much misliked, and the Bishop of Winchester challenged Dr. Reynolds with all his learning to shew, where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used in ancient times, by any other than by Bishops. Another motion of Doctor Reynolds was; That there might be a new Translation of the Bible because the pre-

word corrupt

sers Translations were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the Originall; whereof he alleadged many Examples, particularly that in the 105 *Psalm.* 28. *Verse*, where it is said *They were not Obedient*, when in the Originall it is *They were not Disobedient*. To this it was agreed, that a new Translation should be made: and accordingly soone after was performed by the most learned Divines of the Kingdome, and is that, which is now used. After many other points moved by Doctor *Reynolds*, he came at last to subscription: Intreating it might not be exacted, as heretofore; which many good men refused for these reasons. First, because the Apocriphall Books are by the Common Prayer Book appointed to be read, albeit in some of them there are manifest errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this, the King himself answered, that as he would not wish all Canonicall Books to be read in the Church, unlesse there were one to Interpret: So he would wish no Apocriphall to be read, wherein was any error, but for the other which were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read, seeing there was good use of them, to make up the story of the Persecution of the *Jewes*; but withall he would have the people be taught they were not to teach a man, either to sacrifice to the dead, or to kill himself. The next scruple against subscription was, That in the Common Prayer Book it is twice set down *Jesus said to his Disciples*, when by the Originall Text it is plain *He spake to the Pharisees*. To which it was answered, that for any thing could be gathered by the place he might speake alwell the one as to the other: But the King for more plainnesse sake, willed, that the word *Disciples*, should be omitted, and only the words *Jesus said*, to be printed in a different letter, that it might appeare to be no part of the Text.

Another scruple was, concerning the Crosse in Baptisme, which Doctor *Reynolds* confessed to have ever been used since the Apostles time, at going abroad, or entring into the Church, or at their Prayers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient use of it in Baptisme: to which the Bishop of *Winchester*, answered that in *Constantine's* time it was used in Baptisme, and the Deane of *Westminster* shewed out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen* and others, that in their time it was used *in Exorcismis Lavacro*: which could be nothing but Baptisme: and this the King judged to be antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it still. At last Master *Knewstubs* moved, how far an Ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without impeachment of their Christian liberty? At which the King seemed much moved, and told him, he would not argue that point with him, but answer therein, as Kings are wont to speake in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera*; and therefore, I charge (said he) never speake more to that point, how far you are bound to obey, when the Church hath once ordained it. Doctor *Reynolds* added, that the Crosse should be abandoned, because in the time of Popery, It had been superstitiously abused. To which his Majesty answered, that his very reason was an inducement to him to have it reteyned still: For in asmuch as it was abused (so you say) to superstition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well used before Popery.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of the Surplis, to which the King answered, that seeing it appeared out of Antiquity, that in the celebration of Divine Service, a different habit appertained to the Ministery, and principally of White Linnen; he saw no reason, but that in this Church, as it had been for comelinesse and order sake; it might be still continued.

Last of all, Master *Chaderton*, and Master *Knewstubs* requested, that in regard of some tender Consciences, the Surplis and Crosse in Baptisme, might not be urged: To which the King himselfe answered, if after the Gospels preaching five and forty yeares amongst you, there be any yet in these points unsatisfied, I doubt it proceeds rather out of stubbornesse of opinion, than out of tendernesse of Conscience, and therefore let them conforme themselves, or else they shall heare further of it.

It

It was now observed, that in all their Objections there was not a word spoken against Bishops, nor against the King in Marriage; for D. *Reynolds* himselfe confessed that the King was a very meet Ceremony, and the King affirmed he could not thinke himselfe rightly married, if he had not been married with a Ring. And as for Bishops, he declared himselfe to be verily perswaded, they were *Divina Ordinatione*, and most necessary to Monarchy; and would often say, *No Bishop, no King*. Many other points were handled, as about Predestination, Absolution and Remission of sins, Baptizing by women, about the words in Marriage, *With my body, I thee worship*, the Oath *Ex Officio*, the high Commission and some other; in all which the King gave so good satisfaction, that they all openly promised to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be his mind so have it so: and the King was so admired for his excellent resolutions and Answers, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, undoubtly his Majesty spake by the speciall assistance of Gods Spirit. After this Conference the King in his second year set forth a Proclamation, to confirme the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Book of Common Prayer, in the forme and estate as Queen *Elizabeth* left them.

After this, he sent divers learned Divines into *Scotland*, to have a Conference with the Divines there; and if it might be, to reduce the two Kingdomes to an uniformity of Religion, as he brought them to an Vnion of Possession. And now entring into consideration of his Title, of being *Defender of the Faith*: he conceived it might extend not only to his own Dominions, but in some sort to Neighbouring Countries: If not in Authority, at least in Care: and hereupon hearing that the States of the *Low Countries*, were determined to entertaine one *Vorstius* to be publick Professor of Divinity in *Leyden*, and knowing him, though otherwise a learned man, yet tainted with many erronious opinions, concerning the Essence and Substance of God, making him to be *Quale & quantum*, changing Eternity into Evitternity: teaching Eternity to consist of a number of Ages, and denying God to be *Purus actus*, but to have in some sort *aliquid Diversitatis, & Multiplicitatis in seipso, citam Principium cujusdam mutabilitatis*; He earnestly solicited the States, both by his own Letters, and by his Legier Sir *Ralph Winwood* by no meanes to admit the said *Vorstius*, into that place; least his doctrine having once infected their Country, might soon after spread it selfe into his Dominions. Which Request of his, after much soliciting, the States at length granted, and expelled *Vorstius* from amongst them.

At this time a Synod was assembled at *Dort* in *Holland*, consisting of learned Divines sent from the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhyne*, from *Hassia*, from *Zuitzerland*, from the Church of *Geneva*, from *Berne*, *Embden*, *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Utrecht*, *Frizeland* and other Provinces: Some also sent from *England*, as namely, *George* Bish. of *Landaffe*, *John Davenant* Professor of Divinity in the Vniversity of *Cambridge*, *Samuel Ward* M. of *Sidny* Colledge in *Cambridge*, *Tho. Goad* Dr. of Divinity and *Walter Belcanquell* a *Scotish* man Batchelor of Divinity: Which Synod was Assembled to examine and determine the Doctrine of *Arminius*; first concerning Gods Predestination, Election, and Reprobation, then concerning Christs death and Mans redemption by it; then concerning Mans corruption and conversion to God; then concerning the perseverance of the Saints: In all which points the doctrine of *Arminius* was rejected, as also of *Vorstius*, and the true Doctrine determined by a generall consent, together with the Approbation of the Lords the States, which yet the Papists made so little reckoning of, that one of them in skorne made Eccho to censure it in this Destich:

Dordrasi Synodus? Nodus, Chorus Integer? ager?
Convenus? Lentus. Sessio Strenua? Amen.

But

But who knowes not, that it will never sound well, and that nothing is so obvious in the mouth of an adversary as scandals and invectives.

In the yeare 1616 *Marc. Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato*, in the Territory of *Venice*, came into *England*, leaving his Countrey (as he affirmed) for Religion; whereof he set forth in writing many reasons, and being thereupon entertained by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, was afterward made Deane of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*; in which time he Preached publickly divers times before divers Lords of the Councell, Printed in *London* the first foure of his ten Books, intituled *Of the Common-wealth of the Church*; wherein with great earnestnesse, he maintained the Doctrine and Disciplin of the Protestants: But after all this, whether all he had done was but dissembling from the beginning, or whether out of remorse of Conscience, he repented him of that he had done: after five yeares staying here, he retracted all he had said or written before; which so incensed King *James*, that he commanded him (within three dayes at his perils) to depart the Realme: who thereupon went to *Rome*, and there inveighed as bitterly against the Protestants, as he had done in *England* against the Papists, hoping at least for Pardon, if not for Preferment: but, notwithstanding his Recantation, according to the Law of the Inquisition, having once Revolted, (though now Returned) he suffered the death of an Heretick, though not the shame, had the punishment of a Martyr, but not the honour; and was publickly burnt at *Rome*, yet not burnt a live, but dying in prison and then buried: It is said, is body was afterwards taken up and burned.

In the King's ten yeare, two obstinate *Arrian* Hereticks, *Bartholemew Legat*, and *Edward Wightman*, were burnt for Heresie, *Legat* in *Smithfield* and *Wightman* at *Liechfield*.

In his sixteenth yeare, one *John Traske* a pretended Minister, was Censured in the *Starre-Chamber*, for depraving the Ecclesiasticall Government, and for holding diverse Judaicall Opinions; as, that it was not lawfull to do any thing forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Christian Sabbath; for which he was set on the Pillory at *Westminster*, and from thence whipt to the *Fleet*, and there to remaine prisoner: but three yeares after he writ a Recantation of all his former Heresies and Schismaticall Opinions.

In this King's time, *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being a hunting in a Parke, and shooting at a Deere; his arrow by mischance glaunced and kil'd a man, upon which fact, It was much debated, whether by it he were not became irregular and ought to be deprived of his Archiepiscopall Function as having his hands imbrued (thoug against his will) in bloud: but *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester* standing much in his defence; as likewise Sir *Henry Martin*, the King's Advocate, gave such reasons in mitigation of the Fact, that he was cleared from all imputation of crime; and thereupon adjudged Regular, and in state to continue his Archiepiscopall charge: yet himselfe (out of a religious tendernes of mind) kept the day of the yeare, in which the mischance happen'd, with a solemn Fast, all his life after.

Works of Piety done by this King or by other in his time.

STructures of Piety King *James* made none at all, not many of magnificence, Only the great Banketting House at *White-Hall*, a wall of Brick about His Park at *Greenwich*, another at *Theobalds*, and some little buildings at *Royston* and such like. His greatest Charity was expressed by largesses and pensions: as first where the Gentlemen of his Chappell, being 33 in number, had each of them but 30 pounds a yeare fee, he made it up 40. Then he enlarged the Pensions of his Almes Knights of *Windsor*, being 13 in number, from twelve pence a day to two shillings. Then as he encreased the number of his Yeoman of the Guard, from

from ſevenſcore to two hundred, ſo he increaſed their Penſions, from two ſhillings a day, for three moneths in the ſummer, to ſeven groats a day for ſix moneths in the ſummer. Then, where at his comming, he found but only foure Iudges in the Courts of Law at *Weſtminſter*, hee added a fifth, with the like allowance as the former had; beſides many other Penſions of like nature. But the works of Piety done by others in his time, were very many: whereof we may juſtly ſet in the firſt place, the repairing of *Pauls* Church, begun in his time, though not finiſhed till many yeares after; a worke of as great coſt and labour, as the firſt founding it: towards the furtherance whereof, though many well devoted perſons contributed liberally: yet none was more induſtrious, than the learned Doctor *Laud*, firſt Biſhop of *London*, and after Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie*; who alſo was a bountifull Benefactor to the Colledge of Saint *Johns* in *Oxford*, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predeceſſor next before him, the worthy *George Abbot*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie*, founded a faire Almes-houſe at *Croydon* in *Surrie*: as likewiſe *Robert* the ſecond Earle of *Dorſet*, founded another in *Suſſex*; to the maintenance whereof, hee gave Lands to the value of three hundred pounds a yeare. But of all the Almes-houſes that were ever founded in Chriſtendome, there is none I thinke can parallell that of *Thomas Sutton* Eſquire. This man borne at *Snayth* in *Lincoln-ſhire*, having alwayes lived a Batchelour, and by ſundrie imployments, and parcimony, being growne to great wealth, bought of the right Honourable, *Thomas* Earle of *Suffolk*, his Manſion houſe, called the *Charter-houſe*, neare to Smithfield in *London*, and out of a pious mind converted it into an Almes-houſe, by the name of *Suttons* Hoſpitall, endouſing the ſame with above three thouſand pounds of yearely rent: wherein are maintained foureſcore poore men, with convenient lodging, dyet, and allowance of money for apparell: alſo forty poore children with the like proviſion, and a Grammer Schoole, with a Maſter and Vſher to teach them: over all whom, hee ordained a learned man to bee Maſter of the houſhold, and to be choſen by the Governours, whom he appoynted for the preſent, by the Authority of the Kings Letters Patents, to be *George*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie*, *Thomas* Lord *Elſmere*, Lord Chancellour, *Robert* Earle of *Salisburie* Lord Treaſurer, *John* Biſhop of *London*, *Lancelot* Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *Edward Cook*, chiefe Iuſtice of the *Common Pleas*, Sir *Thomas Foſter*, a Iudge of the *Common Pleas*, Sir *Henrie Hubbard* the Kings Atturney generall, Doctor *Overall* Deane of *Pauls*, Doctor *Mountaine* Deane of *Weſtminſter*, *Henrie Thurſby* Eſquire, Maſter of the *Chancerie*, *Richard Sutton* Eſquire, Auditor of the Impreſts, *Fefforie Nightingall* Eſquire, *John Low* Gentleman, *Thomas Browne* Gentleman, and Maſter of the Houſhold for the time being, to bee alwayes one: and as any of theſe ſixteene Governours ſhould dye, the Survivers to make preſent addition of others. Next to this, was a faire Colledge in *Oxford* founded by *Nicholas Wilbe* Eſquire, and called after his name. About this time alſo *Edward Allin* of *Dulwich* in *Surrie*, founded a faire Hoſpitall at *Dulwich* for ſix poore men, and ſix poor women, and for twelve poore children, from the age of foure or ſix yeares, to be there maintained and taught till the age of foureteen or ſixteen, and to have a Schoolemaſter with dyet, and a convenient ſtipend. This man may be an example, who having gotten his wealth by Stage-playing, converted it to this pious uſe, not without a kind of reputation to the Society of Players. In this Kings time alſo, *William Cambden*, King at Armes, founded an Hiſtorie Profeſſor in *Oxford*, to which hee gave the Manner of *Bexley* in *Kent*, which ſome yeares expired, will be worth foure hundred pounds a yeare. In his tenth yeare, Sir *Baptiſt Hicks*, one of the Iuſtices of Peace in *Middleſex*, who was after made Viſcount *Cambden*, built a faire Seſſions houſe of Brick and Stone in St. *Johns* ſtreet, which by the Iuſtices was called after his name, *Hicks* Hall, a great convenience for the Iuſtices, who ſate before in a common Inne, called the Caſtle. Hee alſo founded

founded a faire Hoſpitall of Free ſtone at *Cambden* in *Glouceſter-ſhire*, for ſix men and ſix wowomen, allowing each of them a yearely Gowne, and two ſhillings ſix pence a week, with two roomes and a garden. In this Kings time, *George Paſyn* Citizen and Grocer of *London*, gave to good uſes, three thouſand an ſix hundred pounds, whereof twelve hundred pounds to the two Vniverſities, nine hundred pounds for an Almes-houſe, and a certaine ſumme of money to buy two Bells, and make a Chime in *Bow-Church*. Alſo *Thomas Teaſdale* of *Glympton* in the Countie of *Oxford* Gentleman, gave five thouſand pounds to purchaſe lands, for perpetuall maintenance of ſeven fellowes, and Six Scholars, to be placed in *Baylyoll* Colledge in *Oxford*, and to be choſen thither from time to time, out of the Free-Schoole of *Abbington* in *Berk-ſhire*: to which Schoole he alſo gave lands for maintenance of an Vſher. In this Kings time alſo, Sir *Mermaduke Darrell*, being Lord of *Fulmer*, a Town in *Buckingham ſhire*, where was an old ruinous Church, ſtanding a mile diſtant from the Towne, pulled downe that old Church, and at his owne charge builded a faire new one in the Towne, and furniſhed it with a Font, a Pulpit, and all Ornaments neceſſarie. Alſo *Thomas Watſon* of *Halſtead*, in the County of *Kent*, Eſquire, new builded a faire Chappell, on the North ſide of the pariſh Church of *Halſtead*, of Free-ſtone from the ground, and gave to the Church foure new Bells, and two Pulpits. In his time alſo Doctor *Aylmer* Biſhop of *London*, and *Elizabeth* Counteſſe Doweger of *Shrewesburie*, gave certaine ſummes of money towards the better maintenance of Sermons hereafter at *Pauls* Croſſe: As likewiſe *Thomas Ruſſell* Draper gave ten pounds a yeare for ever, to be given to unbeneficed Miniſters, that ſhould preach there: and to the ſame uſe, *George Biſhop* Stationer of *London*, gave ten pounds a yeare more. In this Kings time alſo, the Citizens of *London* new builded *Algate*, where pulling downe the old Gate, they found many ancient *Romane* Coynes.

On the fifteenth of *June*, 1614. dyed *Henrie* Earle of *Northampton*, who built from the ground a houſe neare *Charing-Croſſe*, and dying, was buried in the ancient Chappell of *Dover* Caſtle, who in his life time founded three faire Hoſpitalls, and endowed them with large maintenance for ever, one at *Ryſing* in *Norfolke* for twelve poore women, and a Governeſſe, a ſecond at *Clun* in *Shrop-ſhire*, for twelve poore men and a Governour: The third at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, for a Governour, and twenty poore Almes-men. In this Kings time alſo, Maſter *Robert Dowes* of *London* Merchant Tayler, give a competant maintenance for ever, unto *Sepulchers* pariſh, for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding ſome Devine to come to the priſon of *New-gate*, the mid-night before Execution, and there to ring a hand Bell, and put the priſoners in mind of their approaching death, with a Chriſtian remembrance and exhortation; and the next morning to toll the great Bell, from ſixe a Clock till ten, and then to ring it out when the Execution ſhould be paſt. He alſo eſtabliſhed a free ſinging Schoole, in Chriſts Hoſpitall: for the better education of the poore children there: beſides many other good deeds of Almes. About the ſame time, *Robert Peake* of *London* Gold-ſmith, gave to *Sepulchers* Church a Communion Table of two yards long, and three quarters and a halfe broad, richly guilded over, and at every corner imboſt with plates of ſilver. In this Kings foureteenth yeare, *William Jones* of *London* Merchant, gave about eight thouſand pounds to found a Free-Schoole in *Wales*, where he was born, with Almes-houſes and Penſioners in *London*: and a hundred pounds a yeare for ever to a learned Preacher in *London*: orduyning all things to bee ordered by the Company of Haberdaſhers, whereof himſelfe was free. This yeare alſo the old ruinous gate, called *Alderſgate* was quite taken downe, and new builded from the foundation, towards the building whereof, *William Parker*, Merchant Taylor of *London*, gave a thouſand pounds. In this Kings time alſo, was erected a building neare to *Chelſey*, with a purpoſe to be a Colledge for Devines to ſtudy the Controverſies of Religion,

Religion: but upon the ſecond thoughts, the Cage indeed ſtands finiſhed, but no Birds have ever yet beene brought to ſing in it; and perhaps never will. If any other deeds of Almes, or publike benefit were done in this Kings time, as perhaps there were many, the Reader may be pleaſed both here and in other Kings Reignes, to adde them, as hee meets with them: for partly to this end, I have digeſted this Chronicle into ſuch ſeverall Heads and Chapters.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his firſt yeare, on the ſeven and twentieth of *April*, thirteen perſons were ſlaine, by miſ-fortune with Gun-powder, at the Gun-powder Mill in *Redriffe*, and much other hurt done in divers places. This yeare alſo, the plague in *London* was ſo great, that from the three and twentieth of *December*, 1602. to the two and twen ieth of *December* following, there dyed in *London*, and the Liberties, eight and thirty thouſand, two hundred and foure and forty, whereof the Plague thirty thouſand, five hundred threeſcore and eighteen of them in one week, three thouſand foureſcore and tenne, where the next yeare after, though the City were encreaſed with great number of ſtrangers, yet there dyed that yeare of all diſeaſes, within *London* and the Liberties, but onely foure thouſand, two hundred threeſcore and three perſons. In the ſecond yeare of his raigne, a ſtrange accident happened, to the terrour of all bloudy murtherers, which was this; one *Anne Waters* enticed by a lover of hers, conſented to have her husband ſtrangled, and then buried him ſecretly under the dung-hill in a Cow-houſe; whereupon the man being miſſing by his neighbours, and the wife making ſhew of wondring what was become of him: It pleaſed God, that one of the inhabitants of the Towne, dreamed one night, that his neighbour *Waters* was ſtrangled, and buried under the dung-hill in a Cow-houſe; and upon declaring his dreame, ſearch being made by the Conſtable, the dead body was found, as he had dreamed: and thereupon the wife was apprehended, and upon examination, confeſſing the fact, was burned. And now what hope can murtherers have of being concealed, when they are ſubject to be diſcovered by any mans dreame. The nineteenth of *Ianuarie* in his third yeare, a great *Porpus* was taken at *Weſtham*; in a ſmall Creek, a mile and a halfe within the Land: and within few dayes after, a Whale came up within eight miles of *London*, whoſe body was ſeen divers times above water, and judged to exceed the length of the largeſt ſhip in the River: but when ſhee taſted the freſh water, and ſcented the Land, ſhe returned into the Sea. In his fourth yeare, being the yeare 1607. a mighty weſt wind brought in the ſea into the River of *Severne*, with ſuch violence, that in ſome places of *Somerſet-ſhire* and *Gloceſter-ſhire*, the waters in divers Towns and Villages, grew higher than the tops of their houſes, ſo as (notwithſtanding all courſes that could be taken, there were drowned in *Somerſet-ſhire* 80. Perſons, and damages done to the value of twenty thouſand pounds. At *Coventrie* alſo, the ſeventh of *April* ſo ſuddaine a flood came into the Suburbs and City, that in one houre it roſe in ſome places above 3 yards in height, to the great damage and hurt of many, and that which is much ſtrange, as it ſuddenly came, ſo it ſuddenly abated: ſo as in foure houres and a halfe, it both came and went away. In his 6. year, being 1608. a froſt began in *Decem.* which continued till *April* following, with ſuch violence that not onely the *Thames* was ſo frozen, that Carts loden were driven over as on dry land, but many fowles and Birds periſhed, as alſo much herbage in gardens, eſpecially Artichoaks and Roſemarie were deſtroyed. This year alſo the 11. of *April* a Malt-houſe in the Town of St. *Edmonds berry* being by chance ſet on fire, continued burning till it had conſumed 160. houſes: but by the Kings bountifulneſſe, (giving 500. loads of timber) and the City of *Londons* reliefe, the

Towne was forthwith new builded, in a fairer manner than it was before. In the yeare 1613, on the seventeenth of *April*, in the parish of *Standish* in *Lancashire*, a mayden child was borne, having foure legges, foure armes, two bellies joyned to one back: one head with two faces, the one before, the other behind, like the picture of *Janus*

This year also on the 26. of *June*, in the parish of *Christs-Church* in *Hampshire*, on *John Hitchel* a Carpenter, lying in bed with his wife & a yong child by them, was himself & the child both burned to death with a suddain lightning, no fire appearing outwardly upon him, and yet lay burning for the space of almost three dayes, till he was quite consumed to ashes. This yeare also on the seventh of *August*, the Towne of *Dorchister* was quite consumed with fire, begun on the house of a Tallow Chandler, destroying all the houses, except a few neare the Church, and all their wares and goods, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, yet not any man or woman perished. About the same time also, the Play-house called the Globe upon the Banks side neare *London*, was quite consumed with fire, by discharging a Piece of Ordnance, and yet no man hurt: and about foure years after, a new built Play-house, neare *Golding-lane*, called the *Fortune*, was by negligence of a Candle, cleane burnt to the ground. In the year 1614. the Town of *Stratford* upon *Avon*, was burned: and lest the water should be behind in doing of mischiefe, so great Iundations were at this time in *Norfolke* and *Lincoln-shire*, that the sea entred twelve miles into the land.

1618 In the yeare 1618, on the 18. of *Novemb.* a Blazing star bgan to be seene in the South-east, about five a clock in the morning, the flame or streame whereof, enclined towards the west. This comet, in the opinion of D. *Bembridge*, the great Mathematician of *Oxford*, was as far above the Moon, as the Moon is above the earth: what it portended is onely known to God: but the sequell of it was, that infinite slaughters and devastations followed upon it, both in *Germany* and other Countries. In the year 1623, on *Friday* the 24. of *October*, a *Roman* Catholike Priest, preached in the after-noon, at *Hunsdon* house in the Black Friers in *London*, in an upper chamber, where there were assembled above 300 men and women, when about the middle of the Sermon, a great part of the Floore brake, and fell down with such violence, that it brake down the next floore under it: in the fall whereof, were slain the Preacher, and almost 100. of his Auditors, besides as many more hurt. In this Kings time course paper, commonly called white brown paper was first made in *Engl.* specially in *Surry*, & about *Winsor*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Anne*, the daughter of *Frederick*, the second King of *Denmarke*, whose marriage was there solemnized in the yeare 1589. By whom he had borne in *Scotland*, two Sons, *Henrie* who dyed before him, and *Charles* who succeeded him in the Crown; and one daughter named *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* the fifth of that name, Count *Palatine* of the *Rheine*, by whom she had many children, both Sons and Daughters. King *James* had also by his wife Queen *Anne*, two other daughters borne in *England*, the Lady *Marie*, and the Lady *Sophia*, who both dyed young, the Lady *Marie* at about three yeares old, the Lady *Sophia* the next day after she was borne, and were both of them buried with great solemnity, in the Chappell Royall at *Westminster*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature somewhat higher than ordinary, of a well compacted body, of an Ambourne haire, of a full and pleasing visage; in his latter dayes enclining to be fat and burley, of bodily exercises, he tooke most delight in hunting; which yet (some thought) he used rather as a retiring himselfe

from the importunity of State affaires, than for any great pleasure hee took in it. It is said, he had such a fashion in riding, that it could not so properly bee said he rid, as that his horse carried him; for hee made but little use of his Bridle, and would say, a horse never stumbled, but when hee was reined. Hee was of an admirable pregnancie of wit, and that pregnancy much improved by continuall study from his child-hood: by which, he had gotten such a promptnesse in expressing his mind, that his extemporall speeches were little inferiour to his premeditated writings. Many no doubt had read as much, and perhaps more than he; but scarce ever any concocted his reading into judgement as he did: by which hee became so judicious, that though hee could not Prophesie, yet he could presage; and his Conjectures were little lesse than Oracles. In all the Liberall Sciences, hee was (we may say) a Master of Arts: but in Divinity, a Doctor, as he made appeare in the Conference at *Hampton* Court, and is seene still by the learned Writings he hath left behind him. And as for that part of the Politicks, which concernes Monarchie, *Regere Imperio populos*, which himselfe used to call King Craft: in this he excelled. Hee knew how to take the inclinations of the people at their first bound, and never suffer them to rise higher, than hee could well reach them: nor to grow stronger, than he could either alter or divert them. He would be sure to keep his Subjects in a temper of contentment; which if he could not doe by preventives, he would by lenitives. He was so wise, that hee could dissemble, without seeming a Dissembler: be free in opening his mind, and yet keep counsaile. He was as a provident Pilot, that in a calme would provide for a storme: and you should never finde him committing the fault of *Non putaram*. He was both *Marti & Mercurio*; but not *tam Marti quam Mercurio*, as being of his temper who said, *Cedant Arma Togæ*: and indeed, seeing peace is the end of both. It were not wisedome to seeke it by Armes, if it may be had by the Gowne, as it is in the *Aphorisme*, *Consilio omnia experiri prius, quam Armis sapientem Decet*. That which was bountie in him being a King, would have beene frugality, if he had beene a private person, there being of both, one radicall reason. Of all the Morrall vertues, he was eminent for chastity; in which the Poet seemes to include all vertue: where he saith;

Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen.

By *nulli casto*, meaning no vertuous person; it was a manifest argument of his, being an excellent Prince, that comming next to the admirable Queen *Elizabeth*, which was, in a manner to compare them together: yet there appeared no inequallity, that it might not untruely be said, King *Iames* was but the continuation of Queen *Elizabeth*, the same vertue, though different sexes: and now to expresse his Character in a word, which worthily might be matter for many volumes: He was to his wife a most loyall husband, to his children a most loving father, to his servants a most bountifull Master, to his Subjects a most just prince, to all Princes neare him a most peaceable neighbour; that more justly it may be said of him, than of whom it was said, *Quæ te tam læta tulerunt sæcula?* a Prince after *Plato's* owne heart, for his learning, and which is infinitly more worth, after Gods owne heart, for his Religiousnesse and Piety.

Of his Death and buriall.

OF his death, there were many scandalous rumours spread, and some were so impudent, as to write that he was poysoned, as the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquis *Hambleton* had been before: but King *James* being dead, and his body opened, there was found no signe at all of poyson, his inward parts being all sound, but that his Spleen was a little faulty, which might bee cause enough to cast him into an Ague: The Ordinary high way,

especially in old bodies to a naturall death: Of this ague after a months anguishing, notwithstanding all the remedies that could be applyed, he departed this life at *Theobalds*, on the 27 of *March*, in the yeare 1625, in the 59 yeare of his age, when he had Raigned two and twenty years compleat. His body for the greater State, was convayed by Torche light, from *Theobalds* to *Denmark* house; who having rested from the 23 of *April*, to the 7 of *May*: it was carryed to *Westminster*, and there interred in the Chappell Royall with great solemnity, but with greater lamentation: there being scarce any of the infinite multitude that was present, of whom it might not be said,

Multa gemens, largoque humectat flumine Vultum.

Of Men of note in his time.

MIlitary Men of Note, in a time of Peace, as the whole Raigne of King *Iames* was, we have no reason to expect; yet if we look amongst the Voluntaries that went to the Schoole of War in the *Low-Countryes*; we shall find a payre of brothers, that may stand in comparison, with the greatest Souldiers in the most Martiall times, S. *Francis Vere*, who as another *Hannibal*, who with his own eye, could see more in the Martiall Discipline, than common men can do with two; and Sir *Horatio Vere*, who as another *Philopæmen*, contained in a very little body, a very great, both skill and courage. But for Men of Note in Learning: as being in the time of a most learned Prince, there was never greater store, of whom these for example. In curiousnesse of Preaching, there was Doctor *Andrewes* Bishop of *Winchester*; who hath left to posterity, a Century of such golden Sermons, that shews, he as well deserved the name of *Chrysostome*, as he that had it. In multiplicity of Reading, there was Doctor *Reynolds* of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*; who seemed as it were, a living Library, and one would have thaught his Memory to be a perfect *Index* of all the Books had ever beene written. In knowledge of Law there was Sir *Edward Cook*, Chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench; who hath written such excellent Commentaries of the Law, that he seemes as another *Bartholus* or *Baldus* amongst us. In Elegancy of writing, there was Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount Saint *Albans*; who besides his profounder Books of *Novum Organum*, hath written the Reigne of K. *Henry* the 7, in so sweet a style, that like *Manna*, it pleaseth the tast of all palats. In the skil of Antiquities, there was *William Camden*, King at Armes, who hath set forth the Description of *Brittaine*, and the life of Q. *Eliz.* in so lively colours, that he seems to have brought *Brittaine* out of darknesse into light, and to keep Q. *Eliz.* alive after her death. And to speake it in a word, the Trojan Horse was not fuller of Heroick Grecians, than K. *Iames* His Raigne was full of men excellent in all kinds of Learning. And here I desire the Reader leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance, the one was Mr. *John Donne*, who leaving *Oxford*, lived at the *Inner of Court*, not dissolute, but very neat; a great visiter of Ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great writer of conceited Verses; untill such time as King *Iames* taking notice of the pregnancy of his Wit, was a meanes that he betooke him to the study of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctour, was made Deane of *Paules*; and became so rare a Preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was Sir *Henry Wootton*, (mine old acquaintance also, as having been fellow pupils, and chamber fellows in *Oxford* divers yeares together.) This Gentlemen was imployed by K. *Iames* in Embassage to *Venice*, and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter man, for matching the Capriciousnes of the *Italian* Wits: a man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

Of the Englisſh Plantation in the Indies, that were in King IAMES his time.

AND now we are come to a time, wherein we may very neare ſay as much of King *Iames*, as was ſaid of *Auguſtus Caeſar*: *Super & Garamantas & Indos profert Imperium*. In this better, that where *Auguſtus* did it by the violent way of Armes, King *Iames* did it by the civill way of Plantations: for in his dayes began the great plantation of the *Engliſh* in the *Indies*; and muſt be acknowledged the proper effect of his peaceable Government. The firſt Plantation of the *Engliſh* in the *Indies*, was that which is now called *Virginia*, in memorie of the Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*: but called before *Wingandacoa*. It was firſt diſcovered by Sir *Walter Rawlegh*, in the yeare 1584; to whom the firſt Letters Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: but yet no Colony was ſent thither, till the yeare 1606. It is a Countrie in *America*, between the degrees of 34, and 45, of the North Latitude: but that part of it which is planted by the *Engliſh*, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, and 39. It is no Iſland, as many have imagined, but a part of the Continent adjoyning to *Florida*. The firſt and chiefe Towne made here by the *Engliſh*, is called *Iames Towne*, in honour of the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty. It is a Countrie abounding with all ſorts of Fiſh and Fowle; ſo fruitfull, that it yeelds thirtie and ſometimes fortie Buſhells of Corne upon an Acre: and that, (which to us is more ſtrange) hath three harveſts in a yeare, the Corne being ſowed, ripe, and reaped, in little more than two moneths. Many Plantations had beene attempted here before, but came to nothing: the firſt to any purpoſe was in the yeare 1607. under the conduct of Captaine *Goſnoll*, *Iohn Smith*, and Mr. *Edw. Maria Winkfield*, who carried a Colonie thither of a hundred perſons; but of theſe, many dying of ſickneſſe, or ſlaine by the Savages, a new ſupply came in the yeare 1608. of a hundred and twenty perſons, under the Conduct of Captaine *Nelſon*. After which, was ſent another ſupply of threeſcore and ten perſons: and in the yeare 1609. a third ſupply came of five hundred perſons, under a Patent granted to Sir *Thomas Weſt*, Lord *de la Ware*, but conducted thither by Sir *Thomas Gates*, *Gates*, Sir *George Sommers*, and others. In the yeare 1611. was a fourth ſupply of three hundred men under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Gates*. In the yeare 2612. two other ſupplies were ſent of forty men in each; and now was the Lotterie ſpoken of before granted by the King, for further ſupplies of this Plantation. After this Maſter *Samuel Argall* being appoynted Governour in in the yeare 1618. the Lord *De la Ware* came thither with a ſupply of two hundred people; but in his ſtay there, dyed. After this, in the yeare 1620. were ſent thither eleven Ships, with twelve hundred and ſixteene perſons, and now they founded themſelves into Corporations. In the yeare 1621. Sir *Francis Wiat* was ſent thither Governour, with thirteene hundred men, women, and children, and now they founded Schooles, and Courts of Iuſtice; and the Plantation was extended a hundred and forty miles up, on the River of both ſides. But now when the *Engliſh* were ſecure, and thought of nothing but peace, the Savages came ſuddenly upon them, and ſlew them, three hundred and ſeven and forty men, women and children. For repairing of which loſſe, the City of *London* ſent preſently over a ſupply of a hundred men. This maſſacre happened, by reaſon they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above thirty ſeverall places, which made them now, upon conſultation, to reduce them all to five or ſix places, whereby they may better aſſiſt each other: ſince which time, they have alwayes lived in good ſecurity. And thus much for *Virginia*.

Next was the Plantation of the Iſland called *Barmudas*, ſo called of a Spaniſh Ship,

ſhip, called *Bermudas*, which was there caſt away, carrying Hogs to the Weſt *Indies*, that ſwam a ſhoare, and there increaſed. The firſt Engliſhman that entred this Iſle, was one *Henry May* in the yeare 1591: but in the yeare 1610, Sir *George Somers* was ſent thither, who dying there, in memory of his Name, the Iſles have ever ſince been called *Somers Iſles*. In the yeare 1612. One Mr. *Moore* landed there with 60 perſons, and then builded the chiefe Town there called S. *Georges*, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The ſame yeare a ſupply of 30 more perſons was ſent thither, and the yeare after 60 more, under one Mr. *Bartlet*; with a ſhew to ſurvey the land; but with a purpoſe indeed to get from thence a great lump of *Amber-greece*, and no leſſe than 80 pound weight, that had been found & taken up in the Iſland ſome yeares before, and was there ſtill reteined. Awhile after this, came a Ship called the *Bleſsing*, with a hundred paſſengers; and two dayes after came the *Star*, with a 180 more; and within 14 dayes after that again came thither the *Margaret* and two Frigates, with 130 paſſengers: So as now they began to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into ſhares. In the yeare 1616, Captain *Daniel Tuckard* was ſent from *Virginia* to be Governour there, and now it began indeed to be a Plantation; for now they began to build them houſes: and now was ſent from thence into *England*, a Ship fraighted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at 2 s. 6 d. the pound, though ſold here oftentimes for *Verinos* at great rates. In the yeare 1619, Captain *Nathaniel Butler* was ſent Governour, with new ſupplies; in whoſe time they build them a Church; held Aſſizes for Criminall Cauſes, twice a yeare; and began to have Parliaments as in *England*: and now in the Ship called the *Magazin*, came diverſe Gentlemen of good faſhion, with their wives and families: ſo as now their number, was no fewer then fifteen hundred people: Diſperſed twenty miles in length. In the yeare 1622, came Governour M. *John Bernard*, bringing with him a ſupply of a 140 perſons; but he and his wife dying preſently upon their comming: M. *John Harriſon* in the yeare 1623 was choſen Governour. Theſe Iſles of *Bermudas* are in 32 degrees of Northern latitude: So as they are diſtant from *Virginia*, at leaſt 500 leagues, and from *England* above three thouſand three hundred. This Country is of a moſt healthfull Ayre, abounding with all ſorts of Fowles, Birds and Fiſh; and where great pieces of *Amber-greece* are oftentimes found, which is valued there at no leſſe than three pounds an ounce. And thus much concerning the ſtate of *Bermudas*, till the yeare 1624.

Next comes the *Plantation* of *New England*, concerning which, we muſt firſt know, that King *James* in the yeare 1606, granted two Letters Patents for *Plantations* in *Virginia*, one to the City of *London*; another to the City of *Briſtow*, *Exceter* and *Plimmouth*; with power to plant Colonies any where between the Degrees of 38 and 44, provided there ſhould be at leaſt a 100 miles diſtance between the two Colonies. So as the firſt Colony was from the City of *London*, and is that which is called *Virginia*. The Second Colony was from *Briſtow* and the other Towns, and is that which is now called New *England*, and is ſcituate between the Degrees of 41 and 45: the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line. And now to ſpeak a litrle of the Country, there are on the Sea Coaſt, 25 excellent good Harbours, in ſome whereof there is Anchorage for 500 ſayle of Ships of any burthen. The Earth as fruitful and the Ayre as healthfull, as any part of the World: abounding with all ſorts of Grain, Fowles and Fiſh: Many of ſuch kinds as are to us unknown, yet excellent meat: Many Voyages had been made for the perfect diſcovery of the Countrey: Many Attempts for ſetling a Plantation there: Many Miſcariages and Diſaſters in making the attempts: but all at laſt came to this, that in the yeare 1624 (which is the limit of our Narration) there was a Plantation ſetled; though but a ſmall one: but a few yeares after (by the ſending forth of new ſupplyes) encreaſed to ſo many thouſands, that if God continue to proſper it, as he hath begun: the *New England* in a few ages may prove as populous as the *Old*; and the King of *England*

land likely to have as many and greater Crowns in the *Indies*, than he had in His Realmes of Great *Brittaine* and *Ireland*. But seeing of these and all other *English* Plantations in the *Indies*, whereof there are many large discourses written by divers Authors; It should be more than supperfluous to speake more of them in this place: It is sufficient to have shewed, that King *James* had the honour, to have them setled in His time, and under the Influence of His peaceable Government.

Of the Earles *and* Barons *made by* King James.

IN former Kings Raignes, the making of Earles and Barons was but rare, and therefore they are fitly set down, at the severall times of their making; but in King *James* His Raigne, there were so many made, that it may not be unfit, to set them down in a Cathalogue together.

In His first yeare were made foure Earles and nine Barons: namely, *Henry Howard*, yonger brother of the last Duke of *Norfolk*, was made Earle of *Northampton*: *Thomas Sackvile* Lord *Buckhurst*, was made Earle of *Dorset*; and shortly after *Charles Blount* Lord *Montjoy*, was made Earle of *Devonshire*, and *Thomas Howard* Baron of *Walden*, was made Earle of *Suffolk*: *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, (afterward by King *Charles* made E. of *Stamford*) *Henry Danvers* was made Baron of *Dansley*, (afterwards by K. *Charles* made Earle of *Danby*) Sir *John Peter* of *Essex*, was made B. of *Writtle*: Sir *W. Russell* was made Baron of *Thornaugh*: Sir *Thomas Gerard* was made Baron of *Gerards Bromly* in *Staffordshire*: Sir *Robert Spencer* was made B. of *Wormelayton* in the County of *Warwick*: Sir *Thomas Egerton* was made B. of *Elesmore*: and Sir *Robert Cecill* was created B. of *Henden* in *Rutlandshire*: and Sir *John Harington* was made Baron of *Exton*.

In His second yeare on the 20 of *May* were made foure Barons and one Viscount: Sir *Robert Sidney* was made Baron of *Pensburst*: Sir *William Knowles*, Baron of *Grayes*: Sir *Edw. Wotton*, Baron of *Marley*: and *Mildmay Fane*, Lord *de Spencer*; and in *August* the same yeare, Sir *Robert Cecill* Baron of *Essenden*, was created Viscount *Cranbourne*.

In His third yeare of the 4 of *May*, were created three Earles, and one Viscount, and foure Barons; namely, Sir *Robert Cecill* Viscount *Cranbourne*, was created E. of *Salisbury*: Sir *Thomas Cecill* his elder brother L. *Burghley*, was created E. of *Exeter*; and Sir *Philip Herbert*, yonger brother to the E. of *Pembrok*, was created E. of *Montgomery*: *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Pensburst*, was created Viscount of *Lisle*: Sir *John Stanhope*, was made Baron of *Harington*: Sir *George Carew*, Baron of *Clopton*: Mr. *Thomas Arundell* of *Devonshire*, Baron of *Warder* and Master *William Cavendysh*, Baron of *Hardrick*: Hardwicke.

In his fourth yeare, on the fourth of *July*, Sir *Thomas Knevett*, was called by writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Estrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title: and on the seventh of *September*, Sir *Iervys Clifton* was likewise called by writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Layton Bromsensold*, and was thereby Baron of that Title.

In his ninth yeare, upon *Easter-munday*, Sir *Robert Carre* was created Viscount *Rochester*: and

In his tenth yeare, on the fourth of *November*, was created Earle of *Somersett*.

In his eleventh yeare, *Lewis Steward* Duke of *Lenox*, was made Earle of *Richmond*, and after, Duke of *Richmond*.

In

In his thirteenth yeare, on the 29. of *Iune*, Sir *Iames Hay* of *Scotland* was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about three yeares after, was made Viſcount *Doncaſter*, and Sir *Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyng*, (afterward by K. *Charles*, made Earle of *Carnarvan*.)

In his fourteenth yeare, on the 9. of *Iuly*, Sir *Iohn Hollis* was created Baron of *Haughton*, and Sir *Iohn Roper* of *Kent*, was made Baron of *Tenham*: and on the 17. of *Auguſt*, Sir *George Villiers* was created Baron of *Whadden* and Viſcount *Villiers*, and on the 7. of *November*, *Thomas Egerton* L. *Elſemore*, was created Viſcount *Brackley* (and he dying ſoon after, his ſonne *Iohn* was created Earle of *Bridgewater*, *William* L. *Knowles* was created Viſcount *Wallingford*, and Sir *Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*: On the 5 of *Ianuary*, the Viſcount *Villiers* was created Earle of *Buckingham*, and on the third of *March*, Sir *Edward Noell* of *Rutland-ſhire*, was made Baron of *Rydlington*.

In his fifteenth yeare, on *New-yeares* day, Sir *George Villiers* Earle of *Buckingham* was created Marquis of *Buckingham*, and on the 12 of *Iuly*, Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord Chancellour, of *England*, was created Baron of *Verulam*, and not long after, Viſcount Saint *Albans*. Alſo in the Summer of this year, the King created foure Earles and one Counteſſe: namely, the Viſcount *Liſle* was made Earle of *Leyceſter*, the Lord *Compton* was made Earle of *Northampton*, the Lord *Rich* was made Earle of *Warwick*, the Lord *Cavendiſh* was made Earle of *Devonſhire*, and the lady *Compton* wife to Sir *Thomas Compton*, and mother of the Marquis of *Buckingham* was created Counteſſe of *Buckingham*.

In his ſixteenth yeare, on the 25 of *November*, Sir *Iohn Digby* Vicechamberlaine to the King was created Baron of *Shirbourne*, by Patent to him and his heires Males.

In his ſeventeenth yeare, in the moneth of *Iune* Eſme ſteward Lord *d'Aubigny*, younger brother Duke of *Lenox*, was created Earle of *March*, *Iames* Marquis *Hammilton* was created Earle of *Cambridge*, and Sir *Iohn Villiers* brother to the Marquis of *Buckingham* was Baron of *Stok* and Viſcount *Purbeck*.

In his eighteenth yeare, *William Cavendiſh* was created Viſcount *Mansfield*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earle of *Newcaſtle*) and on *Munday* the fourth of *December*, Sir *Henry Montague*, being firſt made Lord Treaſurer, was created Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Viſcount *Mandevile*, and not long after, Earle of *Manchester*, and Sir *Iohn Ramſey* Viſcount *Haddington* of *Scotland*, was created Earle of *Holderneſſe*, and *William Fielding* was created Baron of *Newhenam*, and Viſcount *Fielding*.

In his ninteenth yeare, *Henry Cary* was made Lord *Cary* of *Leppington*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earle of *Munmouth*, Sir *Edward Mountague* elder Brother to the Viſcount *Mandevile* was made Baron of *Boulton*, the Lord *Darcie* of *Eſſex*, was created Viſcount *Colcheſter*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earle *Rivers*) the Lord *Hunſdon* was created Viſcount *Rochford*, (afterward by King *Charles*, made Earle of *Dover*) Sir *Lyonell Cranfield*, Maſter of the *Wardes*, was created Baron of *Cranfield* in *Bedford-ſhire*, and Sir *Thomas Howard*, ſecond ſonne to *Thomas* Earle of *Suffolke*, was created Baron *Charleton*, and Viſcount *Andover*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earle of *Barke-ſhire*.

In his twentyth yeare, in the moneth of *September*, the Viſcount *Doncaſter*, was created Earle of *Carlile*, the Viſcount *Fielding* was created Earle of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Digby* was made Earle of *Briſtow*, the Lord *Cranfield*, was created Earle of *Middleſex*, and Sir *Henry Rich* was made Baron of *Kenſington*.

In his one and twentyth yeare, the Marquis of *Buckingham*, being then in *Spaine* with Prince *Charles*, had his Patent ſent him to be Duke of *Buckingham*, *William Grey* was created Baron of *Warke*, *Elizabeth* the widdow of Sir *Moyle Fynch* of *Kent*, was created Viſcounteſſe *Maideſtone*, (afterward by K. *Charles* made Counteſſe of *Winchelſy*.

In

his two and twentieth year, the Earle of *Clanricard* of *Ireland*, was created Viscount *Tunbridge* in *Kent* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earle of Saint *Albans*) Sir *Iohn Hollis* Baron of *Haughton* was created Earle of *Clare*, Sir *Charles Rich* Baron of *Kensington* was created Earle of *Holland*, the Lord *Say*, Baron of *Say* and *Seale*, was made Viscount *Say* and *Seale*: Sir *Francis Cave* was created Earle of *Westmerland*, *Oliver* Lord St. *Iohn* of *Bletso* was made Earle of *Bullinbrook*, Sir *Christopher Villers* brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Earle of *Angleſey*, and Sir *Iames Ley* was made Lord *Ley* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earle of *Marlborough*.) Alſo this yeare, Sir *Francis Leak* was made Baron of *Deincourt*, and Sir *Richard Roberts* was made Lord *Roberts* of *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

And this was the number of all the Earles and Barons made by King *Iames*: but in his time alſo began another ſort of Nobility to bee made in *England*, which had none of the Priviledges of *Engliſh* Barons, but had onely Title to bee called Lords, of ſome place either in *Scotland* or *Ireland*, although they poſſeſſed not a foot of Land in either: Of which ſort, the number being great, I forbeare to rehearſe them, leſt I ſhould be tedious, or otherwiſe bee thought to encroach too much upon the Heralds office. It is ſufficient to have ſhewed, that King *Iames* advanced ſo many in honour, that in a kind it might be ſaid of him, as was ſaid of *Auguſtus Ceſar*, That he left *Rome* of Marble, which hee found built of Brick.

The beginning of THE RAIGNE of KING Charles.

KING *James* being deceased on the 27 day of *March* in the forenoon, the same day in the afternoone, *Charles* Prince of *Wales* His only son, then living, was Proclaimed King of *Great-Brittain*, *France* and *Ireland*, with the Generall acclamation of all sorts of People, as being a Prince of admirable endowments both of mind and body. He was now about the age of 25 yeares, whereof, the most part of one he had spent in *Spaine*; where, although he was frustrated of the end for which he went, yet it gave him a tincture of Travaile and Experience, more worth perhaps, then the end he went for: For by this meanes he attained to a greater degree of that, which made *Ulysses* so famous:

Quod mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.

The first thing he did after his Coronation, was to proceed in the marriage agreed upon in His Fathers time, with the beautiful & vertuous Lady *Henrieta Maria*, yonger daughter of the Great *Henry* the 4: K. of *France*; after which marriage, we have only to say, that he was happy in the Wife of His bosome: Happy in His hopefull Issue: Happy in the love of His people: Happy in the Peace and tranquility of his Kingdomes; and Happy in the continuance of all these Happinesses, for 15 years together, and might have so continued still, if it had not been for,

Discordia Demens Viperium crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

But of that which happened afterward, I dare not take upon me to be a Register: Neither is it indeed safe to begin a Narration, which I must be faine to breake off in amazement, as having nothing left me to say, but *Omnia in malum ruere*; and so far from any apparance of humane remedy; that our only Anchor must be this: *In te Domine speramus, non confundamur in aternum: Quid enim nisi vota supersunt!* Yet our hope is, It will be but a fit, and the storme once past, faire

faire weather again, and fairer perhaps than it was before, and then with Ioy we ſhall reſume our ſtile.

Latumque choro Pœana canemus :

In the meane time comforting our ſelves with the words of the Prophet *David*, Many are the troubles of the Righteous, but the Lord delivers him out of them all.

Carolus en Rex magnus in armis, major in ermis.
Quid mirum? Imperio magnus, amore magis.

FINIS.